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HANSARD'S
PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

41° VICTORIÆ, 1878.

VOL. CCXXXVII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM
THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF JANUARY 1878,
TO
THE NINETEENTH DAY OF FEBRUARY 1878.

First Volume of the Session.

LONDON:

PUBLISHED BY CORNELIUS BUCK,

~~Brit. Hist. 8~~

~~Br 120.37~~

Brit Doc 9000:90

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Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words, "and further to inquire into the best means to be adopted to prevent the recurrence or to mitigate the intensity of famines in India; and whether by greater economy, specially with regard to military and other charges which are under the control of the Home authorities, a fund for the relief of famines may not be provided without subjecting the people of India to such burdensome taxation as will be imposed upon them by the contemplated increase of the salt duty,"—(*Mr. Fawcett*.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added:"—After debate, Amendment and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

EAST INDIA (PUBLIC WORKS)—

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Moved, "That Three be the quorum of the Committee."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Three," in order to insert the word "Five,"—(*Mr. Hardestyle*),—instead thereof.

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Question, "That the word 'Five' be inserted, instead thereof," put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question, as amended, put.

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After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Ordered, That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notices of Motion relating to the Public Business of the House,—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*.)

MOTIONS.

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Moved, “That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the best means of promoting the Despatch of Public Business in this House,”—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. 379

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words “and especially to inquire into the desirability of committing Bills, unless when otherwise ordered, to Grand Committees, instead of to a Committee of the whole House,”—(*The O’Conor Don*.)

Question proposed, “That those words be there added:”—After debate, Question put, and *negatived*.

Main Question again proposed.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words “and whether the endeavour of the Imperial Parliament to deal with the legislative requirements of the three Kingdoms as to local affairs has not been a serious obstacle to the due and expeditious discharge of the general Business of the House,”—(*Mr. O’Donnell*) .. 405

Question proposed, “That those words be there added:”—Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

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Select Committee *appointed*, “to consider the best means of promoting the Despatch of Public Business in this House.”

PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—(HALF-FAST TWELVE RULE)—RESOLUTION—

Moved, “That, except for a Money Bill, no Order of the Day or Notice of Motion be taken after half-past Twelve of the clock at night, with respect to which Order or Notice of Motion a notice of opposition or amendment shall have been printed in the Notice Paper, or if such Notice of Motion shall only have been given the next previous day of sitting, and objection shall be taken when such Notice is called,”—(*Mr. Mowbray*) .. 408

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Amendment proposed,

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Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Resolution put, and *agreed to*.

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Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Bill [Bill 4]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*The Lord Advocate*)

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After debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed for To-morrow*.

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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—ARMY AND NAVY SERVICES—

(In the Committee.)

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £8,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the Ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, in increasing the efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. 535

After long debate, Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Wednesday.

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Merchant Seamen Bill [Bill 79]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir Charles Adderley*) .. 609

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Valuation of Property Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Solater-Booth, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Salt*); presented, and read the first time [Bill 94] .. 609

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DUNKELD BRIDGE TOLLS—MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS—

- Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of the Dunkeld Bridge Tolls, and to ascertain, with items in detail, the real state of the account of moneys received and expended by the Dukes of Athole in connection with the said trust,"—(*Mr. O'Donnell*) .. 626
- After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 79, Noes 189; Majority 118.—(*Div. List, No. 5.*)

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- Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Anderson*) .. 638
- Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. R. Power.*)
- Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question: "
—After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 84, Noes 82; Majority 2.—(*Div. List, No. 6.*)
- Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and committed for Friday.

Libel Law Amendment Bill [Bill 81]—

- Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Hutchinson*) .. 651
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Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Serjeant Simon*.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :"
—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 185, Noes 76; Majority 109.—(*Div. List, No. 7.*)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* to a Select Committee.

Dental Practitioners Bill—*Ordered* (*Sir John Lubbock, Sir Philip Egerton, Mr. Gregory, Dr. Lush*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 96] 688

Threshing Machines Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Macdonald*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 97] 689

LORDS, THURSDAY, JANUARY 31.

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SUPPLY—Order for Committee read ; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair :"—

THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, having been informed in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech that the conditions on which Her Majesty's neutrality is founded had not been infringed by either belligerent engaged in the war in the East of Europe, and having since received no information sufficient to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, sees no reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies,"—(*Mr. William Edward Forster*),—instead thereof

729

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Trevelyan* :)—Motion agreed to :—Debate adjourned till To-morrow.

House Occupiers Disqualification Removal Bill [Bill 45]—

Bill considered in Committee 813
 Bill reported ; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.

COMMONS—

Select Committee appointed, Six Members to be nominated by the House and Five by the Committee of Selection, "to consider every Report made by the Inclosure Commissioners certifying the expediency of any Provisional Order for the inclosure or regulation of a Common, and presented to the House during the present Session, before a Bill be brought in for the confirmation of such Order :"—Five to be the quorum.

Instruction to the Committee, That they have power, with respect to each such Provisional Order, to inquire and report to the House whether the same should be confirmed by Parliament ; and, if so, whether with or without modification ; and, in the event of their being of opinion that the same should not be confirmed, except subject to modifications, to report such modifications accordingly with a view to such Provisional Order being remitted to the Inclosure Commissioners.—(*Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*.)

TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE—

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Ordered, That all Petitions referring to the continuance or discontinuance of Turnpike Trusts be referred to the Committee.—(*Mr. Salt*.)

Parliamentary Elections (Boroughs) Bill—Ordered (*Mr. Yeaman, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Muntz, Dr. Ward, Mr. Goulding*) ; presented, and read the first time [Bill 98] 817

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PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Dublin Southern District Tramways Bill (by Order)—

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TRAMWAY BILLS—

<i>Moved</i> , "That every Opposed Tramway Bill of the present Session, whereby it is proposed to authorize the use of steam or other mechanical power, be referred to a Select Committee of Nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House and Four by the Committee of Selection; and that such of the Petitioners against the Bills as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel or Agents, as shall have presented their Petitions in accordance with the Standing Orders, be heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bills against such Petitions:	
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Question again proposed :—Debate <i>resumed</i>	1069
After long debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(<i>Mr.</i> <i>Rylands</i> :)—Motion <i>agreed to</i> :—Debate <i>adjourned</i> till <i>To-morrow</i> .	

COMMONS, WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Land Tenure (Ireland) Bill [Bill 50]—	
<i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(<i>Mr. McCarthy</i> <i>Downing</i>)	
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Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :" —After long debate, Question put :—The House <i>divided</i> ; Ayes 86, Noes 286; Majority 200.—(<i>Div. List</i> , No. 8.)	
Words <i>added</i> :—Main Question, as amended, put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Second Reading <i>put off</i> for six months.	
Public Prosecutor Bill—Ordered (<i>Sir Eardley Wilmot</i> , <i>Mr. Walpole</i> , <i>Mr. Watkin</i> <i>Williams</i> , <i>Mr. Serjeant Simon</i>)	
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After short debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(<i>The Marquess of Hartington</i> :)—After further debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> :—Amendment, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair :"—After long debate, <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(<i>Mr. Richard</i> :)—After further debate, Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
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SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £8,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, in increasing the Efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey."

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

Hypothec (Scotland) (No. 3) Bill—*Ordered* (Sir George Balfour, Lord Douglas Gordon, Mr. Laing, Mr. James Barclay); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 101] .. 1314

County Courts Jurisdiction (No. 2) Bill—*Ordered* (Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Forsyth); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 102] .. 1314

Poor Law Amendment Act (1876) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (Mr. Mellor, Mr. Merewether, Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Phipps, Mr. Cowan, Mr. Hibbert); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 103] .. 1314

Debtors Acts Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (Mr. Marten, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Sir Henry Jackson); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 104] .. 1314

ARMY (ROYAL ARTILLERY AND ENGINEER OFFICERS' ARREARS OF PAY)—

Ordered, That the Select Committee of last Session on Royal Artillery and Royal Engineer Officers' Arrears of Pay be re-appointed:—That the Committee do consist of Seventeen Members:—List of the Committee .. 1314

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INDIA—MADRAS—COMMISSION ON THE SALT DUTY—Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Lord George Hamilton .. 1323

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DEATH OF POPE PIUS IX.—SITTINGS OF THE CONCLAVE—Question, Mr. O'Clery; Answer, Mr. Bourke .. 1325

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SUPPLY—THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—

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 Motion *agreed to*.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Question [February 7] again proposed 1335
 After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 328, Noes 124; Majority 204.
 Division List, Ayes and Noes 1417
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THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE DARDANELLES—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET—

POSTPONEMENT OF NOTICE—Observations, Lord Campbell; Questions, The Earl of Dunraven, Earl Granville; Answers, The Earl of Beaconsfield, The Earl of Derby 1420

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INDIA — INDIAN FINANCE—CIVIL EXPENDITURE — Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Lord George Hamilton 1423
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 THE CIVIL SERVICE—SELECT COMMITTEE, 1876-77—Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer 1424
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ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—

Resolution [8th February] *reported* 1424
 After debate, Resolution *agreed to*.

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered* in Committee.

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WAYS AND MEANS—Committee—continued.

- (1.) *Resolved*, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorized to raise any sum, not exceeding £6,000,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills.
- (2.) *Resolved*, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par at the expiration of any period not exceeding three years from the date of such Bond.
- (3.) *Resolved*, That the interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or the growing produce thereof.
- (4.) *Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, the sum of £6,000,000 be granted, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Wednesday*; Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

Factories and Workshops Bill [Bill 3]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Assheton Cross*) 1454

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in any measure for the consolidation and amendment of the Law relating to Factories and Workshops, it is desirable, in the interests alike of employers and employed, that all trades and manufactures employing the same class of labour should be placed upon the same footing, and under the same protective and restrictive regulations,"—(*Mr. Tennant*),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Thursday* 21st February.

Election of Aldermen (Cumulative Vote) Bill [Bill 71]—

Order for Second Reading read 1483
[House counted out.]

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THE CAPE—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK—Question, The Earl of Kimberley;
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Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill—

Bill for making better provision respecting contagious and infectious diseases of cattle and other animals—*presented* (*The Lord President*) .. 1485
After short debate, Bill read 1st. (No. 22.)

COMMONS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 12.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Manchester Corporation Water Bill (by Order)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time" 1503
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Stafford Howard*.)

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Main Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time :"— <i>Moved</i> , "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(<i>Mr. Goldmid</i> :)— Motion, by leave, <i>withdrawn</i> .	
Main Question put, and <i>agreed to</i> :—Bill read a second time, and <i>committed</i> to a Select Committee.	
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SOUTH AFRICAN CONFEDERATION—THE ZULU KING — Question, Mr. E. Jenkins ; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach	1533
FISHERIES — DENMARK — RE-APPEARANCE OF THE HERRINGS—Question, General Sir George Balfour ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross	1534
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INDIA—SIR JOHN STRACHEY'S SPEECHES—Question, General Sir George Balfour ; Answer, Lord George Hamilton	1535
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POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—DEPORTATION OF IRISH PAUPERS—Question, Major Nolan ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross	1539

MOTION.



CHURCH LIVINGS—RESOLUTION—

<i>Moved</i> , "That it is desirable to adopt measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law, and checking abuses in the sale of livings in private patronage,"—(<i>Mr. Leatham</i>)	1540
---	------

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the better to enable the adoption of measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law and checking abuses in the sale of livings in private patronage, it is expedient that the Law of Simony, and the circumstances under which the sale of livings in private patronage are by Law allowed, should be defined by Parliament,"—(*Mr. Goldney*),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :"—After short debate, [House counted out.]

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Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Biggar*) .. 1568
Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. Charles Lewis*.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question :"
—After debate, Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 96, Noes 134; Majority 38.—(*Div. List, No. 11.*)

Words *added*:—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*:—Second Reading *put off* for six months.

Valuation Bill [Bill 35]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Ramsay*) .. 1586
After short debate, it being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till *To-morrow*.

WAYS AND MEANS—Resolutions [February 11] *reported*, and *agreed to*:—Bills ordered
(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Colonel Stanley*) .. 1596

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Consolidated Fund (£8,000,000) Bill—*Presented*, and read the first time .. 1596

Homicide Law Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Whitwell*);
presented, and read the first time [Bill 108] .. 1596

LUNACY LAW—

Select Committee of last Session to inquire into the operation of the Lunacy Law, so far as it regards the security afforded by it against violations of personal liberty re-appointed:—List of the Committee .. 1596

Tenants Protection (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. Patrick Smyth*);
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Congo d'Elire Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Monk, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Assheton*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 110] .. 1597

Weights and Measures Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Edward Stanhope, Sir Charles Adderley, Mr. Attorney General*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 111] .. 1597

Local Government Provisional Orders (Bristol, &c.) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Salt, Mr. Selater-Booth*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 112] .. 1597

Convention (Ireland) Act Repeal Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. P. J. Smyth, Mr. Staepoole, Mr. Downing, Dr. Brady, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. O'Clery*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 113] .. 1597

Summary Jurisdiction (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Shaughnessy*);
presented, and read the first time [Bill 114] .. 1597

Absentee Proprietors (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Patrick Martin*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 115] .. 1598

Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Parnell, Mr. Fay*);
presented, and read the first time [Bill 116] .. 1598

LORDS, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE CONFERENCE—CONSTANTINOPLE—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET—Questions, Lord Campbell, Earl Granville, Lord Dunsany; Answers, The Earl of Derby .. 1598

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<i>[February 14.]</i>	
Territorial Waters Jurisdiction Bill—	
Bill to regulate the Law relating to the trial of offences committed on the sea within a certain distance of the coasts of Her Majesty's dominions— <i>presented (The Lord Chancellor)</i>	1601
After short debate, Bill read 1 st . (No. 23.)	

COMMONS, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14.

QUESTIONS.

LAW AND JUSTICE—JURORS—Question, Mr. J. Cowen; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross	1616
H.M.S. "BEAGLE"—JUDICIAL POWERS OF NAVAL COMMANDERS—Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith	1617
GREENWICH HOSPITAL FUND—NAVAL PENSIONS—Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith	1617
THE HERRING FISHERY COMMISSION—Question, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross	1618
ARMY—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK—ARMY SURGEONS—Question, Dr. Ward; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy	1618
COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND—Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach	1619
CRIMINAL LAW—IMPRISONMENT OF A CHILD—Question, Mr. A. M'Arthur; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross	1620
ARMY RANK—CLERKS OF THE ROYAL ENGINEER DEPARTMENT—Question, Mr. Goldsmid; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy	1620
TURKEY—TRADE IN THE BLACK SEA, &c. — Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Sir Charles Adderley	1621
THE EASTERN QUESTION—CONSTANTINOPLE—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET—Questions, Mr. E. Jenkins, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Lawrence Palk, Mr. Lowe, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, Mr. W. H. Smith, The Chancellor of the Exchequer	1621

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000) Bill—

<i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(<i>Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer</i>)	1624
After debate, Motion agreed to:—Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.	

County Government Bill [Bill 93]—

<i>Moved</i> , "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(<i>Mr. Solator-Booth</i>)	1651
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Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "with a view to simplify and strengthen local self-government, it is desirable, with as little delay as possible, to bring each sanitary district and poor law union

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Licensing Laws Amendment Bill [Bill 82]—

Order for Committee read :—*Moved*, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair,”—(*Mr. Staveley Hill*) .. 1691
After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn* :—Committee *deferred* till Monday next.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill—

Bill *considered* in Committee .. 1692
Moved, “That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,”—(*Mr. O’Sullivan* :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 20, Noes 79; Majority 59.—(*Div. List, No. 12.*)
Moved, “That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,”—(*Mr. O’Shaughnessy* :)—Question put :—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 20, Noes 77; Majority 57.—(*Div. List, No. 13.*)
Moved, “That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,”—(*Mr. Onslow* :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 25, Noes 37; Majority 12.—(*Div. List, No. 14.*)
Moved, “That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,”—(*Mr. Charles Lewis* :)—After short debate, Question put :—The Committee *divided*; Ayes 6, Noes 56; Majority 50.—(*Div. List, No. 15.*)
Moved, “That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,”—(*The O’Conor Don* :)—Motion *agreed to* :—Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

Matrimonial Causes Acts Amendment Bill—Ordered (*Mr. Herschell, Sir Henry Holland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 117] .. 1721

Companies (Foreign Shareholders) Bill—Ordered (*Sir John Lubbock, Sir Andrew Lusk, Sir Charles Mills, Mr. Charles Praed*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 118] .. 1721

LORDS, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE TERMS OF THE ARMISTICE—Observations, Lord Campbell .. 1721

House Occupiers Disqualification Removal Bill (No. 17)—

Moved, “That the Bill be now read 2^a,”—(*The Earl Stanhope*) .. 1722
Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read 2^a (according to order), and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on Tuesday next.

COMMONS, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 15.

PRIVATE BUSINESS.

Manchester Corporation Water Bill (by Order)—

Moved, “That it be an Instruction to the Select Committee on the Manchester Corporation Water Bill, that they have power to inquire into and report upon the present sufficiency of the water supply of Manchester and its neighbourhood, and of any other sources available for such supply: To consider whether permission should be given to make use of any of the Westmoreland and Cumberland Lakes for the purpose; and, if so, how far, and under what conditions: To consider the prospective requirements of the populations situated between the Lake District and Manchester: To inquire and report whether any, and if so, what, provisions should be made in limitation of proposals for the exclusive use of the water of any of the said lakes,”—(*Mr. Selater-Booth*) .. 1723

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Manchester Corporation Water Bill (by Order)—continued.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words “between the Lake District and Manchester,” in order to insert the words “in Lancashire and Yorkshire,”—(*Mr. Whitwell*,)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:”—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Amendment proposed, after the words “Manchester and” to insert the words “the towns in,”—(*Mr. Serjeant Spinks*.)

Question proposed, “That those words be there inserted:”—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

Ordered, That Five be the Quorum of the Committee.

List of the Committee 1729

QUESTIONS.

METROPOLIS — NEWSPAPER KIOSQUES — Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot;	
Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg ..	1729
ROADS—SOUTH WALES DISTRICT—Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Selater-Booth ..	1730
RUSSIA — POLES IN TURKEY — Questions, Mr. Owen Lewis, Mr. John Bright; Answers, Mr. Bourke ..	1730
POST OFFICE — THE INDIA MAIL CONTRACT — Question, Mr. Bentinck; Answer, Lord John Manners ..	1732
NAVY—ROMAN CATHOLICS—Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith ..	1732
TURKEY—THE WAR — AUSTRIAN INTERESTS — Question, Mr. Gladstone; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer ..	1733
TURKEY—THE WAR—RUSSIAN SAILORS—Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer ..	1733
SOUTH AFRICA—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK—Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach ..	1734
THE EASTERN QUESTION—CONSTANTINOPLE—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer ..	1734
THE EASTERN QUESTION—BESSARABIA—Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Courtney, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Goldsmid; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer ..	1735
PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer ..	1736

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:”—

BURIALS—RESOLUTION—Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, “in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when the long pending controversy as to interments in parish churchyards ought to be closed, by permitting such interments either without any burial service or with the burial services preferred by the relatives or friends of the deceased, and conducted by persons chosen by them,”—(*Mr. Osborne Morgan*,)—instead thereof .. 1768

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SUPPLY—Order for Committee read—*continued*.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question :"—After long debate, Question put :—The House divided ; Ayes 242, Noes 227 ; Majority 15.

Division List, Ayes and Noes 1836

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn* :—Committee *deferred* till Monday next.

Criminal Law Practice Amendment Bill [Bill 69]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Serjeant Simon*) .. 1840

After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for Friday 15th March.

LORDS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE ARMISTICE—THE TREATIES OF 1856 AND 1871—Observations, The Earl of Derby, Earl Granville, Lord Campbell .. 1841

THE EASTERN QUESTION—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET—Questions, Earl Granville ; Answers, The Earl of Derby .. 1842

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT THE PORTE—PERSONAL VINDICATION—Observations, The Earl of Derby .. 1843

Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis) Bill (No. 12)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d,"—(*The Earl Cadogan*) .. 1844

After short debate, Motion *agreed to* :—Bill read 2^d accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House *To-morrow*.

COMMONS, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 18.

QUESTIONS.

ARMY (IRELAND)—MARRIED SOLDIERS' QUARTERS—LONGFORD BARRACKS—Question, Mr. Errington ; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy .. 1846

NAVY—H.M.S. "NELSON"—Question, Mr. Dalrymple ; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith .. 1847

TURKEY—BRITISH SUBJECTS IN CONSTANTINOPLE—Question, Mr. J. Holms ; Answer, Mr. Bourke .. 1847

COOLIE EMIGRATION TO THE MAURITIUS—Question, Mr. Errington ; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach .. 1848

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE CONGRESS—CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN POLAND—Question, Colonel Beresford ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1848

IRELAND—THE SUCK DRAINAGE DISTRICT—Question, The O'Connor Don ; Answer, Colonel Stanley .. 1848

ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—THE CANDIDATES—Question, Dr. Ward ; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy .. 1849

NAVY—H.M.S. "UNDAUNTED"—Question, Mr. Dodson ; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith .. 1849

THE PATENT LAWS—LEGISLATION—Question, Mr. Mundella ; Answer, The Attorney General .. 1850

SCOTLAND—GROGERS' LICENSES—Question, Mr. Dalrymple ; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross .. 1850

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FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL—Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer	1850
THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE CONGRESS—Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer ..	1851
THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE ARMISTICE—RUSSIAN FORCES WITHIN THE NEUTRAL ZONE—Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer	1851
RUSSIA—COLONEL WELLESLEY'S DESPATCHES—Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Monk	1852

ORDERS OF THE DAY.



County Government Bill [Bill 93]—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [14th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate resumed .. 1853
 After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Parnell*):—After further debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*:—Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.
 Main Question put:—The House *divided*; Ayes 231, Noes 63; Majority 168.—(Div. List, No. 17.)
 Bill read a second time, and *committed* for Thursday 7th March.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding £1,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay off and discharge Exchequer Bonds that will become due and payable during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1878.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*; Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill—

Bill considered in Committee [*Progress 14th February*] .. 1916
Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*):—After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday*.

PUBLIC WORKS (EAST INDIA)—Select Committee *nominated*:—List of the Committee 1919

PUBLIC ACCOUNTS—Committee *nominated*:—List of the Committee .. 1920

LORDS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE OCCUPATION OF GALLIPOLI—Question, The Duke of Argyll; Answer, The Earl of Derby .. 1920

Public Parks (Scotland) Bill (No. 18)—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2^d,"—(*The Lord Kinnaird*) .. 1920
 Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2^d accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

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COMMONS, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

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QUESTIONS.

POST OFFICE—MONEY ORDER OFFICE—Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Lord John Manners	1922
TURKEY—THE WAR—ILL-TREATMENT OF ENGLISH DOCTORS—Question, Sir Joseph M'Kenna; Answer, Mr. Bourke	1922
INDIA—THE LOCAL SERVICE AND STAFF CORPS—Question, Sir Joseph M'Kenna; Answer, Lord George Hamilton	1923
INDIA—IRRIGATION REPORTS—Question, Mr. Fortescue Harrison; Answer, Lord George Hamilton	1923
SOUTH AFRICA—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK—Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach	1924
INHERITED HOUSE DUTY BILL—Question, Mr. A. H. Brown; Answers, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, The Chancellor of the Exchequer	1924
EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—THE CODE OF 1878 AND THE GAELIC LANGUAGE— Withdrawal of Motion, Mr. Fraser Mackintosh	1925

MOTIONS.

BOROUGH FRANCHISE (IRELAND)—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That the restricted nature of the Borough Franchise of Ireland, as compared with that existing in England and Scotland, is a subject deserving the immediate attention of Parliament, with a view of establishing a fair and just equality of the Franchise in the three countries,"—(*Mr. Meldon*) 1925

After long debate, Question put:—The House divided; Ayes 126,
Noes 134; Majority 8.—(*Div. List, No. 18.*)

EAST INDIA (APPOINTMENT OF MR. M. MACPHERSON)—RESOLUTION—

Moved, "That the appointment by the Indian Government of Mr. Molesworth Macpherson, first as secretary to the Legislative Council and then as deputy-secretary to the Legislative Department, constitutes an improper evasion of the Law, is unjust to the regular Civil Service of India, and is calculated to bring the Indian Administration into public discredit,"—(*Mr. O'Donnell*) 1974

After short debate, Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

ORDERS OF THE DAY.

Ancient Monuments Bill [Bill 63]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir John Lubbock*) 1978

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months,"—(*Mr. R. E. Plunkett.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question: "
—After short debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—
(*Mr. Onslow* :)—Question put, and *negatived*.

Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question: "
The House divided; Ayes 64, Noes 56; Majority 8.—(*Div. List, No. 19.*)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed for Tuesday next*.

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Dental Practitioners Bill [Bill 96]—

Moved, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Sir John Lubbock*) 199

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Dr. Cameron* :)—After short debate, Question put :—The House *divided*; Ayes 27, Noes 49; Majority 22.—(Div. List, No. 20.)

Moved, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna* :)—After short debate, Question put :—The House *divided*; Ayes 11, Noes 61; Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 21.)

Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Dillwyn* :)—Motion agreed to :—Debate adjourned till Tuesday 5th March.

Glebe Loans (Ireland) Bill [Bill 9]—

Bill considered in Committee 199

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(*Mr. Monk* :)—Question put, and *negatived*.

Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Dodds* :)—Question put, and *negatived*.

Bill reported; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

Public Health Act (1875) Amendment Bill [Bill 68]—

Select Committee nominated :—List of the Committee 196

TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

LORDS.

SAT FIRST.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1878.

The Lord Mowbray (Barony called out of abeyance.)
The Earl of Saint Germans, after the death of his Father.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24.

The Lord Ranfurly, after the death of his Brother.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25.

The Lord Kinnaird, after the death of his Brother (special limitation.)

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31.

The Marquess of Ailesbury, after the death of his Brother.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8.

The Viscount Canterbury, after the death of his Father.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 19.

The Lord de Clifford, after the death of his Father.

REPRESENTATIVE PEER FOR IRELAND (*Certificate.*)

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17.

The Earl of Caledon, *v.* Lord Headley, deceased.

COMMONS.

NEW WRITS ISSUED.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 18, 1878.

For *Greenock*, v. James Johnstone Grieve, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds.

For *Leith District of Burghs*, v. Donald Robert Macgregor, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

MONDAY, JANUARY 21.

For *Perth*, v. Honble. Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaird, now Baron Kinnaird.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23.

For *Perth County*, v. Sir William Stirling Maxwell, baronet, deceased.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 25.

For *Marlborough*, v. Lord Ernest Bruce, now Marquess of Ailesbury.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 29.

For *Oxford County*, v. Right honble. Joseph Warner Henley, Chiltern Hundreds.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 14.

For *York*, v. James Lowther, esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 17, 1878.

Northern Division of the County of Northampton—Lord Burghley.

MONDAY, JANUARY 28.

Greenock—James Stewart, esquire.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 31.

Marlborough—Lord Charles Bruce.

Leith District of Burghs—Andrew Grant, esquire.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 4.

Perth—Charles Stuart Parker, esquire.

Perth County—Lieutenant Colonel Henry Edward Stirling Home Drummond Moray.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7.

County of Oxford—Edward William Harcourt, esquire.

THE MINISTRY

OF THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD,
AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE 21ST PARLIAMENT,
JANUARY 17, 1878.

THE CABINET.

First Lord of the Treasury and Lord Privy Seal	Right Hon. EARL OF BEACONSFIELD.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. LORD CAIRNS.
President of the Council	His Grace the Duke of RICHMOND AND GORDON, K.G.
Chancellor of the Exchequer.	Right Hon. SIR STAFFORD HENRY NORTHCOTE, Bt.
Secretary of State, Home Department	Right Hon. RICHARD ASSHETON CROSS.
Secretary of State, Foreign Department	Right Hon. EARL OF DERBY.
Secretary of State for the Colonies	Right Hon. EARL OF CARNARVON.
Secretary of State for War	Right Hon. GATHORNE HARDY.
Secretary of State for India	Most Hon. Marquess of SALISBURY.
First Lord of the Admiralty	Right Hon. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.
Postmaster General	Right Hon. LORD JOHN J. R. MANNERS.
Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. SIR MICHAEL EDWARD HICKS-BEACH, Bt.

NOT IN THE CABINET.

Field Marshal Commanding in Chief	H.R.H. the Duke of CAMBRIDGE, K.G.
Chief Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings	Right Hon. GERARD JAMES NOEL.
Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster	Right Hon. THOMAS EDWARD TAYLOR.
Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education	Right Hon. VISCOUNT SANDON.
President of the Board of Trade	Right Hon. SIR CHARLES BOWYER ADDERLEY, Bart.
President of the Local Government Board	Right Hon. GEORGE SCLATER-BOOTH.
Lords of the Treasury	Viscount CRICHTON. ROWLAND WINN, Esq.
Lords of the Admiralty	SIR JAMES DALRYMPLE HORN ELPHINSTONE, Bt. Admiral GEORGE GREVILLE WELLESLEY, Rear Admiral A. W. A. HOOD, Rear Admiral Lord GILFORD, and SIR MASSEY LOPES, Bart.
Joint Secretaries of the Treasury	SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE, Bart. Colonel HON. FREDERICK ARTHUR STANLEY.
Secretary of the Admiralty	HON. ALGERNON T. FULKE EGERTON.
Secretary to the Board of Trade	HON. EDWARD STANHOPE.
Secretary to the Local Government Board	THOMAS SALT, Esq.
Under Secretary, Home Department	SIR HENRY SELWYN IBBETSON, Bt.
Under Secretary, Foreign Department	HON. ROBERT BOURKE.
Under Secretary for Colonies	JAMES LOWTHER, Esq.
Under Secretary for War	EARL CADOGAN.
Under Secretary for India	LORD GEORGE F. HAMILTON.
Paymaster General	Right Hon. STEPHEN CAVE.
Judge Advocate	Right Hon. GEORGE A. F. C. BENTINCK.
Attorney General	SIR JOHN HOLKER, Knt.
Solicitor General	SIR HARDINGE S. GIFFARD, Knt.

SCOTLAND.

Lord Advocate	Right Hon. WILLIAM WATSON.
Solicitor General	JOHN HAY A. MACDONALD, Esq.

IRELAND.

Lord Lieutenant	His Grace the Duke of MARLBOROUGH, K.G.
Lord Chancellor	Right Hon. JOHN THOMAS BALL.
Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant	Right Hon. SIR MICHAEL EDWARD HICKS-BEACH, Bt.
Attorney General	Right Hon. EDWARD GIBSON.
Solicitor General	GERALD FITZGIBBON, Esq.

QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

Lord Steward	Right Hon. EARL BEAUCHAMP.
Lord Chamberlain	Most Hon. Marquess of HERTFORD.
Master of the Horse	Right Hon. EARL OF BRADFORD.
Treasurer of the Household	Right Hon. LORD HENRY THYNNE.
Comptroller of the Household	Right Hon. LORD HENRY SOMERSET.
Vice Chamberlain of the Household	VISCOUNT BARRINGTON.
Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms	Right Hon. EARL OF COVENTRY.
Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard	Right Hon. LORD SKELMERSDALE.
Master of the Buckhounds	Right Hon. EARL OF HARDWICKE.
Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal	LORD ALFRED H. PAGET.
Mistress of the Robes	Her Grace the Duchess of WELLINGTON.

ROLL OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

IN THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

41^o VICTORIÆ 1878.

MEM.—According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.

His Royal Highness THE PRINCE OF WALES.	JOHN WINSTON Duke of MARLBOROUGH.
His Royal Highness ALFRED ERNEST ALBERT Duke of EDINBURGH.	CHARLES CECIL JOHN Duke of RUTLAND.
His Royal Highness ARTHUR WILLIAM PATRICK ALBERT Duke of CONNAUGHT and STRATHEARN.	WILLIAM ALEXANDER LOUIS STEPHEN Duke of BRANDON. (<i>Duke of Hamilton.</i>)
His Royal Highness GEORGE FREDERICK ALEXANDER CHARLES ERNEST AUGUSTUS Duke of CUMBERLAND AND TEVIOTDALE. (<i>King of Hanover.</i>)	WILLIAM JOHN Duke of PORTLAND.
His Royal Highness GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK CHARLES Duke of CAMBRIDGE.	WILLIAM DROGO Duke of MANCHESTER.
ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL Archbishop of CANTERBURY.	HENRY PELHAM ALEXANDER Duke of NEWCASTLE.
HUGH MAC CALMONT Lord CAIRNS, <i>Lord Chancellor.</i>	ALGERNON GEORGE Duke of NORTHUMBERLAND.
WILLIAM Archbishop of YORK.	ARTHUR RICHARD Duke of WELLINGTON.
CHARLES HENRY Duke of RICHMOND, <i>Lord President of the Council.</i>	RICHARD PLANTAGENET CAMPBELL Duke of BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS.
BENJAMIN Earl of BEACONSFIELD, <i>Lord Privy Seal.</i>	GEORGE GRANVILLE WILLIAM Duke of SUTHERLAND.
HENRY Duke of NORFOLK, <i>Earl Marshal of England.</i>	HARRY GEORGE Duke of CLEVELAND.
EDWARD ADOLPHUS Duke of SOMERSET.	HUGH LUPUS Duke of WESTMINSTER.
CHARLES HENRY Duke of RICHMOND. (<i>In another Place as Lord President of the Council.</i>)	FRANCIS HUGH GEORGE Marquess of HERTFORD, <i>Lord Chamberlain of the Household.</i>
WILLIAM HENRY Duke of GRAFTON.	JOHN Marquess of WINCHESTER.
HENRY CHARLES FITZROY Duke of BEAUFORT.	JOHN SHOLTO Marquess of QUEENSBERRY. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)
WILLIAM AMELIUS AUBREY DE VERE Duke of SAINT ALBANS.	HENRY CHARLES KEITH Marquess of LANDOWNE.
GEORGE GODOLPHIN Duke of LEEDS.	JOHN VILLIERS STUART Marquess TOWNSHEND.
FRANCIS CHARLES HASTINGS Duke of BEDFORD.	ROBERT ARTHUR TALBOT Marquess of SALISBURY.
WILLIAM Duke of DEVONSHIRE.	JOHN ALEXANDER Marquess of BATH.
	JAMES Marquess of ABERCORN. (<i>Duke of Abercorn.</i>)
	FRANCIS HUGH GEORGE Marquess of HERTFORD. (<i>In another Place as Lord Chamberlain of the Household.</i>)
	JOHN PATRICK Marquess of BUTE.
	WILLIAM ALLEYNE Marquess of EXETER.

ROLL OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

CHARLES Marquess of NORTHAMPTON.	WALTER HENRY Earl of MAR AND KELLIE. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)
JOHN CHARLES Marquess CAMDEN.	CLAUDE Earl of STRATHMORE AND KING- HORN. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)
HENRY WILLIAM GEORGE Marquess of ANGLESEY.	GEORGE Earl of HADDINGTON. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)
WILLIAM HENRY HUGH Marquess of CHOLMONDELEY.	THOMAS Earl of LAUDERDALE. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)
ERNEST AUGUSTUS CHARLES Marquess of AILESBURY.	DAVID GRAHAM DRUMMOND Earl of AIRLIE. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)
FREDERICK WILLIAM JOHN Marquess of BRISTOL.	DUNBAR JAMES Earl of SELKIRK. (<i>Elected for Scotland.</i>)
ARCHIBALD Marquess of AILSA.	SEWALLIS EDWARD Earl FERRERS.
GEORGE AUGUSTUS CONSTANTINE Mar- quess of NORMANBY.	WILLIAM WALTER Earl of DARTMOUTH.
GEORGE FREDERICK SAMUEL Marquess of RIPON.	CHARLES Earl of TANKERVILLE.
WILLIAM Marquess of ABERGAVENNY.	HENEAGE Earl of AYLESFORD.
FREDERICK Earl BEAUGHAMP, <i>Lord Ste- ward of the Household.</i>	FRANCIS THOMAS DE GREY Earl COWPER.
CHARLES HENRY JOHN Earl of SHREWS- BURY.	ARTHUR PHILIP Earl STANHOPE.
EDWARD HENRY Earl of DERBY.	THOMAS AUGUSTUS WOLSTENHOLME Earl of MACCLESFIELD.
FRANCIS POWER PLANTAGENET Earl of HUNTINGDON.	DOUGLAS BERESFORD MALISE RONALD Earl GRAHAM. (<i>Duke of Montross.</i>)
GEORGE ROBERT CHARLES Earl of PEM- BROKE AND MONTGOMERY.	WILLIAM FREDERICK Earl WALDEGRAVE.
WILLIAM REGINALD Earl of DEVON.	BERTRAM Earl of ASHBURNHAM.
HENRY CHARLES Earl of SUFFOLK AND BERKSHIRE.	CHARLES WYNDEHAM Earl of HARRINGTON.
RUDOLPH WILLIAM BASIL Earl of DEN- HIGH.	ISAAC NEWTON Earl of PORTSMOUTH.
FRANCIS WILLIAM HENRY Earl of WEST- MORLAND.	GEORGE GUY Earl BROOKE and Earl of WARWICK.
MONTAGUE Earl of LINDSEY.	AUGUSTUS EDWARD Earl of BUCKINGHAM- SHIRE.
GEORGE HARRY Earl of STAMFORD AND WARRINGTON.	WILLIAM THOMAS SPENCER Earl FITZ- WILLIAM.
GEORGE JAMES Earl of WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM.	DUDLEY FRANCIS Earl of GUILFORD.
GEORGE PHILIP Earl of CHESTERFIELD.	CHARLES PHILIP Earl of HARDWICKE.
JOHN WILLIAM Earl of SANDWICH.	HENRY EDWARD Earl of ILCHESTER.
ARTHUR ALGERNON Earl of ESSEX.	REGINALD WINDSOR Earl DE LA WARR.
WILLIAM GEORGE Earl of CARLISLE.	JACOB Earl of RADNOR.
WALTER FRANCIS Earl of DONCASTER. (<i>Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.</i>)	JOHN POYNTZ Earl SPENCER.
ANTHONY Earl of SHAFTESBURY.	WILLIAM LENNOX Earl BATHURST.
——— Earl of BERKELEY.	ARTHUR WILLS JOHN WELLINGTON BLUNDELL TRUMBULL Earl of HILLS- BOROUGH. (<i>Marquess of Downshire.</i>)
MONTAGU Earl of ABRINGDON	EDWARD HYDE Earl of CLARENDON.
	WILLIAM DAVID Earl of MANSFIELD.
	JOHN JAMES HUGH HENRY Earl STRANGE. (<i>Duke of Atholl.</i>)

ROLL OF THE LORDS

- JOHN VANSITTART DANVERS Earl of LANESBOROUGH. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- STEPHEN Earl of MOUNT CASHELL. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- HENRY JOHN REUBEN Earl of PORT-ABELLINGTON. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- HUGH Earl of ANNESLEY. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- JOHN Earl of ERNE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- CHARLES FRANCIS ARNOLD Earl of WICKLOW. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- JOHN HENRY REGINALD Earl of CLONMELL. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- GEORGE CHARLES Earl of LUCAN. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- SOMERSET RICHARD Earl of BELMORE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- JAMES Earl of CALEDON. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- FRANCIS ROBERT Earl of ROSSLYN.
- GEORGE GRIMSTON Earl of CRAVEN.
- WILLIAM HILLIER Earl of ONSLOW.
- CHARLES Earl of ROMNEY.
- HENRY THOMAS Earl of CHICHESTER.
- THOMAS Earl of WILTON.
- EDWARD JAMES Earl of POWIS.
- HORATIO Earl NELSON.
- LAWRENCE Earl of ROSSE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- SYDNEY WILLIAM HERBERT Earl MANVERS.
- HORATIO Earl of ORFORD.
- HENRY Earl GREY.
- ST. GEORGE HENRY Earl of LONSDALE.
- DUDLEY Earl of HARROWBY.
- HENRY THYNNE Earl of HAREWOOD.
- WILLIAM HUGH Earl of MINTO.
- ALAN FREDERICK Earl CATHCART.
- JAMES WALTER Earl of VERULAM.
- ADELBERT WELLINGTON BROWNLOW Earl BROWNLOW.
- WILLIAM GORDON CORNWALLIS Earl of SAINT GERMAN.
- ALBERT EDMUND Earl of MORLEY.
- ORLANDO GEORGE CHARLES Earl of BRADFORD.
- FREDERICK Earl BEAUCHAMP. (*In another Place as Lord Steward of the Household.*)
- WILLIAM HENRY HARE Earl of BANTRY. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- JOHN Earl of ELDON.
- RICHARD WILLIAM PENN Earl HOWE.
- CHARLES SOMERS Earl SOMERS.
- JOHN EDWARD CORNWALLIS Earl of STRADBROKE.
- GEORGE HENRY ROBERT CHARLES WILLIAM Earl VANE. (*Marquess of Londonderry.*)
- WILLIAM PITT Earl AMHERST.
- JOHN FREDERICK VAUGHAN Earl CAWDOR.
- WILLIAM GEORGE Earl of MUNSTER.
- ROBERT ADAM PHILIPS HALDANE Earl of CAMPERDOWN.
- THOMAS GEORGE Earl of LICHFIELD.
- GEORGE FREDERICK D'ARCY Earl of DURHAM.
- GRANVILLE GEORGE Earl GRANVILLE.
- HENRY Earl of EFFINGHAM.
- HENRY JOHN Earl of DUCIE.
- CHARLES ALFRED WORSLEY Earl of YARBOROUGH.
- JAMES HENRY ROBERT Earl INNES. (*Duke of Roxburghe.*)
- THOMAS WILLIAM Earl of LEICESTER.
- WILLIAM Earl of LOVELACE.
- LAWRENCE Earl of ZETLAND.
- CHARLES GEORGE Earl of GAINSBOROUGH.
- FRANCIS CHARLES GRANVILLE Earl of ELLESMERE.
- GEORGE STEVENS Earl of STRAFFORD.
- WILLIAM JOHN Earl of COTTENHAM.
- HENRY RICHARD CHARLES Earl COWLEY.
- ARCHIBALD WILLIAM Earl of WINTON. (*Earl of Eglintoun.*)
- WILLIAM Earl of DUDLEY.
- JOHN Earl RUSSELL.
- JOHN Earl of KIMBERLEY.
- RICHARD Earl of DARTREY.
- WILLIAM ERNEST Earl of FEVRESHAM.
- FREDERICK TEMPLE Earl of DUFFERIN.
- JOHN ROBERT Earl SYDNEY.
- HENRY THOMAS Earl of RAVENSWORTH.
- EDWARD MONTAGU STUART GRANVILLE Earl of WHARNOLIFFE.
- THOMAS GEORGE Earl of NORTHBROOK.
- BENJAMIN Earl of BEACONSFIELD. (*In another Place as Lord Privy Seal.*)
- JOHN THOMAS Earl of REDESDALE.
- ROBERT Viscount HEREFORD.
- WILLIAM HENRY Viscount STRATHALLAN. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
- HENRY Viscount BOLINGBROKE AND ST. JOHN.
- EVELYN Viscount FALMOUTH.
- GEORGE Viscount TORRINGTON.
- CHARLES WILLIAM Viscount LEINSTER. (*Duke of Leinster.*)
- FRANCIS WHEELER Viscount HOOD.
- MERVYN Viscount POWERSCOURT. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

JAMES Viscount LIFFORD. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

EDWARD Viscount BANGOR. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

HAYES Viscount DONERAILE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

CORNWALLIS Viscount HAWARDEN. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

CARNEGIE ROBERT JOHN Viscount ST. VINCENT.

ROBERT Viscount MELVILLE.

WILLIAM WELLS Viscount SIDMOUTH.

GEORGE FREDERICK Viscount TEMPLETOWN. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

JOHN CAMPBELL Viscount GORDON. (*Earl of Aberdeen.*)

EDWARD FLEETWOOD JOHN Viscount EKMOUTH.

JOHN LUKE GEORGE Viscount HUTCHINSON. (*Earl of Donoughmore.*)

RICHARD SOMERSET Viscount CLANCARTY. (*Earl of Clancarty.*)

WELLINGTON HENRY Viscount COMBERMERE.

JOHN HENRY THOMAS Viscount CANTERBURY.

ROWLAND CLEGG Viscount HILL.

CHARLES STEWART Viscount HARDINGE.

GEORGE STEPHENS Viscount GOUGH.

STRATFORD Viscount STRATFORD DE REDCLIFFE.

CHARLES Viscount EVERSLEY.

CHARLES Viscount HALIFAX.

ALEXANDER NELSON Viscount BRIDPORT.

EDWARD BERKELEY Viscount PORTMAN.

EDWARD Viscount CARDWELL.

JOHN Bishop of LONDON.

CHARLES Bishop of DURHAM.

EDWARD HAROLD Bishop of WINCHESTER.

ALFRED Bishop of LLANDAFF.

ROBERT Bishop of RIFON.

JOHN THOMAS Bishop of NORWICH.

JAMES COLQUHOUN Bishop of BANGOR.

HENRY Bishop of WORCESTER.

CHARLES JOHN Bishop of GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

WILLIAM Bishop of CHESTER.

THOMAS LEGH Bishop of ST. ALBANS.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS Bishop of LICHFIELD.

JAMES Bishop of HEREFORD.

WILLIAM CONNOR Bishop of PETERBOROUGH.

CHRISTOPHER Bishop of LINCOLN.

GEORGE Bishop of SALISBURY.

FREDERICK Bishop of EXETER.

HARVEY Bishop of CARLISLE.

ARTHUR CHARLES Bishop of BATH AND WELLS.

JOHN FIELDER Bishop of OXFORD.

JAMES Bishop of MANCHESTER.

RICHARD Bishop of CHICHESTER.

JOSHUA Bishop of ST. ASAPH.

JAMES RUSSELL Bishop of ELY.

DUDLEY CHARLES Lord DE ROS.

ALFRED JOSEPH Lord MOWBRAY.

GEORGE MANNERS, Lord HASTINGS.

EDWARD SOUTHWELL Lord DE CLIFFORD.

THOMAS CROSBY WILLIAM Lord DACRE.

CHARLES HENRY ROLLE Lord CLINTON.

ROBERT NATHANIEL CECIL GEORGE Lord ZOUCHE OF HARYNGWORTH.

CHARLES EDWARD HASTINGS Lord BOTREAUX. (*Earl of Loudoun.*)

THOMAS Lord CAMOYS.

HENRY Lord BEAUMONT.

CHARLES EDWARD HASTINGS Lord HASTINGS. (*Earl of Loudoun.*) (*In another Place as Lord Botreaux.*)

HENRY Lord WILLOUGHBY DE BROKE.

SACKVILLE GEORGE Lord CONYERS.

GEORGE Lord VAUX OF HARROWDEN.

RALPH GORDON Lord WENTWORTH.

ROBERT GEORGE Lord WINDSOR.

ST. ANDREW Lord ST. JOHN OF BLETSO.

FREDERICK GEORGE Lord HOWARD DE WALDEN.

WILLIAM BERNARD Lord PETRE.

FREDERICK BENJAMIN Lord SAYE AND SELE.

JOHN FRANCIS Lord ARUNDELL OF WARDOUR.

JOHN STUART Lord CLIFTON. (*Earl of Darnley.*)

JOHN BAPTIST JOSEPH Lord DORMER.

GEORGE HENRY Lord TEYNHAM.

HENRY VALENTINE Lord STAFFORD.

GEORGE FREDERICK WILLIAM Lord BYRON.

CHARLES HUGH Lord CLIFFORD OF CHUDLEIGH.

WILLIAM COUTTS Lord ASHFORD.

HORACE COURTENAY Lord FORBES. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

ALEXANDER Lord SALTOUN. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

JAMES Lord SINCLAIR. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

WILLIAM BULLER FULLERTON Lord ELPHINSTONE. (*Elected for Scotland.*)

ROLL OF THE LORDS

- CHARLES Lord BLANTYRE. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
- CHARLES JOHN Lord COLVILLE OF CULROSS. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
- ALEXANDER HUGH Lord BALFOUR of BURLEY. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
- RICHARD EDMUND SAINT LAWRENCE Lord BOYLE. (*Earl of Cork and Orrery.*)
- GEORGE Lord HAY. (*Earl of Kinnoul.*)
- DIGBY WENTWORTH BAYARD Lord MIDDLETON.
- WILLIAM JOHN Lord MONSON.
- JOHN GEORGE BRABAZON Lord PONSONBY. (*Earl of Bessborough.*)
- GEORGE WATSON Lord SONDES.
- ALFRED NATHANIEL HOLDEN Lord SCARSDALE.
- GEORGE FLORANCE Lord BOSTON.
- CHARLES GEORGE Lord LOVEL AND HOLLAND. (*Earl of Egmout.*)
- AUGUSTUS HENRY Lord VERNON.
- EDWARD ST. VINCENT Lord DIGBY.
- GEORGE DOUGLAS Lord SUNDRIDGE. (*Duke of Argyll.*)
- EDWARD HENRY JULIUS Lord HAWKE.
- HENRY THOMAS Lord FOLEY.
- FRANCIS WILLIAM Lord DINEVOR.
- THOMAS Lord WALSINGHAM.
- WILLIAM Lord BAGOT.
- CHARLES HENRY Lord SOUTHAMPTON.
- JOHN RICHARD BRINSLEY Lord GRANTLEY.
- GEORGE BRIDGES HARLEY DENNETT Lord RODNEY.
- WILLIAM Lord BERWICK.
- JAMES HENRY LEGGE Lord SHERBORNE.
- JOHN HENRY DE LA POER Lord TYRONE. (*Marquess of Waterford.*)
- HENRY BENTINCK Lord CARLETON. (*Earl of Shannon.*)
- CHARLES Lord SUFFIELD.
- DUDLEY WILMOT Lord DORCHESTER.
- LLOYD Lord KENYON.
- CHARLES CORNWALLIS Lord BRAYBROOKE.
- GEORGE HAMILTON Lord FISHERWICK. (*Marquess of Donegal.*)
- HENRY CHARLES Lord GAGE. (*Viscount Gage.*)
- THOMAS JOHN Lord THURLOW.
- WILLIAM GEORGE Lord AUCKLAND.
- CHARLES GEORGE Lord LYTTELTON.
- HENRY GEORGE Lord MENDIP. (*Viscount Clifden.*)
- GEORGE Lord STUART OF CASTLE STUART. (*Earl of Moray.*)
- ALAN PLANTAGENET Lord STEWART of GABRIES. (*Earl of Galloway.*)
- JAMES GEORGE HENRY Lord SALTERSFORD. (*Earl of Courtown.*)
- WILLIAM Lord BRODRICK. (*Viscount Midleton.*)
- FREDERICK HENRY WILLIAM Lord CALTHORPE.
- PETER ROBERT Lord GWYDIR.
- CHARLES ROBERT Lord CARRINGTON.
- WILLIAM HENRY Lord BOLTON.
- GEORGE Lord NORTHWICK.
- THOMAS LYTTELTON Lord LILFORD.
- THOMAS Lord RIBBLESDALE.
- EDWARD Lord DUNSANY. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- THEOBALD FITZ-WALTER Lord DUNBOYNE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- EDWARD DONOUGH Lord INCHIUIN. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- JOHN THOMAS WILLIAM Lord MASSY. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- ROBERT Lord CLONBROOK. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- EDWARD HENRY CHURCHILL Lord CROFTON. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- DAYROLLES BLAKENEY Lord VENTRY. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- HENRY FRANÇOIS SEYMOUR Lord MOORE. (*Marquess of Drogheda.*)
- JOHN HENRY WELLINGTON GRAHAM Lord LOFTUS. (*Marquess of Ely.*)
- WILLIAM Lord CARYSFORT. (*Earl of Carysfort.*)
- GEORGE RALPH Lord ABERCROMBY.
- HORACE Lord RIVERS.
- CHARLES EDMUND Lord ELLENBOROUGH.
- AUGUSTUS FREDERICK ARTHUR Lord SANDYS.
- HENRY NORTH Lord SHEFFIELD. (*Earl of Sheffield.*)
- JOHN CADWALLADER Lord ERSKINE.
- GEORGE JOHN Lord MONTEAGLE. (*Marquess of Sligo.*)
- GEORGE ARTHUR HASTINGS Lord GRANARD. (*Earl of Granard.*)
- HUNGERFORD Lord CREWE.
- ALAN LEGGE Lord GARDNER.
- JOHN THOMAS Lord MANNERS.
- JOHN ADRIAN LOUIS Lord HOPETOUN. (*Earl of Hopetoun.*)
- RICHARD Lord CASTLEMAINE. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
- CHARLES Lord MELDRUM. (*Marquess of Huntly.*)
- GEORGE FREDERICK Lord ROSS. (*Earl of Glasgow.*)

SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

WILLIAM WILLOUGHBY Lord GRINSTEAD. (<i>Earl of Enniskillen.</i>)	WILLIAM Lord CHAWORTH. (<i>Earl of Meath.</i>)
WILLIAM HALE JOHN CHARLES Lord FOXFORD. (<i>Earl of Limerick.</i>)	CHARLES ADOLPHUS Lord DUNMORE. (<i>Earl of Dunmore.</i>)
FRANCIS GEORGE Lord CHURCHILL.	AUGUSTUS FREDERICK GEORGE WARWICK Lord POLTIMORE.
GEORGE ROBERT CANNING Lord HARRIS.	EDWARD MOSTYN Lord MOSTYN.
REGINALD CHARLES EDWARD Lord COLCHESTER.	HENRY SPENCER Lord TEMPLEMORE.
SCHOMBERG HENRY Lord KER. (<i>Marquess of Lothian.</i>)	VALENTINE FREDERICK Lord CLONCUBRY.
GEORGE HENRY Lord MINSTER. (<i>Marquess Conyngham.</i>)	JOHN ST. VINCENT Lord DE SAUMAREZ.
JAMES EDWARD WILLIAM THEOBALD Lord ORMONDE. (<i>Marquess of Ormonds.</i>)	LUCIUS BENTINCK Lord HUNSDON. (<i>Viscount Falkland.</i>)
FRANCIS Lord WEMYSS. (<i>Earl of Wemyss.</i>)	THOMAS Lord DENMAN.
ROBERT Lord CLANBRASSILL. (<i>Earl of Roden.</i>)	WILLIAM FREDERICK Lord ABINGER.
WILLIAM LYGON Lord SILCHESTER. (<i>Earl of Longford.</i>)	PHILIP Lord DE L'ISLE AND DUDLEY.
CLOTWORTHY JOHN EYRE Lord ORIEL. (<i>Viscount Massereene.</i>)	ALEXANDER HUGH Lord ASHBURTON.
HUGH Lord DELAMERE.	EDWARD RICHARD Lord HATHERTON.
GEORGE CECIL WELD Lord FORESTER.	GEORGE HENRY CHARLES Lord STRAF- FORD.
JOHN WILLIAM Lord RAYLEIGH.	ARCHIBALD BRABAZON SPARROW Lord WORLINGHAM. (<i>Earl of Gosford.</i>)
EDRIC FREDERIC Lord GIFFORD.	WILLIAM FREDERICK Lord STRATHEDEN.
HUBERT Lord SOMERHILL. (<i>Marquess of Clanricarde.</i>)	GEOFFREY DOMINICK AUGUSTUS FREDERICK Lord ORANMORE AND BROWNE. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)
ALEXANDER WILLIAM CRAWFORD Lord WIGAN. (<i>Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.</i>)	SIMON Lord LOVAT.
UCHTER JOHN MARK Lord RANFURLY. (<i>Earl of Ranfurly.</i>)	WILLIAM BATEMAN Lord BATEMAN.
GEORGE Lord DE TABLEY.	JAMES MOLYNEUX Lord CHARLEMONT. (<i>Earl of Charlemont.</i>)
CHARLES STUART AUBREY Lord TENTEDEN.	FRANCIS ALEXANDER Lord KINTORE. (<i>Earl of Kintore.</i>)
WILLIAM CONYNTHAM Lord PLUNKET.	GEORGE PONSONBY Lord LISMORE. (<i>Viscount Lismore.</i>)
WILLIAM HENRY ASHE Lord HEYTESBURY.	DERRICK WARNER WILLIAM Lord ROSS- MORE.
ARCHIBALD PHILIP Lord ROSEBERY. (<i>Earl of Rosebery.</i>)	ROBERT SHAPLAND Lord CAREW.
RICHARD Lord CLANWILLIAM. (<i>Earl of Clanwilliam.</i>)	CHARLES FREDERICK ASHLEY COOPER Lord DE MAULEY.
EDWARD Lord SKELMERSDALE.	ARTHUR Lord WROTTESELEY.
WILLIAM DRAPER MORTIMER Lord WYNFORD.	CHARLES DOUGLAS RICHARD Lord SUDE- LEY.
WILLIAM HENRY Lord KILMARNOCK. (<i>Earl of Erroll.</i>)	FREDERICK HENRY PAUL Lord METHUEN.
ARTHUR JAMES Lord FINGALL. (<i>Earl of Fingall.</i>)	HENRY EDWARD JOHN Lord STANLEY OF ALDERLEY.
WILLIAM PHILIP Lord SEFTON. (<i>Earl of Sefton.</i>)	WILLIAM HENRY Lord LEIGH.
WILLIAM SYDNEY Lord CLEMENTS. (<i>Earl of Leitrim.</i>)	BEILBY RICHARD Lord WENLOCK.
THOMAS Lord KENLIS. (<i>Marquess of Headfort.</i>)	CHARLES Lord LURGAN.
	THOMAS SPRING Lord MONTEAGLE OF BRANDON.
	JAMES Lord SEATON.
	EDWARD ARTHUR WELLINGTON Lord KEANE.
	JOHN Lord OXENFOORD. (<i>Earl of Stair.</i>)
	CHARLES CRESPIGNY Lord VIVIAN.
	JOHN Lord CONGLETON.
	DENIS ST. GEORGE Lord DUNSANDLE AND CLANCONAL. (<i>Elected for Ireland.</i>)

ROLL OF THE LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL.

VICTOR ALEXANDER Lord ELGIN. (<i>Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.</i>)	WILLIAM PAGE Lord HATHERLEY.
WILLIAM HENRY FORESTER Lord LONDSEBOROUGH.	JOHN LAIRD MAIR Lord LAWRENCE.
SAMUEL JONES Lord OVERSTONE.	JAMES PLAISTED Lord PENZANCE.
CHARLES ROBERT CLAUDE Lord TREURO.	JOHN Lord DUNNING. (<i>Lord Rollo.</i>)
ARTHUR Lord DE FREYNE.	JAMES Lord BALINHARD. (<i>Earl of Southesk.</i>)
EDWARD BURTENSHAW Lord SAINT LEONARDS.	WILLIAM Lord HARE. (<i>Earl of Listowel.</i>)
RICHARD HENRY FITZ-ROY Lord RAGLAN.	EDWARD GEORGE Lord HOWARD OF GLOSSOP.
GILBERT HENRY Lord AVELAND.	JOHN Lord CASTLETOWN.
VALENTINE AUGUSTUS Lord KENMARE. (<i>Earl of Kenmare.</i>)	JOHN EMERICH EDWARD Lord ACTON.
RICHARD BICKERTON PEMELL Lord LYONS.	THOMAS JAMES Lord ROBARTES.
EDWARD Lord BELPER.	GEORGE GREENFELL Lord WOLVERTON.
JAMES Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE.	FULKE SOUTHWELL Lord GREVILLE.
ROBERT Lord EBURY.	THOMAS Lord O'HAGAN.
JAMES Lord SKENE. (<i>Earl Fife.</i>)	WILLIAM Lord SANDHURST.
WILLIAM GEORGE Lord CHESHAM.	JOHN ARTHUR DOUGLAS Lord BLOOMFIELD.
FREDERIC Lord CHELMSFORD.	FREDERIC Lord BLACHFORD.
JOHN Lord CHURSTON.	FRANCIS Lord ETTRICK. (<i>Lord Napier.</i>)
JOHN CHARLES Lord STRATHSPEY. (<i>Earl of Seafield.</i>)	JOHN Lord HAMMER.
HENRY Lord LECONFIELD.	ROUNDELL Lord SELBORNE.
WILLIAM TATTON Lord EGERTON.	GAVIN Lord BREADALBANE. (<i>Earl of Breadalbane.</i>)
GODFREY CHARLES Lord TREDEGAR.	JAMES CHARLES HERBERT WELBORE ELLIS Lord SOMERTON. (<i>Earl of Normanton.</i>)
FITZPATRICK HENRY Lord LYVEDEN.	ROBERT ALEXANDER SHAFTO Lord WAGENNEY.
WILLIAM Lord BROUGHAM AND VAUX.	HENRY AUSTIN Lord ABERDARE.
RICHARD LUTTRELL PILKINGTON Lord WESTBURY.	EDWARD GRANVILLE GEORGE Lord LANERTON.
FRANCIS WILLIAM FITZHARDINGE Lord FITZHARDINGE.	JAMES Lord MONCREIFF.
LUKE GEORGE Lord ANNALY.	JOHN DUKE Lord COLERIDGE.
RICHARD MONCKTON Lord HOUGHTON.	WILLIAM Lord EMLEY.
WILLIAM Lord ROMILLY.	CHICHESTER SAMUEL Lord CARLINGFORD.
JAMES Lord BARROGILL. (<i>Earl of Caithness.</i>)	THOMAS FRANCIS Lord COTTESLOE.
THOMAS Lord CLERMONT.	EDMUND Lord HAMMOND.
JAMES HERBERT GUSTAVUS MEREDYTH Lord MEREDYTH. (<i>Lord Athlumney.</i>)	JOHN SOMERSET Lord HAMPTON.
WINDHAM THOMAS Lord KENY. (<i>Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl.</i>)	JOHN Lord WINMARLEIGH.
CHARLES STANLEY Lord MONCK. (<i>Viscount Monck.</i>)	COSPATRICK ALEXANDER Lord DOUGLAS. (<i>Earl of Home.</i>)
JOHN MAJOR Lord HARTISMERE. (<i>Lord Henniker.</i>)	GEORGE Lord RAMSAY. (<i>Earl of Dalhousie.</i>)
EDWARD ROBERT LYTTON Lord LYTTON.	ARTHUR EDWARD HOLLAND GREY Lord GREY DE RADCLIFFE.
HEDWORTH HYLTON Lord HYLTON.	JOHN Lord FERMANAGH. (<i>In another Place as Earl of Erne.</i>)
HUGH HENRY Lord STRATHNAIRN.	WILLIAM RICHARD Lord HARLECH.
EDWARD GORDON Lord PENRHYN.	HENRY GERARD Lord ALINGTON.
GUSTAVUS RUSSELL Lord BRANCOFETH. (<i>Viscount Boyne.</i>)	JOHN Lord TOLLEMACHE.
HUGH MAC CALMONT Lord CAIRNS. (<i>In another Place as Lord High Chancellor.</i>)	ROBERT TOLVER Lord GERARD.
JOHN HENRY Lord KERSTEVEN.	MORTIMER Lord SACKVILLE.
	COLIN Lord BLACKBURN. (<i>A Lord of</i>

LIST OF THE COMMONS.

THE NAMES OF MEMBERS

RETURNED TO SERVE IN THE TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, SUMMONED TO MEET AT WESTMINSTER THE FIFTH DAY OF MARCH, ONE THOUSAND EIGHT HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-FOUR, AS BY THE SEVERAL RETURNS FILED IN THE OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE CROWN IN CHANCERY APPEARS: AMENDED TO THE OPENING OF THE FIFTH SESSION ON THE 17TH DAY OF JANUARY, 1878.

BEDFORD COUNTY.

Sir Richard Thomas Gilpin, bt.
Marquess of Tavistock.
BEDFORD.
Samuel Whitbread,
Frederick Charles Polhill-Turner.

BERKS COUNTY.

Robert Loyd-Lindsay,
John Walter,
Philip Wroughton.
READING.
Sir Francis Henry Goldsmid, bt.,
George John Shaw Lefevre.
WINDSOR (NEW).
Robert Richardson Gardner.
WALLINGFORD.
Edward Wells.
ABINGDON.
John Creemer Clarke.

BUCKINGHAM COUNTY.

Sir Robert Bateson Harvey, bt.,
Nathaniel Grace Lambert,
Hon. Thomas Francis Fremantle.
AYLESBURY.
Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, bt.,
Samuel George Smith.
BUCKINGHAM.
Egerton Hubbard.
MARLOW (GREAT).
Thomas Owen Wethered.
WYCOMBE (CHEPPING).
Hon. William Henry Peregrine Carington.

CAMBRIDGE COUNTY.

Rt. hon. Henry Bouverie
William Brand,
Hon. Eliot Constantine Yorke,
Benjamin Bridges Hunter Rodwell.

CAMBRIDGE (UNIVERSITY)

Rt. hon. Spencer Horatio Walpole,
Alexander James Beresford Beresford Hope.

CAMBRIDGE.

Alfred George Marten,
Patrick Boyle Smollett.

EAST CHESHIRE.

William John Legh,
William Cunliffe Brooks.

MID CHESHIRE.

Hon. Wilbraham Egerton,
Piers Egerton Warburton.

WEST CHESHIRE.

Sir Philip de Malpas Grey Egerton, bt.,
Hon. Wilbraham Frederick Tollemache.

MACCLESFIELD.

William Coare Brocklehurst,
David Chadwick.

STOCKPORT.

Charles Henry Hopwood,
Frederick Pennington.

BIRKENHEAD.

David Mac Iver.

CHESTER.

Henry Cecil Raikes,
Rt. hon. John George Dodson.

CORNWALL COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Sir Colman Rashleigh, bt.,
John Tremayne.

(Western Division.)

Sir John Saint Aubyn, bt.,
Arthur Pendarves Vivian.

TRURO.

Sir Frederick Martin Williams, bt.,
Sir James M'Garel-Hogg.

PENRYN AND FALMOUTH.

David James Jenkins,
Henry Thomas Cole.

BODMIN.

Hon. Edward Frederic Leveson-Gower.

LAUNCESTON.

Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, knt.

LISKEARD.

Leonard Henry Courtney.

HELSTON.

Adolphus William Young.

ST. IVES.

Charles Tyringham Praed.

CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Hon. Charles Wentworth George Howard,
Edward Stafford Howard.

(Western Division.)

Hon. Percy Scawen Wyndham,
Rt. Hon. Jocelyn Francis Lord Muncaster.

List of

{ COMMONS, 1878 }

Members.

CARLISLE.
Robert Ferguson,
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, bt.
COCKERMOUTH.
Isaac Fletcher.
WHITEHAVEN.
Rt. hon. George Augustus
Frederick Cavendish
Bentinck.

DERBY COUNTY.
(*North Derbyshire.*)
Lord George Henry Caven-
dish,
Augustus Peter Arkwright.
(*South Derbyshire.*)
Sir Henry Wilmot, bt.,
Thomas William Evans.
(*East Derbyshire.*)
Hon. Francis Egerton,
Francis Arkwright.
DERBY.
Michael Thomas Bass,
Samuel Plimsoll.

DEVON COUNTY.
(*North Devonshire.*)
Rt. hon. Sir Stafford Henry
Northcote, bt.,
Sir Thomas Dyke Acland,
bt.
(*East Devonshire.*)
Sir Lawrence Palk, bt.,
Sir John Henry Kenna-
way, bt.
(*South Devonshire.*)
Sir Lopes Massey Lopes,
bt.,
John Carpenter Garnier.
TIVERTON.
Sir John Heathcoat Amory,
bt.
Rt. hon. William Nathaniel
Massey.

PLYMOUTH.
Edward Bates,
Sampson Samuel Lloyd.
BARNSTAPLE.
Thomas Cave,
Samuel Danks Waddy.
DEVONPORT.
John Henry Puleston,
George Edward Price.
TAVISTOCK.

DORSET COUNTY.
John Floyer,
Hon. William Henry Berke-
ley Portman,
Hon. Edward Trafalgar
Digby.
WEYMOUTH AND MELCOMBE
REGIS.
Henry Edwards,
Sir Frederick John William
Johnstone, bt.
DORCHESTER.
William Ernest Brymer.
BRIDPORT.
Pandeli Ralli.
SHAFTESBURY.
Vere Fane Benett-Stanford.
WAREHAM.
John Samuel Wanley Saw-
bridge Erle-Drax.
POOLE.
Hon. Anthony Evelyn Mel-
bourne Ashley.

DURHAM COUNTY.
(*Northern Division.*)
Charles Mark Palmer,
Sir George Elliot, bt.
(*Southern Division.*)
Joseph Whitwell Pease,
Frederick Edward Blackett
Beaumont.
DURHAM (CITY).
Farrer Herschell,
Sir Arthur Edward Mid-
dleton, bt.
SUNDERLAND.
Edward Temperley Gour-
ley,
Sir Henry Marshman
Havelock, bt.
GATESHEAD.
Walter Henry James.
SHIELDS (SOUTH).
James Cochran Stevenson.
DARLINGTON.
Edmund Backhouse.
HARTLEPOOL.
Isaac Lowthian Bell.
STOCKTON.
Joseph Dodds.

ESSEX COUNTY.

ESSEX COUNTY—cont.
(*East Essex.*)
James Round,
Samuel Brise Ruggles-
Brise.
(*South Essex.*)
Thomas Charles Baring,
William Thomas Makins.
COLCHESTER.
Alexander Learmonth,
Herbert Bulkeley Praed.
MALDON.
George Montagu Warren
Sandford.
HARWICH.
Henry Jervis White Jervis.

GLOUCESTER COUNTY.
(*Eastern Division.*)
Rt. hon. Sir Michael Ed-
ward Hicks-Beach, bt.
John Reginald Yorke.
(*Western Division.*)
Hon. Randall Edward
Sherborne Plunkett,
Robert Nigel Fitzhardinge
Kingscote.
STROUD.
Alfred John Stanton.
Samuel Stephens Marling.

TEWKESBURY.
William Edwin Price.
CIRENCESTER.
Allen Alexander Bathurst.
CHELTENHAM.
James Tynte Agg-Gardner.
GLOUCESTER.
William Kihigrew Wait,
Charles James Monk.

HEREFORD COUNTY.
Sir Joseph Russell Bailey,
bt.,
Michael Biddulph,
Daniel Peploe Peploe.
HEREFORD.

HERTFORD COUNTY.

Thomas Frederick Halsey,
Abel Smith,
Hon. Henry Frederick
Cowper.

HERTFORD.

Arthur James Balfour.

**HUNTINGDON
COUNTY.**

Edward Fellowes,
Viscount Mandeville.

HUNTINGDON.

Viscount Hinchbrook.

KENT COUNTY.

(*Eastern Division.*)

Edward Leigh Pemberton,
William Deedes.

(*West Kent.*)

Sir Charles Henry Mills, bt.,
John Gilbert Talbot.

(*Mid Kent.*)

Hon. William Archer (Am-
herst) Viscount Holmes-
dale,
Sir William Hart Dyke,
bt.

ROCHESTER.

Philip Wykeham-Martin,
Julian Goldsmid.

MAIDSTONE.

Sir John Lubbock, bt.,
Sir Sydney Hedley Water-
low, bt.

GREENWICH.

Thomas William Boord,
Rt. hon. William Ewart
Gladstone.

CHATHAM.

John Eldon Gorst.

GRAVESEND.

Bedford Clapperton Tre-
velyan Pim.

CANTERBURY.

Henry Alexander Monro
Butler-Johnstone,
Lewis Ashurst Majendie.

LANCASTER COUNTY.

(*North Lancashire.*)

Hon. Frederick Arthur
Stanley,
Thomas Henry Clifton.

(*North-east Lancashire.*)

James Maden Holt,
John Pierce Chamberlain
Starkie.

LANCASTER COUNTY—cont.

(*South-east Lancashire.*)

Hon. Algernon Fulke Eger-
ton,
Edward Hardeastle.

(*South-west Lancashire.*)

Rt. hon. Richard Assheton
Cross,
John Ireland Blackburne.

LIVERPOOL.

Right hon. Dudley Francis
Stuart (Ryder) Viscount
Sandon,

John Torr,
William Rathbone.

MANCHESTER.

Hugh Birley,
Sir Thomas Bazley, bt.,
Jacob Bright.

PRESTON.

Edward Hermon,
Sir John Holker, knt.

WIGAN.

Hon. Lord Lindsay,
Thomas Knowles.

BOLTON.

John Hick,
John Kynaston Cross.

BLACKBURN.

William Edward Briggs.
Daniel Thwaites.

OLDHAM.

Frederick Lowten Spinks,
John Tomlinson Hibbert.

SALFORD.

William Thomas Charley,
Oliver Ormerod Walker.

CLITHEROE.

Ralph Assheton.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

Thomas Walton Mellor.

BURY.

Robert Needham Philips.

ROCHDALE.

Thomas Bayley Potter.

WARRINGTON.

Sir Gilbert Greenall, bt.

BURNLEY.

Peter Rylands.

STALEYBRIDGE.

Tom Harrop Sidebottom.

LEICESTER COUNTY.

(*Northern Division.*)

Rt. hon. Lord John James
Robert Manners,
Samuel William Clowes.

(*Southern Division.*)

Albert Pell,
William Unwin Heygate.

LEICESTER.

Peter Alfred Taylor,
Alexander M'Arthur.

LINCOLN COUNTY.

(*North Lincolnshire.*)

Sir John Dugdale Astley,
bt.,
Rowland Winn.

(*Mid Lincolnshire.*)

Henry Chaplin,
Hon. Edward Stanhope.

(*South Lincolnshire.*)

Sir William Earle Welby-
Gregory, bt.,
Edmund Turnor.

GRANTHAM.

Sir Hugh Arthur Henry
Cholmeley, bt.,
Henry Francis Cockayne
Cust.

BOSTON.

William James Ingram,
John Wingfield Malcolin.

STAMFORD.

Rt. hon. Sir John Charles
Dalrymple Hay, bt.

GRIMSBY (GREAT).

Alfred Mellor Watkin.

LINCOLN.

Edward Chaplin,
Charles Seely.

MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

Lord George Francis Ha-
milton,

Octavius Edward Coope.

WESTMINSTER.

Rt. hon. William Henry
Smith,

Sir Charles Russell, bt.

TOWER HAMLETS.

Charles Thompson Ritchie,
Joseph D'Aguiar Samuda.

HACKNEY.

John Holmes,
Henry Fawcett.

FINSBURY.

William Torrens M'Cul-
lagh Torrens,

Sir Andrew Lusk, bt.

MARYLEBONE.

William Forsyth,
Sir Thomas Chambers, knt.

OHELSEA.

Sir Charles Wentworth
Dilke, bt.,
William Gordon.

List of

{COMMONS, 1878}

Members.

LONDON (UNIVERSITY).
Rt. hon. Robert Lowe.
LONDON.
William James Richmond
Cotton,
Philip Twells,
Rt. hon. John Gellibrand
Hubbard,
Rt. hon. George Joachim
Goschen.

MONMOUTH COUNTY.
Hon. Lord Henry Richard
Charles Somerset,
Hon. Frederick Courtenay
Morgan.

MONMOUTH.
Thomas Cordes.

NORFOLK COUNTY.
(*West Norfolk.*)
Sir William Bagge, bt.,
George William Pierre-
pont Bentinck.

(*North Norfolk.*)
Sir Edmund Henry Knowles
Lacon, bt.,
James Duff.

(*South Norfolk.*)
Clare Sewell Read,
Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, bt.

LYNN REGIS.
Hon. Robert Bourke,
Lord Claud John Hamilton.

NORWICH.
Jeremiah James Colman,

NORTHAMPTON
COUNTY.

(*Northern Division.*)
Sackville George Stopford-
Sackville,
Hon. Lord Burghley.

(*Southern Division.*)
Sir Rainald Knightley, bt.,
Fairfax William Cart-
wright.

PETERBOROUGH.
Thompson Hankey,
George Hammond Whalley.

NORTHAMPTON.
Pickering Phipps,
Charles George Mere-
wether.

NORTHUMBERLAND
COUNTY.

(*Northern Division.*)
Rt. hon. Henry George
(Percy) Earl Percy,
Sir Matthew White Ridley,
bt.

NORTHUMBERLAND COUNTY
—*cont.*

(*Southern Division.*)
Wentworth Blackett Beau-
mont,
Lord Eslington.

MORPETH.
Thomas Burt.

TYNEMOUTH.
Thomas Eustace Smith.

NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.
Joseph Cowen,
Charles Frederick Hamond.

BERWICK-UPON-TWEED.
Sir Dudley Coutts Marjori-
banks, bt.,
David Milne Home.

NOTTINGHAM
COUNTY.

(*Northern Division.*)
Frederick Chatfield Smith,
Viscount Galway.

(*Southern Division.*)
Thomas Blackburne Thoro-
ton Hildyard,
George Storer.

NEWARK-UPON-TRENT.
Thomas Earp,
Samuel Boteler Bristowe.

RETFORD (EAST).
Francis John Savile Fol-
jambe,
William Beckett Deni-
son.

NOTTINGHAM.
William Evelyn Denison,
Saul Isaac.

OXFORD COUNTY.

Rt. hon. Joseph Warner
Henley,
John Sidney North,
William Cornwallis Cart-
wright.

OXFORD (UNIVERSITY).
Rt. hon. Gathorne Hardy,
Rt. hon. John Robert Mow-
bray.

OXFORD (CITY).
Sir William George Gran-
ville Venables Vernon-
Harcourt, knt.,
Alexander William Hall.

WOODSTOCK.
Lord Randolph Henry
Spencer Churchill.
BANBURY.
Bernhard Samuelson.

RUTLAND COUNTY.
Rt. hon. Gerard James Noel,
George Henry Finch.

SALOP COUNTY.
(*Northern Division.*)
Hon. George Cecil Orlando
(Bridgeman) Viscount
Newport,
Stanley Leighton.

(*Southern Division.*)
John Edmund Severne,
Sir Baldwyn Leighton, bt.

SHREWSBURY.
Charles Cecil Cotes,
Henry Robertson.
WENLOCK.
Alexander Hargreaves
Brown,
Cecil Theodore Weld
Forester.

LUDLOW.
Hon. George Herbert
Windsor Windsor-Clive.
BRIDGNORTH.
William Henry Foster.

SOMERSET COUNTY.
(*East Somerset.*)
Ralph Shuttleworth Allen,
Richard Bright.

(*Mid Somerset.*)
Richard Horner Paget,
Ralph Neville Grenville.

(*West Somerset.*)
Hon. Arthur Wellington
Alexander Nelson Hood,
Vaughan Hanning
Vaughan-Lee.

BATH.
Arthur Divett Hayter,
Nathaniel George Philips
Bousfield.

TAUNTON.
Alexander Charles Bar-
clay,
Sir Henry James, knt.

FROME.
Henry Bernhard Samuel-
son.

BRISTOL.
Kirkman Daniel Hodgson,
Samuel Morley.

List of

{COMMONS, 1878}

Members.

**SOUTHAMPTON
COUNTY.**

(Northern Division.)

Rt. hon. George Selater-
Booth,
William Wither Bramston
Beach.

(Southern Division.)

Lord Henry John Montagu-
Douglas-Scott,
Rt. hon. William Francis
Cowper-Temple.

WINCHESTER.

William Barrow Simonds,
Arthur Robert Naghten.

PORTSMOUTH.

Sir James Dalrymple Horn
Elphinstone, bt.,
Hon. Thomas Charles Bruce,

LYMINGTON.

Edmund Hegan Kennard.
ANDOVER.

Henry Wellesley.

CHRISTCHURCH.

Sir Henry Drummond
Walf.

PETERSFIELD.

Hon. Sydney Hylton Jolliffe.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Sir Frederick Perkins, knt.,
Rt. hon. Russell Gurney.

STAFFORD COUNTY.

(North Staffordshire.)

Rt. hon. Sir Charles Bowyer
Adderley, bt.,

Colin Minton Campbell.

(West Staffordshire.)

Alexander Staveley Hill,
Francis Monckton.

(East Staffordshire.)

Samuel Charles Allsopp,
Michael Arthur Bass.

STAFFORD.

Thomas Salt,
Alexander Macdonald.

TAMWORTH.

Rt. hon. Sir Robert Peel, bt.,
Robert William Hanbury.

NEWCASTLE-UNDER-LYME.

Sir Edmund Buckley, bt.,
William Shepherd Allen.

WOLVERHAMPTON.

Rt. hon. Charles Pelham
Villiers,

Thomas Matthias Weguelin.

STOKE-UPON-TRENT.

Robert Heath,
Edward Vaughan Kenealy.

WALSALL.

Sir Charles Forster, bt.

WEDNESBURY.

Alexander Brogden.

LICHFIELD.

Richard Dyott.

SUFFOLK COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

Frederick Brook (Thellus-
son) Lord Bendlesham,
Frederick St. John Newde-
gate Barne.

(Western Division.)

Windsor Parker,
Thomas Thornhill.

IPSWICH.

Thomas Clement Cobbold,
James Redfoord Bulwer.
BURY ST. EDMUNDS.

Edward Greene,
Lord Francis Hervey.
EYE.

Rt. hon. George William
Viscount Barrington.

SURREY COUNTY.

(East Surrey.)

James Watney,
William Grantham.

(Mid Surrey.)

Sir Henry William Peek, bt.
Sir James John Trevor
Lawrence, bt.

(West Surrey.)

George Cubitt,
Lee Steere.

SOUTHWARK.

John Locke,
Francis Marcus Beresford.

LAMBETH.

Sir James Clarke Lawrence,
bt.

William McArthur.

GUILDFORD.

Denzil Roberts Onslow.

SUSSEX COUNTY.

(Eastern Division.)

George Burrow Gregory,
Montagu David Scott.

(Western Division.)

Sir Walter Barttelot Bart-
telot, bt.,

Hon. Charles Henry (Gor-
don Lennox) Earl of
March.

SHOREHAM (NEW).

Rt. hon. Stephen Cave,
Sir Walter Wm. Burrell, bt.

BRIGHTHELMSTONE.

James Lloyd Ashbury,
Charles Cameron Shute.

CHICHESTER.

Rt. hon. Lord Henry George
Charles Gordon Lennox.

LEWES.

William Langham Christie.

HORSHAM.

James Clifton Brown.
MIDHURST.

Sir Henry Thurston Hol-
land, bt.

WARWICK COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

Charles Newdigate Newde-
gate,

William Bromley Daven-
port.

(Southern Division.)

Hugh (de Grey Seymour)
Earl of Yarmouth.

Sir John Eardley Eardley
Wilmot, bt.

BIRMINGHAM.

Philip Henry Muntz,
Rt. hon. John Bright,

Joseph Chamberlain.
WARWICK.

George William John Rep-
ton,

Arthur Wellesley Peel.
COVENTRY.

Henry William Eaton,

Sir Henry Mather Jackson,
bt.

**WESTMORELAND
COUNTY.**

Hon. Thomas (Taylour)
Earl of Bective,

Hon. William Lowther.
KENDAL.

John Whitwell.

(WIGHT) ISLE OF.

Alexander Dundas Wishart
Ross Baillie Cochrane.

NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT.
Charles Cavendish Clifford.

WILTS COUNTY.

(Northern Division.)

George Thomas John Buck-
nall Estcourt,

Sir George Samuel Jen-
kinson, bt.

(Southern Division.)

Rt. hon. Lord Henry Frede-
rick Thynne,

Hon. (William Pleydell
Bouverie) Viscount
Folkestone.

NEW SARUM (SALISBURY).
Granville Richard Ryder,

John Alfred Lush.

CRICKLADE.

Sir Daniel Gooch, bt.,

Ambrose Lethbridge God-
dard.

List of

(COMMONS, 1878)

Members.

DEVIZES.
Sir Thomas Bateson, bt.
MARLBOROUGH.
Rt. hon. Lord Ernest Augustus Charles Brudenell-Bruce.
CHIPPENHAM.
Gabriel Goldney.
CALNE.
Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice.
MALMESBURY.
Walter Powell.
WESTBURY.
Abraham Laverton.
WILTON.
Hon. Sidney Herbert.

WORCESTER COUNTY.

(*Eastern Division.*)
Henry Allsopp,
Thomas Eades Walker.
(*Western Division.*)
Frederick Winn Knight,
Sir Edmund Anthony
Harley Lechmere, bt.
EVESHAM.
James Bourne.
DROITWICH.
John Corbett.
BEWDLEY.
Charles Harrison.
DUDLEY.
Henry Brinsley Sheridan.
KIDDERMINSTER.
Sir William Augustus
Fraser, bt.
WORCESTER.
Alexander Clunes Sherriff,
Thomas Rowley Hill.

YORK COUNTY.

(*North Riding.*)
Rt. hon. William Reginald
(Duncombe) Viscount
Helmsley,
Frederick Aclom Milbank.
(*East Riding.*)
Christopher Sykes,
William Henry Harrison
Broadley.
(*West Riding, Northern Division.*)
Lord Frederick Charles

YORK COUNTY—cont.

LEEDS.
William St. James Wheelhouse,
Robert Tennant,
John Barran.
PONTEFRAC.
Rt. hon. Hugh Oulling
Eardley Childers,
Samuel Waterhouse.
SCARBOROUGH.
Sir Charles Legard, bt.,
Sir Harcourt Vanden Bempde Johnstone, bt.
SHEFFIELD.
John Arthur Roebuck,
Anthony John Mundella.
BRADFORD.
Rt. hon. William Edward
Forster,
Henry William Ripley.
HALIFAX.
Rt. hon. James Stansfeld,
John Dyson Hutchinson.
KNARESBOROUGH.
Basil Thomas Woodd.
MALTON.
Hon. Charles William
Wentworth-Fitzwilliam.
RICHMOND.
Hon. John Charles Dundas.
RIPON.
Rt. hon. Frederick Oliver
(Robinson) Earl de Grey.
HUDDERSFIELD.
Edward Aldam Leatham.
THIRSK.
Sir William Payne Gallwey, bt.
NORTHALLERTON.
George William Elliot.
WAKEFIELD.
Thomas Kemp Sanderson.
WHITBY.
William Henry Gladstone.
YORK CITY.
George Leeman,
James Lowther.
MIDDLESBOROUGH.
Henry William Ferdinand
Bolckow.
DEWSBURY.
John Simon

BARONS OF THE CINQUE PORTS—cont.

HASTINGS.
Thomas Brassey,
Sir Ughtred James Kay-Shuttleworth, bt.
SANDWICH.
Henry Arthur Brassey,
Rt. hon. Edward Hugessen
Knatchbull-Hugessen.
HYTHE.
Sir Edward William Watkin.
RYE.
John Stewart Hardy.

WALES.

ANGLESEA COUNTY.
Richard Davies.
BEAUMARIS.
Morgan Lloyd.

BRECKNOCK COUNTY.

William Fuller Maitland.
BRECKNOCK.
James Price William
Gwynne Holford.

CARDIGAN COUNTY.

Thomas Edward Lloyd.
CARDIGAN, &c.
David Davies.

CARMARTHEN COUNTY.

Hon. (Frederick Archibald
Vaughan Campbell) Viscount Emlyn,
John Jones.
CARMARTHEN, &c.
Sir Emile Algernon Arthur
Keppell Cowell Stepney,
bt.

CARNARVON COUNTY.

Hon. George Sholto Douglas
Pennant.
CARNARVON, &c.
William Bulkeley Hughes.

DENBIGH COUNTY.

Sir Watkin Williams Wynn,
bt.,
George Osborne Morgan.
DENBIGH, &c.
Watkin Williams.

List of

{COMMONS, 1876}

Members.

GLAMORGAN COUNTY—cont.
MERTHYR TYDVIL.

Henry Richard,
Richard Fothergill.
CARDIFF, &c.

James Frederick Dudley
Crichton-Stuart.
SWANSEA, &c.
Lewis Llewelyn Dillwyn.

MERIONETH COUNTY.
Samuel Holland.

**MONTGOMERY
COUNTY.**

Charles Watkin Williams
Wynn.
MONTGOMERY, &c.
Hon. Frederick Stephen Archibald Hanbury-Tracy.

PEMBROKE COUNTY.
James Bevan Bowen.

PEMBROKE, &c.
Edward James Reed, C.B.
HAVERFORDWEST.
Hon. William Baron Kensington.

RADNOR COUNTY.

Hon. Arthur Walsh.
NEW RADNOR.
Rt. hon. Spencer Compton
(Cavendish) Marquess of
Hartington.

SCOTLAND.

ABERDEENSHIRE.
(*East Aberdeenshire.*)
Sir Alexander Hamilton
Gordon, knt.

(*West Aberdeenshire.*)
Lord William Douglas
Cope Gordon.

ABERDEEN.
John Farley Leith.

ARGYLE.
John Douglas Sutherland
(Campbell) Marquess
of Lorne.

AYR.
(*North Ayrshire.*)
Roger Montgomerie.

(*South Ayrshire.*)
Claud Alexander.
**KILMARNOCK, RENFREW,
&c.**

James Fortescue Harrison.
BURGHES OF AYR, &c.
Sir William James Mont-
gomery Cuninghame, bt.
BANFF.

Robert William Duff.
BERWICK.

Hon. Ebt. Baillie-Hamilton
BUTE.
Charles Dalrymple.

CAITHNESSSHIRE.
Sir John George Tolle-
mache Sinclair, bt.
WICK, KIRK WALL, &c.

John Pender.
**CLACKMANNAN AND
KINROSS.**

Rt. hon. William Patrick
Adam.

DUMBARTON.
Archibald Orr Ewing.
DUMFRIESSHIRE.

John James Hope-John-
stone.
DUMFRIES, &c.
Ernest Noel.

EDINBURGHSHIRE.
Rt. hon. William Henry
(Montagu Douglas Scott)
Earl of Dalkeith.
EDINBURGH.

Duncan McLaren,
James Cowan.
**UNIVERSITIES OF EDIN-
BURGH AND ST. ANDREWS.**

Rt. hon. Lyon Playfair.
BURGHES OF LEITH, &c.
Donald Robert Macgregor.
ELGIN AND NAIRN.

Hon. Alexander William
George (Duff) Viscount
Macduff.

BURGHES OF ELGIN, &c.
Mountstuart Elphinstone
Grant Duff.

FALKIRK, &c. BURGHS.
John Ramsay.
FIFE.

Sir Robert Anstruther, bt.
BURGHES OF ST. ANDREWS.
Edward Ellice.

KIRKCALDY, DYSART, &c.
Sir George Campbell, knt.
FORFAR.

James William Barclay.
TOWN OF DUNDEE.

James Yeaman,
Edward Jenkins.
MONTROSE, &c.

Rt. hon. William Edward
Baxter.

HADDINGTON.
Hon. Francis Wemyss
(Charteris) Lord Eloho.
HADDINGTON BURGHS.

Sir Henry Robert Fer-
guson Davie, bt.
INVERNESS.

Donald Cameron.
INVERNESS, &c.
Charles Fraser Mackintosh.
KINCARDINESHIRE.

Sir George Balfour, K.C.B.
KIRKCUDBRIGHT.
John Maitland.

LANARK.

(*North Lanarkshire.*)
Sir Thomas Edward Cole-
brooke, bt.

(*South Lanarkshire.*)
Sir Windham Charles James
Carmichael - Anstruther,
bt.

GLASGOW.

Charles Cameron,
George Anderson,
Alexander Whitelaw.

**UNIVERSITIES OF GLAS-
GOW AND ABERDEEN.**
Rt. hon. William Watson.
LINLITHGOW.

Peter McLagan.
ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.
Samuel Laing.

PEEBLES AND SELKIRK.
Sir Graham Graham Mont-
gomery, bt.

PERTH.
Sir William Sterling Max-
well, bt.

TOWN OF PERTH.
Hon. Arthur FitzGerald
Kinnaird.

RENFREWSHIRE.
William Mure.

PAISLEY.
William Holms.

GREENOCK.
James Johnstone Grieve.

ROSS AND CROMARTY.
Alexander Matheson.
ROXBURGH.

Sir George Henry Scott
Douglas, bt.

HAWICK, SELKIRK, &c.
George Otto Trevelyan.

STIRLING.
Sir William Edmonstone,
bt.

STIRLING, &c.
Henry Campbell-Banner-
man.

SUTHERLAND.
Hon. (Cromartie Leveson
Gower) Marquess of
Stafford.

WIGTON.
Robert Vans Agnew.
WIGTON, &c. BURGHS.
Mark John Stewart.

IRELAND.

ANTRIM COUNTY.

James Chaine,
Hon. Edward O'Neill.
BELFAST.
James Porter Corry,
William Johnstone.

List of

(COMMONS, 1878)

Members.

LISBURN.
Sir Richard Wallace, bt.
CARRICKFERGUS.
Marriott Robert Dalway.
ARMAGH COUNTY.
Edward Wingfield Verner,
Maxwell Charles Close.
ARMAGH (CITY).
George De La Poer Beresford.
CARLOW COUNTY.
Henry Bruen,
Arthur MacMorrough
Kavanagh.
CARLOW (BOROUGH).
Henry Owen Lewis.
CAVAN COUNTY.
Charles Joseph Fay,
Joseph Gillis Biggar.
CLARE COUNTY.
Rt. hon. Lord Francis
Conyngham,
Sir Bryan O'Loghlen, bt.
ENNIS.
William Stacpoole.
CORK COUNTY.
McCarthy Downing,
William Shaw.
CORK (CITY).
Nicholas Daniel Murphy.
William Goulding.
BANDON BRIDGE.
Alexander Swanston.
YOUGHAL.
Sir Joseph Neale McKenna,
knt.
KINSALE.
Eugene Collins.
MALLOW.
John George MacCarthy.
DONEGAL COUNTY.
Hon. James (Hamilton)
Marquess of Hamilton,
William Wilson.
DOWN COUNTY.
Hon. Lord Arthur Edwin
Hill-Trevor,
James Sharnan Crawford.
NEWRY.
William Whitworth.
DOWNPATRICK.
John Mulholland.
DUBLIN COUNTY.
Ion Trant Hamilton,
Rt. hon. Thomas Edward
Taylor.
DUBLIN (CITY).
Sir Arthur Edward Guin-
ness, bt.,
Maurice Brooks.
DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.
Hon. David Rbt. Plunket,
Rt. hon. Edward Gibson.

FERMANAGH.
William Humphrys Arch-
dall,
Hon. Henry Arthur Cole.
ENNISKILLEN.
Hon. John Henry (Crich-
ton) Viscount Crichton.
GALWAY COUNTY.
John Philip Nolan,
Mitchell Henry.
GALWAY (BOROUGH).
George Morris,
Michael Francis Ward.
KERRY.
Henry Arthur Herbert,
Rowland Ponsonby Blen-
nerhassett.
TRALEE.
Daniel O'Donoghue, (The
O'Donoghue).
KILDARE.
Charles Henry Meldon,
Rt. hon. William Henry
Ford Cogan.
KILKENNY.
George Leopold Bryan,
Patrick Martin.
KILKENNY (CITY).
Benjamin Whitworth.
KING'S COUNTY.
Sir Patrick O'Brien, bt.,
David Sherlock.
LEITRIM COUNTY.
John Brady,
Francis O'Beirne.
LIMERICK COUNTY.
William Henry O'Sullivan,
Edmund John Synan.
LIMERICK (CITY).
Isaac Butt,
Richard O'Shaughnessy.
LONDONDERRY COUNTY.
Richard Smyth,
Rt. hon. Hugh Law.
COLERAINE.
Daniel Taylor.
LONDONDERRY (CITY).
Charles Edward Lewis.
LONGFORD COUNTY.
Myles William O'Reilly,
George Errington.
LOUTH COUNTY.
Alexander Martin Sullivan,
George Harley Kirk.
DUNDALK.
Philip Callan.
DROGHEDA.
William Hagarty O'Leary.
MAYO COUNTY.
George Ekins Browne,
John O'Connor Power.

MEATH COUNTY.
Nicholas Ennis,
Charles Stewart Parnell.
MONAGHAN COUNTY.
Sir John Leslie, bt.,
Sewallis Evelyn Shirley.
QUEEN'S COUNTY.
Kenelm Thomas Digby,
Edmund Dease.
PORTARLINGTON.
Lionel Seymour William
Dawson-Damer.
ROSCOMMON COUNTY.
Charles Owen O'Connor (The
O'Connor Don),
Hon. Charles French.
SLIGO COUNTY.
Denis Maurice O'Connor.
Edward Robert King Har-
man.
TIPPERARY COUNTY.
Stephen Moore,
Edmond Dwyer Gray.
CLONMEL.
Arthur John Moore. .
TYRONE COUNTY.
John William Ellison Ma-
cartney,
Hon. Henry William Lowry-
Corry.
DUNGANNON.
Thomas Alexander Dick-
son.
WATERFORD COUNTY.
Lord Charles William De
la Poer Beresford,
James Delahunty.
DUNGARVAN.
Frank Hugh O'Donnell.
WATERFORD (CITY).
Richard Power,
Purcell O'Gorman.
WESTMEATH COUNTY.
Patrick James Smyth,
Rt. hon. Lord Robert Mon-
tagu.
ATHLONE.
Edward Sheil.
WEXFORD COUNTY.
Sir George Bowyer, bt.,
Keyes O'Clery.
WEXFORD (BOROUGH).
William Archer Redmond.
NEW ROSS.
John Dunbar.
WICKLOW COUNTY.
William Richard O'Byrne,
William Wentworth Fitz-
william Dick.

HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

FIFTH SESSION OF THE TWENTY-FIRST PARLIAMENT OF THE
UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
APPOINTED TO MEET 5 MARCH, 1874, AND THENCE CONTINUED
TILL 17 JANUARY, 1878, IN THE FORTY-FIRST YEAR OF THE
REIGN OF

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIRST VOLUME OF THE SESSION.

HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 17th January, 1878.

~~~~~  
**THE PARLIAMENT**, which had been  
Prorogued in the usual form from  
the 14th day of August, to the 30th day  
of October; thence to the 19th day of  
December; thence to the 17th day of  
January, 1878; was now commanded to  
assemble on that day for Despatch of  
Business by Proclamation, as follows:—

*“BY THE QUEEN—A PROCLAMATION.*

*“VICTORIA R.*

*“Whereas our Parliament stands prorogued  
to Thursday, the 17th day of January next, we,  
by and with the advice of our Privy Council,  
hereby issue our Royal Proclamation, and pub-  
lish and declare our Royal will and pleasure  
that the said Parliament shall, on the said*

*VOL. CCXXXVII. [THIRD SERIES.]*

Thursday, the 17th day of January, 1878,  
assemble and be holden for the despatch of  
divers urgent and important affairs; and the  
Lords spiritual and temporal, and the knights,  
citizens, and burgesses, and the Commissioners  
for shires and burghs of the House of Commons,  
are hereby required and commanded to give  
their attendance accordingly at Westminster,  
on the said Thursday, the 17th day of January,  
1878.

*“Given at our Court at Windsor, this 22nd  
day of December, in the year of our Lord  
1877, and in the 41st year of our reign.*

*“God save the Queen.”*

And the PARLIAMENT having met  
accordingly, the Session was opened by  
Commission.

The HOUSE OF LORDS being met;

THE LORD CHANCELLOR ac-  
quainted the House,

B

"That it not being convenient for Her Majesty to be personally present here this day, She has been pleased to cause a Commission under the Great Seal to be prepared, in order to the holding of this Parliament."

Then Five of the LORDS COMMISSIONERS—namely, The LORD CHANCELLOR; The LORD PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL (The Duke of Richmond and Gordon); The LORD CHAMBERLAIN (The Marquess of Hertford); The LORD STEWARD (Earl Beauchamp); and The LORD SKELMERSDALE—being in their Robes, and seated on a Form placed between the Throne and the Woolsack, commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to let the Commons know "The Lords Commissioners desire their immediate attendance in this House, to hear the Commission read."

And the COMMONS being at the Bar, with their Speaker:—The Commission was read by the Clerk:—Then

#### THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR *delivered* HER MAJESTY'S SPEECH to both Houses of Parliament, as follows:—

*"My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I HAVE thought fit to assemble you before the usual period of your meeting in order that you might become acquainted with the efforts I have made to terminate the war now devastating Eastern Europe and Armenia, and that I might have the advice and assistance of my Parliament in the present state of public affairs.

"You are aware that, after having unsuccessfully striven to avert that war, I declared my intention to observe neutrality in a contest which I lamented, but had failed to prevent, so long as the interests of my Empire, as defined by my Government, were

for promoting a peaceful settlement of the questions at issue between the belligerent Powers.

"The successes obtained by the Russian arms, both in Europe and Asia, convinced the Porte that it should endeavour to bring to a close hostilities which were causing immense sufferings to its subjects. The Government of the Sultan accordingly addressed to the Neutral Powers, parties to the Treaties relating to the Turkish Empire, an appeal for their good offices.

"It did not, however, appear to the majority of the Powers thus addressed that they could usefully comply with the request, and they communicated this opinion to the Porte.

"The Porte then determined on making a separate appeal to my Government, and I at once agreed to make an inquiry of the Emperor of Russia whether His Imperial Majesty would entertain overtures for peace.

"The Emperor expressed, in reply, his earnest desire for peace, and stated, at the same time, his opinion as to the course which should be pursued for its attainment.

"Upon this subject communications have taken place between the Governments of Russia and Turkey through my good offices, and I earnestly trust that they may lead to a pacific solution of the points at issue and to a termination of the war. No efforts on my part will be wanting to promote that result.

"Hitherto, so far as the war has

to respect them, so far as it may be in their power. So long as these conditions are not infringed, my attitude will continue the same. But I cannot conceal from myself that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution. Such measures could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation, and I trust to the liberality of my Parliament to supply the means which may be required for that purpose.

"Papers on these affairs will be forthwith laid before you.

"My relations with all foreign Powers continue to be friendly.

"I am thankful that the terrible famine which has ravaged Southern India is nearly at an end. Strenuous and successful exertions have been made by my Local Governments to relieve the sufferings of the population, and in that duty they have been powerfully seconded by the liberal aid of my people at home and in my Colonies. I have directed that an inquiry should be made into the measures most proper to diminish the danger of such calamities for the future.

"The condition of native affairs in South Africa has of late caused me some anxiety, and has demanded the watchful attention of my Government. I have thought it expedient to reinforce my troops in that part of my Empire. I trust that a peaceable and satisfactory settlement of all differences may be shortly obtained.

*"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"I have directed the Estimates of the year to be prepared and presented to you without delay.

*"My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"A Bill will be laid before you upon the subject of County Government, and your attention will be again called to the consolidation of the Factory Law, and to the Summary Jurisdiction of Magistrates.

"You will be asked at an early period of the Session to take into your consideration a Bill on the subject of Cattle Disease in this country.

"The questions of Scottish Roads and Bridges, and of Endowed Schools and Hospitals in Scotland, will also be brought before you.

"Your attention will be invited to the subject of Intermediate Education in Ireland, and to the Grand Jury Law in that country.

"Among other measures for the amendment of the Law, a Bill will be laid before you to simplify and express in one Act the whole Law and Procedure relating to Indictable Offences.

"I commend these subjects to your most careful consideration, and I pray that the blessing of the Almighty may attend and guide your deliberations."

Then the Commons withdrew.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

PRAYERS.

ROLL OF THE LORDS—Garter King of Arms attending, *delivered* at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Fifth Session of the Twenty-first Parliament of the United Kingdom: The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

Writs and Returns electing the Earl of Caledon a Representative Peer for Ireland in the room of the late Lord Headley, deceased, with the Certificate of the Clerk of the Crown in Ireland annexed thereto: *Delivered* (on oath), and Certificate read.



Lord Mowbray—The House being informed that his Lordship was attending with his writ of summons, the Lord Chancellor explained to the House his Lordship's descent: Then his Lordship was called in, and took the Oath; and then took his place on the Baron's Bench, next below the Lord de Ros.

The Earl of Saint Germans—Sat first in Parliament after the death of his Father.

SELECT VESTRIES — Bill, *pro forma*, read 1<sup>a</sup>.

#### THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

#### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

The QUEEN'S SPEECH reported by The LORD CHANCELLOR.

THE EARL OF WHARNCLIFFE, in rising to move that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty in answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, said: My Lords, although I have many years had the honour of a seat in this House, I have not often—indeed, I think only once before—taken part in your Lordships' debates. It is, therefore, with diffidence, and even anxiety, that I rise to address your Lordships; for certainly it has rarely happened that one has risen on a similar occasion under more momentous conditions than those under which your Lordships have met at the present time. The country is, not exactly trembling—that would be too strong an expression—on the balance of war; but it is impossible not to recognize the possibility that we may at some period be drawn into the conflict now raging in the East. Other wars have raged within recent years. There was the Indian Mutiny—in that we were alone concerned—the struggle was between England and the rebellious subjects of the Crown, and there was no pretext for the intervention of any other Power. Other wars there have been between

ing involved. We are standing in the face of a great danger, which, instead of diminishing, is becoming greater day by day. It is natural that the country should feel great interest in the subject, and that Her Majesty's Government should watch attentively the signs of danger—that they should note the spread of the area of war and the advance of one of the combatants upon the capital of the other. We know that there are many who do not agree in the attitude of the Government, and there have been many and angry criticisms upon the conduct of Her Majesty's Ministry. I do not propose to follow in detail the various steps taken by the Government since the commencement of the war; but I think your Lordships will agree with me that nothing could have been more satisfactory, under the circumstances, than the conduct of the Leader of the Opposition, or the manner in which the Government has dealt with the various difficulties that have arisen. Again, those Members of the opposite Parties who have a responsible position—those who are the recognized Leaders of their respective Parties—have been very cautious in their language since the outbreak of the war. But when I come to those who have no responsible position, I am obliged to say that the language used by many of them is not such as ought to characterize the Members of a fair Opposition. They assumed facts which did not exist, and then based arguments and drew adverse conclusions on their assumptions. They suggested "a split in the Cabinet," and assumed that Her Majesty's Ministers were divided into various sections, which held various and antagonistic opinions. They assumed that on the part of the Government there were dark designs that had not been expressed in the Ministerial utterances. An agitation was set on foot and political meetings were held—sometimes in buildings which had been erected for very different purposes. At these meetings the Government were censured for certain opinions which it was assumed they were entertaining, and as

do with that object he would be sure to displease somebody. Then quite recently a "Conference" had been held, and a manifesto containing a declaration of opinion had been issued, with the object of to a certain extent influencing the policy of Her Majesty's Government. But such proceedings will not bear examination for a moment. In estimating the conduct of the Government we must be guided by the test of certain touchstones, and if your Lordships will refer to the utterances of the different Members of the Government, it will be found that they are all consistent in their statements of their policy. If your Lordships will refer to the utterances of the Home Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretary for War, and the Secretary for the Colonies, it will be found that they are all agreed in the definition of the Prime Minister that the position of this country is one of "conditional neutrality." When, therefore, the country is agitated in the manner which I have described—when Her Majesty's Ministers have been thus continuously addressed by public speakers in words of remonstrance and warning—notwithstanding that they have been consistent in the declarations of their policy, the necessary result must be to weaken the influence of this country abroad. My Lords, I have taken some pains to ascertain what really is the opinion of the country; and I am convinced that there is a real feeling of distrust of Russia—that there is a great admiration of the patriotism of the Turkish people, and of the gallantry and heroism of the Turkish troops—that there is a complete dislike of the ruling class of Turkey—but that there is throughout the country the greatest reluctance to be drawn into a war, and at the same time a feeling that we should stand firm on those points which have been enumerated by Her Majesty's Government, and which are very often and very simply described as "British interests." My Lords, I admit I am one of those who think that it is only when its sole interests are distinctly and materially involved that any country can be justified in resorting to the extreme measure of war. That being so, how are we to manage so as to avoid the terrible alternative of a war with Russia? The points upon which our Government have warned Russia are three. We

have defined the three points in which it is to be considered that "British interests" are affected. We have again and again warned the Porte that it must not expect assistance from us, and ever since the war broke out Her Majesty's Government have declared their great desire for peace. We are not, therefore, likely to be called upon for a war unless in the defence of those "British interests" which have been defined by Her Majesty's Government. The "British interests" which are not to be touched without the consent of England are the Suez Canal, Constantinople, and the passage of the Straits. In the Speech from the Throne Her Majesty says—

"Hitherto, so far as the war has proceeded, neither of the belligerents has infringed the conditions on which my neutrality is founded, and I willingly believe that both parties are desirous to respect them, so far as it may be in their power. So long as these conditions are not infringed my attitude will continue the same."

Her Majesty, however, goes on to say—

"But I cannot conceal from myself that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution."

I think your Lordships must fully concur in that latter sentence, and, that being so, Her Majesty's Advisers could not have taken any other course than that they have now taken—an appeal to Parliament in order that provision may be made against eventualities. When a great nation like England takes up the position we have taken—gives warnings to another country, and sees a possibility that those warnings may be disregarded—how can its Government avoid taking steps to support what they have said? If a country uses words which it is not prepared to back up, it will occupy a much lower position in the eyes of the world than it did before. I cannot think that at the present moment there is any danger to the Suez Canal, though no one can say that such danger may not arise if the war continue. At present the whole danger lies in respect of Constantinople and the passage of the Dardanelles. It is agreed by the highest authorities that Constantinople ought never to be in the hands of any but a neutral Power. If it were, there could only

be one course open to this country—that of keeping an increased Fleet in the Mediterranean, which would, of course, involve a very much increased charge to the taxpayers of this country. Not only would the possession of Constantinople by Russia be dangerous to us in an international sense, but I do not think it would be favourable to the development of free trade or of British commerce. There has been much discussion and difference of opinion as to the effect which the possession of Constantinople by such a Power as Russia would have on our communications with India. Very high authorities—among them, I believe, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India—are of opinion that the importance of the occupation of Constantinople has been overrated in that respect. Well, however that may be, there is an aspect of the question which ought not to be lost sight of. The agitation now felt in India as regards the issues of the war and the attitude of England is unprecedented; and I am assured from reliable private sources that the Native Princes are looking closely to the events of the present time in order that they may be able to estimate the power of this country in respect of our great Indian Empire. Hostile Chiefs, who hope to, at some time or other, set up independent Principalities, are looking forward to any events which may result in lowering the power and the reputation of England. I rejoice, then, that in Her Majesty's Speech the world has evidence that Her Majesty's Ministers have made up their minds to boldly face the difficulties of the situation, and to propose such measures—unpalatable though for the moment they may be—as may be necessary to sustain the interests, the welfare, and the prosperity of the British Empire. I still hope that there will be no occasion for action on the part of England. Austria, it is understood, has declared her adherence to the Treaty of Paris; and the previous character of the Czar entitles him to as much trust in his declarations as the extraordinary difficulties of his position will allow, and that he will not go back from his pledged word as to the conditions in which English interests are declared to be involved. Therefore I trust there will be no necessity for our intervention. My Lords, Her Majesty in Her Gracious Speech then refers to the

condition of Native affairs in South Africa—I trust that the hope expressed by Her Majesty of the peaceable and satisfactory settlement of this question may be realized:—And on this point may I be allowed to say that it has always struck me that it will be necessary in regard to that country to do as we did in the olden days in regard to other colonies—namely, to organize local forces for the protection of the States. My Lords, Her Majesty also refers in Her Gracious Speech to the terrible Famine which has ravaged Southern India. I rejoice that that great calamity is nearly at an end; and I sincerely trust that the Commission that is to be appointed will be able to discover, in the investigation of the causes of the present Famine, the means of preventing these deplorable calamities in future. The subject is a very difficult one, and it is to be regretted that one of the greatest orators in this country should have recently propounded a scheme so haphazard and incomplete that it only needed a stroke of the pen from that distinguished Indian official, Sir James Fitz Stephen, to accomplish its entire refutation, and to show how unsound were the premises of those who supported the plan. My Lords, I am glad to see that amid these great and difficult questions, Her Majesty's Government are not unmindful of measures of domestic legislation. We are promised by Her Majesty's Government the introduction of measures for the improvement of our local administration, for the consolidation of Acts affecting the condition of our operative classes, and of the Law relating to Summary Jurisdiction; and upon the very important subject of the Cattle Disease, which has so seriously affected the food question of this Kingdom. For Scotland we are told there will be introduced measures for remedying a grievance of which the Scotch have long complained in respect of their Roads and Bridges, and with reference to the Endowed Schools and Hospitals of that country. And attention will be invited to the subjects of Intermediate Education and the Grand Jury Law of Ireland. Finally, we are promised a very important measure of legal reform—the reduction into one Act of the whole law and procedure relating to Indictable Offences. In conclusion, my Lords, I have to thank your Lordships for the

*The Earl of Wharncliffe*

patience with which you have heard me. I cannot say that I do not look upon the probability of war with dread, seeing the present state of our manufacturing interests and the condition of the labouring population, large numbers of whom are either out of employment or receiving reduced wages; but I dread still more the consequences of looking on calmly whilst the interests of the nation are in danger. Should that danger come, I hope we shall present an united front and profit by the words of warning addressed by Her Majesty's Government to the country. The evils that have been referred to may not exist in the immediate present—they do not exist; but they will, if left alone, increase year by year, and by-and-bye become a serious danger to the country. My Lords, I now move that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, thanking Her Majesty for Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech from the Throne, as follows:—

**"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,**

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the most gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for taking this early opportunity of acquainting us with the efforts made by Your Majesty to terminate the war now devastating Eastern Europe and Armenia.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that, after having unsuccessfully striven to avert that war, Your Majesty, whilst declaring Your Majesty's intention to observe neutrality so long as the interests of the Empire, as defined by Your Majesty's Government, were not threatened, yet expressed an earnest desire to profit by any opportunity that might present itself for promoting a peaceful settlement of the questions at issue between the belligerent Powers.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that, the successes obtained by the Russian arms having convinced the Porte of the desirability of bringing hostilities to a close, the Government of the Sultan addressed to the Neutral Powers, parties to the Treaties relating to the Turkish Empire, an appeal for their good offices.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that as it did not appear to the majority of the Powers that they could usefully

comply with this request, Your Majesty agreed, in response to a separate appeal from the Porte, to inquire of the Emperor of Russia whether His Imperial Majesty would entertain overtures for peace.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that the Emperor expressed, in reply, his earnest desire for peace, and stated his opinion as to the course to be pursued for its attainment.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that, through Your Majesty's good offices, communications have taken place between the Governments of Russia and Turkey, which Your Majesty earnestly trusts may lead to a pacific solution of the points at issue, and that no efforts on Your Majesty's part will be wanting to promote that end.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that hitherto neither belligerent has infringed the conditions on which Your Majesty's neutrality is founded, and that Your Majesty willingly believes that both parties are desirous to respect them, so far as it may be in their power. That so long as these conditions are not infringed Your Majesty's attitude will continue the same, but that Your Majesty cannot be blind to the fact that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent upon Your Majesty to adopt measures of precaution. That such measures could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation, and that Your Majesty trusts to the liberality of Parliament to supply the means which may be required for that purpose.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for directing that papers on these affairs shall be laid before us, and for informing us that Your Majesty's relations with all foreign Powers continue to be friendly.

"We rejoice with Your Majesty that the famine which has ravaged Southern India is nearly at an end, and we thank Your Majesty for informing us of the strenuous and successful exertions made by the Local Governments, powerfully seconded by the liberal aid of Your Majesty's subjects at home and in the Colonies, to relieve the sufferings of the population; and also for an announcement that an inquiry will be made as to the best measures for dealing with such calamities in the future.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that in consequence of the condition of native affairs in South Africa, Your Majesty has thought it expedient to reinforce the troops in that part of the Empire, and we join with Your

Majesty in trusting that a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of all differences may be shortly obtained.

"We humbly assure Your Majesty that our careful consideration shall be given to the measures which may be submitted to us, and we earnestly trust that the blessing of the Almighty may attend and guide our deliberations."

**THE EARL OF LOUDOUN:** My Lords, in rising to second the Address so ably moved by my noble Friend (the Earl of Wharfedale), I must claim that forbearance which is always extended to one who addresses your Lordships for the first time. And at such a time as this, when the eyes of Europe are on your Lordships' House, it is a very hard task which I have to perform. The reference to the Eastern Question contained in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, recalls the memories of the Crimean War, by which we were called upon to rise in protection of British interests. Many of your Lordships stood forward then in support of those interests, and I am sure you would be prepared to do so again should the necessity arise. The noble Earl who moved the Address has spoken at some length on the Eastern Question, and I think I cannot do better than conclude my remarks on the subject by quoting the words used in 1856 by the noble Earl the present Prime Minister, who is sitting in front of me, who was then in Opposition, and was opposed to the continuance of the war for the sake of adding lustre to our arms; but said that the spirit of the nation was such that—

"There was no sum which Parliament would not cheerfully vote, or her people cheerfully raise, to vindicate her honour and maintain the independence and interests of her kingdom."—*[Life of the Prince Consort, vol. 3, p. 435.]*

With regard to the Indian Famine, it is gratifying to think that such a calamity has been alleviated by open hearts and hands in England, and by able administration in India itself. The question of irrigation in India is most important, and it is to be hoped that it will receive due consideration. There was an important meeting in Birmingham last night, reported in *The Standard* to-day, at which Sir Arthur Cotton, who has been connected with engineering in India for more than half a century, spoke of the great works of irrigation

which had been carried out by the Government, who had spent £20,000,000 on it. But he added that much of course remained to be done, and that it was often a very good investment.

An alteration in the constitution of County Boards is much needed in many parts of the country, and it is to be hoped that the plan of the Government will satisfy the ratepayers. Factory Law Consolidation will, I hope, tend to develop industry and promote the interests of those concerned in one of the great sinews of the country. I trust that the Bills to be laid before your Lordships in regard to Cattle Disease may enforce such precautions that we shall not have another outburst of that calamity for many years to come; and, as to the Roads and Bridges Bill, I hope that will tend to the improvement of the roads—if roads in Scotland can be improved. As to the Endowment of Schools and Hospitals, I hope that legislation on that subject will be effective, and that it will be of such a character as will relieve people of the fear that in making bequests the advantages may not be enjoyed by their successors and by the class of persons for whom they were intended, thus doing away with the founders' intentions.

The necessity of Intermediate Education in Ireland is more apparent every day, but will, I fear, prove rather a difficult question, owing to the fact that many parts of the country are very thinly populated, and also considering the various conditions of the people; but any legislation which may tend to promote better instruction would be a distinct gain.

My Lords, I have to thank you for the kindness with which you have listened to the few remarks I have made, and I beg to second the Address. [See p. 13.]

**EARL GRANVILLE:** My Lords—If on the first night of the Session it is regarded as the duty of the Opposition to criticize the whole policy and conduct of the Government on every possible subject, I am afraid I shall not perform that duty successfully to-night. I know that the minds of your Lordships are entirely absorbed in one great Question, and that on that Question you must much desire to hear a statement from the opposite Bench at the earliest possible opportunity; and I only rise now because I believe my doing so may

be the means of eliciting that statement before the debate proceeds much further. I venture to promise your Lordships that I shall not interpose very long between the speeches you have just heard and the Ministerial statement. My Lords, I last year remarked that it was a matter of congratulation for your Lordships' House that Her Majesty's Government, from whatever side they may be chosen, is able year after year to select young Peers who are able to perform that most difficult task of moving and seconding the Address with great credit to themselves and with great promise for the future. When about a fortnight ago I saw it stated that my noble Relative (the Earl of Wharncliffe) had been selected to move the Address on this occasion, it occurred to me that, while no doubt the Government could not have exhausted the number of youthful Peers on their side, who would have addressed the House with discretion and ability, yet that upon so critical an occasion they had thought it desirable to secure the services of a noble Lord of more mature age, who is not without experience in your Lordships' House, and whom I have heard addressing your Lordships before now with great effect, and who, without going into details, might give your Lordships a satisfactory outline of the policy of the Government in respect of the Eastern Question. The noble Earl (the Earl of Wharncliffe) having professed to speak without a knowledge of the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, it perhaps took away some of the interest of his observations. But I am glad that on some, at least, of the points to which he referred, he was speaking his own individual opinions and not those of Her Majesty's Government. I am not, my Lords, going into a general criticism of measures promised in or omitted from the Queen's Speech. Were I to do so no doubt the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) would criticize my remarks very severely. Last year, on the opening night, I complained that in the Speech from the Throne there was no mention of a Burials Bill. I found, however, that I had been rather premature, for Her Majesty's Government did bring in a Burials Bill. I shall only say that I trust that the fact of there being no mention of it in the Speech of this year, is no proof that

the Government will not bring in a Burials Bill this year, and that their attempt at legislation in that direction will be in accordance with the opinions of the majority of your Lordships' House. I saw that the other day my noble Friend the President of the Council, in his usual genial way, made some complaint of the work of this House last Session, and of the way in which the Business of Parliament had been dealt with. Now, I think he hardly ought to have been the person to complain of that, seeing that, with the exception of that unfortunate Burials Bill, hardly any legislation was offered to us. The noble Duke in this respect reminds me of the offender who was convicted of the murder of his father and mother, and who, when the Judge was about to pass sentence upon him, exclaimed—"Have pity on me, my Lord; I am an unfortunate orphan." I hope that some of the Bills that are mentioned in the Speech will be introduced in your Lordships' House. As to the Famine in India, the feeling shown in this country certainly is matter of congratulation; and as to the very important subject of the disturbances at the Cape, I am glad that Her Majesty's Government are able to take so hopeful a view of the prospects in that quarter.

Having now said a few words as to the last part of the Queen's Speech, I wish to address myself for a few moments to the beginning. The noble Earl who moved the Address was good enough to state that he did not consider that the Leaders of Her Majesty's Opposition had in any way embarrassed Her Majesty's Government in their action respecting this war. In bearing that testimony he used nearly the same words as Mr. Hardy, and I am glad to accept the compliment as I believe it to be true.

**THE EARL OF WHARNCLIFFE:** I never read Mr. Hardy's speech.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** I did not accuse the noble Earl of plagiarism, and am glad to find that his declaration was spontaneous. As to what the noble Earl said of the statements of other Members of the Opposition, it is not necessary that I should defend those Gentlemen—they are able enough to defend themselves; but I may say that I do not think the accusations made against them apply now. The accusation made against them last year was that they had en-

couraged Russia in the same way that Burke and Chatham had encouraged the North American Colonies to revolt against this country. In another part of his speech the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War pointed out what is perfectly true—that Her Majesty Government, at the outset of the negotiations, and therefore a considerable time before the war, had announced to all the Powers that they would give no assistance to Turkey, an announcement which, coming from a Government, must have been much more re-assuring to a would-be belligerent than any language held even by the most distinguished men in Opposition. I do not propose to go over the history of the last 36 months in any detail—it is too well known to your Lordships—the six months' diplomatic inaction before the Andrassy Note, the mode of dealing with that Note, and subsequently the mode in which the Berlin Memorandum was rejected. I do not wish to repeat my conviction, so often expressed, that it was to that unfortunate mode of dealing with the Berlin Memorandum that most of the subsequent misfortunes are owing. Then came the proposal of a Conference—and I will not weary you with what has so often been said of the circumstances which made the success of that Conference impossible. When we complained of those circumstances at the beginning of last year as having produced the inevitable failure of the Conference, we were told—"You are quite mistaken in thinking that the Conference has been a failure. It has not accomplished all that we desired, but it has had one happy result—namely, the good understanding that has been arrived at between the Great Powers of Europe and the knowledge of each other's views—which is full of promise for the future." Then came the London Protocol, with its odd little excrescences; and soon afterwards that declaration of war which we anticipated at the opening of the Session as the probable result of the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and which I described as pregnant with inconvenience and danger. There was considerable alarm in the country and in Parliament lest we ourselves should be dragged into this war; but towards the end of the Session there was a great debate in the

*Earl Granville*

House of Commons, and especially a speech of Mr. Cross, which was really the summary of a despatch of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), and which, as Mr. Cross has since said, embodied the views of a united Cabinet, greatly calmed the feeling of excitement on the part of the public. A speech delivered by the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), and one made in the month of August by Sir Stafford Northcote, tended in the same direction—though I cannot agree with the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Wharncliffe) that all Her Majesty's Ministers spoke exactly in the same tone. Up to nearly the end of the Session the Russians had seemed to be carrying everything before them, both in Asia and in Europe. What has happened during the Recess? As regards the war, its tide appeared to change. The Russians seemed paralyzed both in Europe and Asia. The Turks, on the contrary, not only maintained the character for physical courage for which they are known, but more energy was shown by the Government, and more skill by their officers, than had been attributed to them. It was only within the last two months that the fortune of war changed again, and the Russians have been as victorious as they were in the first instance expected to be; while Turkey, in its present state, is without effectual means of resistance. If we look back at what happened during the same time in this country, we find that uneasiness was gradually produced as time went on, chiefly owing to the language used—in different degrees but with the same tendency—by the Conservative Press, and uncontradicted by any organ supporting the Government. The 9th of November, which, as somebody has remarked, is an important day for the Turk, was anxiously expected. It was known that the First Lord of the Treasury would speak, and that it was an occasion on which he did not always observe that remarkable reticence of which he is often so judicious a master. Well, that great civic dinner had anything but a re-assuring effect upon those who were fearful that we might be dragged into a war which we had failed to prevent, and that we might be found fighting in favour of the Turk in order to safeguard British interests, some of which were of no importance and others

not likely to be assailed. It was a dinner given by a Conservative Lord Mayor in presence of an almost entirely Conservative audience to Her Majesty's Ministers, all of whom, I believe without exception, made it a point to attend. The whole *Corps Diplomatique* was invited to attend, to do honour to Her Majesty's Government; not only Count Schouvaloff was absent, but not one Ambassador of the Great Powers accepted the invitation. The Representatives of Belgium, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark were nowhere to be seen. But there was one exception. The Turkish Ambassador—a Christian diplomatist, who, during a long residence in this capital, has made himself very popular—came. He was received with enthusiasm. He made a speech which I thought able and well adapted to his audience, and which the Prime Minister characterized as modest and interesting. I suppose the modesty consisted in this—that he attributed exclusively to the example of the British nation the great Constitutional liberties which the Turks have enjoyed ever since the massacre of the Janissaries. He reminded his audience with pride that the father of the present Sultan had inaugurated his reign by a Proclamation guaranteeing the life, property, and honour of all his subjects, without distinction of race or creed. He showed how these principles were afterwards developed by numerous and important political and administrative reforms, and finally how the great work had been crowned by the glorious Constitution accorded by the present Sultan. All this, including the last observation, was received with cheers. I wonder whether the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and for India, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer cheered, and whether they mentally retracted some things not altogether complimentary they had said about this Constitution. The noble Earl the First Lord of the Treasury followed, and spoke with his usual felicity on general subjects and on the Eastern Question. He, as might be expected, said nothing in contradiction to what had been said by his Colleagues; but, whether it was owing to his enthusiasm for the Turks, or to an allusion to the Emperor of Russia having been misinterpreted by his audience as a sneer, or to his lan-

guage about neutrality, which he chiefly defended on the ground that it was advantageous to the Turks, and that it might be forsaken—whatever might be his intention, the effect of what he said undoubtedly led those who were exciting a feeling for war in the country to think that he was not on the side of peace, and to produce the same belief on those who maintained the duty of neutrality. These opinions were not checked, until luckily the noble Lord (Lord Campbell), whom I see behind me, headed a deputation which has become historical to the Foreign Office. In answer to the statements of this deputation the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) made a speech which I believe appeared to the country to be the embodiment of good sense, and to be a true example of that moral courage which, disdaining sensational topics, explains to others less well-informed how things really are. The country, therefore, had a right to believe that the policy of neutrality and abstention from helping the Turks was unchanged. In the meanwhile, Parliament had been further prorogued to the 17th of January—to this day—and the country was surprised some days—I think a week—before Christmas by a *communiqué* to all the newspapers that this meeting was to be for the transaction of Public Business. No explanation was given of the object of the meeting; but the supporters in the Press of Her Majesty's Government announced that it was in itself in the nature of a warning to Russia—in short, one of those numerous little demonstrations of "benevolent neutrality" which have added so little to our dignity or strength, and which have had no practical result, excepting, possibly, to irritate Russia, and certainly to encourage the Turks. But not many days ago the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Carnarvon) made a speech which produced a great effect. It was on the lines of that which the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) had made to the deputation to which I have alluded—it could only be taken as the opinion of the Cabinet, though probably expressed in stronger language than would have been held by some of his Colleagues. The noble Earl gave no reason for the unexpected step of summoning Parliament thus early—nor from this speech could it have been guessed that the Government



proposed at the eleventh, or rather the twelfth, hour, to ask Parliament to help them to prepare for precautions against a contingency unexpected by them. But to-day we have the reasons given by Her Majesty's Government, and which they have placed in Her Majesty's mouth, for assembling Parliament on this day. They are two—

"I have thought fit to assemble you before the ordinary time of your meeting in order that you might become acquainted with the efforts I have made to terminate the War now devastating Eastern Europe and Armenia, and that I might have the advice and assistance of my Parliament in the present state of public affairs."

The second is a good and laudable reason for assembling Parliament; but, as regards the first, judged by the light of the subsequent passages in the Speech, and without further explanation which I have no doubt whatever Ministers following me will give, it is inconsistent with fact. It seems impossible that on the 18th of December the Cabinet should have decided to assemble Parliament in order to inform them of their efforts to terminate the war, when it would appear from the Speech that the only transaction had been a general appeal from Turkey, upon which we did not act; and as to the separate appeal which came from Turkey, on which we did act, it only came some 10 days after the resolution to assemble Parliament had been taken. The explanations which will be given will no doubt dissipate what now looks as if, in so serious a document as a Speech from the Throne—which was possibly under the consideration of the Cabinet for more than one sitting—it was nothing but an afterthought. With regard to the general Circular of the Porte, it is said that it was rejected by a majority of the Powers. I may ask whether England was one of that majority, or whether the phrase is a euphonious way of expressing that Her Majesty's Government, whom even some of

better able to judge when we know something of the facts. But the important point which is approached with so much care and caution in the Speech is the demand upon Parliament for assistance to prepare against unexpected occurrences. We are told that the interests of the Queen's Empire have been defined by Her Majesty's Government—I presume in the despatch of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) to Prince Gortchakoff—and that as long as those interests are not threatened this country will adhere to the neutrality which it has proclaimed. Now, in answer to these definitions of our neutrality, assurances were given by Prince Gortchakoff which were received by Her Majesty's Government, so far as I am aware, without one word of dissatisfaction. Now, either these assurances were considered satisfactory or they were not. If satisfactory, in what respect have they lately been invalidated? If unsatisfactory, or deemed not to be worthy of credit, why did you not then ask Parliament to enable you to take precautions, instead of deferring to this moment—when the whole affair is virtually at an end—unless, indeed, by this new demonstration you encourage Turkey to prolong a struggle which will more completely destroy her, and which will afford grounds to Russia to increase her demands. But if there are altered circumstances, how is it that we are informed of them on this particular day? If on the 18th of December they appeared urgent, why did you delay asking for the necessary means for a whole month? If they were not urgent, why could you not let things take their course, and by the further Prorogation to the end of this month avoid all the unnecessary alarm that has been excited, the further depression that trade has suffered, and the damage which has been inflicted upon the revenue. The noble Earl who moved the Address stated—I think accurately—what he believed to be

three things a strong desire for neutrality and to avoid war. It is perfectly clear that the demand which you now make runs counter to this desire, and will excite a great deal of feeling in the country. But I would put the matter on broader ground than that. Is it advisable, if even you are able—as you undoubtedly can by the majorities you have in both Houses of Parliament—to obtain the means for a great increase of your material strength? How far will such increase of your material strength be neutralized by the moral loss you will sustain from the opposition you will provoke and the excitement you will produce, not merely among one Party, but also among those who are perfectly uninfluenced by Party considerations in this matter? I may be asked whether I am indifferent to British interests. I believe there is no man in this House who is in the slightest degree indifferent to British interests. It is impossible that any of us, and more especially those of us who are statesmen, should be too watchful of British interests; but it is possible to talk a little too much about them. There are two things which may be safely said of British interests. One is that, like the possessions of the Queen and like the commerce of this country, they extend nearly over the whole world. The other is that in very few cases indeed are those interests isolated, and several form the interests of some other country. The very multiplicity of these interests makes it possible to put them in different categories. The noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) stated, with absolute truth, that the greatest interest of this country is peace. It is a mere truism to say so. No one can gainsay the declaration, considering that we are the greatest commercial and industrial country of the world. But is the interest of peace confined to ourselves? Is it not desirable for Germany, for France, for Austria, and for Italy? Is it not a necessity for Turkey; and of the greatest importance to conquering, but impoverished and bleeding Russia? Therefore the interest of peace is one of which we cannot claim a monopoly, but which belongs to the whole world. Our material interests, from their very multiplicity, must be considered in different classes or categories. There are some which deserve the watchful care of our Government, which ought to be fos-

tered by diplomatic persuasion and even pressure, but for the maintenance of which—keeping in view their relative importance—it would be madness to go to war. There are others which we share with other countries, which may properly be maintained even at the risk of war, if we receive the moral and material support of countries as much or more affected by them as ourselves; but which, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer put it so well last year, are common interests, for the maintenance of which we are not to be called upon to bear the exclusive burden. There are, again, vital interests, for which, with Allies or without Allies, at all risks and at all hazards, a Government would fail in its duty if it did not call upon all the great though latent powers of this country and struggle to the bitter end. And that country would be ill-advised, however strong in military resources, that would “with a light heart” think they could with impunity engage in a contest with this country when united and convinced that they are justified by a sound policy, by justice, and by necessity. Now, my Lords, there is one point which strikes me as singular, though it is possible that a satisfactory explanation can be given of it. We have been constantly told—circumstances seem to indicate it—and I, for one, believe it—that since the beginning of this war there has been an understanding between Russia and Germany and Austria, as to the limits beyond which the Russians would not try to carry their demands. If this be the case, it seems hardly possible that our diplomacy has been so helpless that we have not been able to obtain confidential communications from one or both of those Powers what those terms are. We are told in the Speech that Her Majesty's Government's relations with all Foreign Powers continue to be friendly—which I am glad to hear; but it would, indeed, be a state of isolation if we could obtain no knowledge of the agreement which has been entered into, and which, considering the circumstances, military power, and geographical position of the three Empires, must so greatly influence the decision which will be arrived at. I should like Her Majesty's Government to tell us whether they have this knowledge or not—though I do not ask them to tell us what that knowledge is;

but it clearly makes all the difference whether they possess it or do not, and whether the demands of Russia are such as really affect British interests or are not. If they are not, the Government certainly ought not to have met Parliament with a flourish of this sort, that they were bound to summon Parliament to obtain additional assistance. There is one thing which I am glad to note—namely, that the language of the Speech as to the necessity of preparation for precautions against unexpected occurrences only applies in the case of the prolongation of hostilities. Therefore, I draw this conclusion—that it is possible that if hostilities are not prolonged there will be no necessity for any such demand. The Papers promised will show whether peace has been promoted or delayed by the action of the Government. The cessation of those hostilities depends upon the perception of the Turks that they are unable to defend themselves, and that they cannot expect succour from elsewhere; and, on the other hand, on the conviction of the Emperor of Russia that his reputation, which now stands high, must depend before the world and in history on the fairness and moderation of the terms which he exacts beyond those safeguards to the Christian subjects of the Porte which by all his declarations he is bound to obtain. I am glad to hear, and I am happy to believe, that in giving effect to Her Majesty's Speech, we do not bind any side of the House to any particular policy laid down in the Speech.

**THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD:** My Lords, the noble Earl who has just addressed you as a Leader of a Constitutional Party has not ventured to find fault with the Government because they advised the Sovereign to call Parliament together at this period. The course he has taken is what might have been expected from one occupying the position of the noble Earl. But, at the same time, the noble Earl has used every means his skilful rhetoric could dictate to impress upon your Lordships that the assembling of Parliament was unnecessary

was not an unreasonable act, but one, indeed, quite justified. The noble Earl has referred to the state of affairs in the theatre of war at the time when Parliament was prorogued. It is unnecessary for me to call your Lordships' attention particularly to that point. Your Lordships will recollect that when Parliament was prorogued Her Majesty, in Her Gracious Speech, while regretting the existence of that war, promised Her Parliament that no efforts which Her Majesty could use would be wanting on Her part, if opportunity offered, of using Her influence for terminating that war. The Government left Parliament with that engagement. The circumstances that then existed were most unpromising for any attempt by negotiation or amicable interference to terminate the contest. But as time advanced—at a later period in the autumn—particularly after the fall of Plevna—a very great change occurred in those circumstances. The course of the war was favourable to Russia in Asia as well as in Europe. That equality which for a time seemed to exist between the rival combatants had entirely disappeared, and it appeared to the Government, watching these affairs with an interest which the House, I am sure, will give them due credit for, that events were ripening to a degree that afforded a probability, as time advanced, of terminating, by the friendly influence of the neutral Powers, that terrible contest.

My Lords, the noble Earl has referred to the circumstances under which we felt it to be our duty to advise Her Majesty to call Parliament together for the transaction of Public Business three weeks or a month earlier than usual. It was on the 12th of December that the rumours had reached us from the Porte, which ultimately took the form of an appeal to the signatories of the Treaty of Paris, to assist the Porte in arriving at peace. I understood the noble Earl to say that it was impossible from the dates that the meeting of Parliament on the advice of

22nd. Therefore, it must appear to your Lordships that it was mainly on the great change which had occurred in the diplomatic position of affairs that we were induced to believe that Parliament should be called together. I think the noble Earl made some distinction between the first appeal by the Porte to the signatories of the Treaty of Paris, which were unsuccessful, and the appeal of the Government of Turkey—which was made to a certain degree on our suggestion—I believe it was simultaneously made by the Government of Turkey—to Her Majesty's Government to interfere alone individually in consequence of the previous failure. But of course we were not ignorant of what had been going on in Constantinople; we were not ignorant of the change of temper there, and we had the opportunity of considering, long before the absolute diplomatic act occurred, what was the course we ought to recommend. The noble Earl wishes to know whether we refused the first appeal to the Porte, and whether we were in the majority or minority of the signatories who on that occasion expressed their opinion. Well, my Lords, the Papers which have been laid on the Table will give the noble Earl all the information he desires on that point; but, speaking generally, with reference to the step taken by Her Majesty's Government simultaneously with the second application of the Porte, I think I can recollect that every signatory to the Treaty of Paris had expressed assent, and, I believe, on the direct appeal and application of Her Majesty's Government. Therefore the noble Earl must know by our forwarding that appeal and knowing the temper in which it was accepted, we showed ourselves hopeful that it would be successful. We should have been very happy if it had been agreed by all the other Powers to act in concert to effect that object. The noble Earl therefore cannot be surprised that, when the first opportunity had failed, and we thought there was still a chance of a more favourable result, we should endeavour to act in perfect conformity with what we had done before, and in conformity with the language of the Queen's Speech on the Prorogation of Parliament. We accordingly did intimate to the Emperor of Russia that Turkey was anxious for peace, and thus opened communications

between the two Powers on that point. I think the noble Earl must agree that this was a natural, a Constitutional, and a beneficial act. The noble Earl asked—"Why, if you had made up your minds that Parliament should be called together to consider urgent affairs, did you not call it sooner? You waited a month." It was not exactly a month, but I will not quarrel about a few days' error in the calculation of the noble Earl. But the noble Earl must know that you cannot call Parliament together at the will of a Minister at 24 hours' notice. You must call it together when there will be a fair chance of an adequate attendance in both Houses. At that period of the year Members are much scattered in different countries, and have many peculiar engagements which it is necessary to fulfil. The whole economy and life of the country are disturbed by the summoning of Parliament at an unusual period; and, besides, Christmas—when hallowed interests and associations must be attended to—formed part of the month. I think, therefore, if the noble Earl had been himself acting under similar circumstances, he would have considered what would be the most convenient period for Parliament to meet, and would have agreed with us and taken the same course. If he felt it to be wise and expedient to assemble Parliament, he would also feel it wise and expedient that Parliament should be assembled under circumstances which afford the least inconvenience to its Members, and which give fair assurance that both Houses shall be adequately represented when matters of State import and urgency are thus to be brought forward.

Well, my Lords, then the noble Earl said he challenged again the consistency of the policy of the Government; and really, what with reading extracts from newspapers, or referring to newspapers as authorities—

EARL GRANVILLE: I did not read extracts.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: I beg the noble Earl's pardon—some of his expressions seemed to be borrowed from those lucubrations to which he referred, but by constantly harping on newspapers he has certainly made out a very strong case. If all the extreme Liberal organs which—because upon

this question they do not agree with the noble Earl—are dubbed conveniently Conservative journals, and other authorities of that kind, are to be marshalled as authentic and documentary evidence that the English Government has adopted a particular policy, he can have no difficulty in proving his case, or, indeed, any case.

My Lords, I did not expect to hear again to-night of the Andrassy Note or the Berlin Memorandum. I thought that that part of the controversy had terminated, as I showed it ought, in the last Session of Parliament. The policy of the Government might have been erroneous, might have been infirm; but at any rate I think I may say it was not a vacillating policy. Whatever our policy may have been, it was open to the challenge of the noble Earl and his Friends. If we did wrong in accepting the Andrassy Note, or in rejecting the Berlin Memorandum, why did not the noble Earl and his Friends in the other House of Parliament challenge our policy, and take the opinion of Parliament upon the question? We have a right to infer that so far as our policy is concerned up to the end of last Session, that policy was accepted and sanctioned by the noble Earl and his Friends. I say again, that our policy may be erroneous or may be feeble. Those are fair issues for Parliamentary discussion. Bring forward your Motions; argue upon those issues, and we will fairly meet you, and let the Houses of Parliament and the country decide upon the question. But you have no right to assume that ours is a vacillating policy unless you can produce facts to establish such a statement. You cannot—you have no right—to make such an accusation depend merely on surmise and innuendo and anonymous communications. Why, the noble Earl knows very well that there is not the slightest evidence that there has ever been any difference between my opinions and those of my Colleagues whom he has quoted with approbation and sympathy. I say that from the very first there never has been any hesitation by Her Majesty's Government as to the course of policy which they would pursue with regard to these great occurrences taking place in Eastern Europe. Our policy was not a hasty policy. It was not dependent merely on the Russians crossing

the Pruth, or because some occurrence suddenly brought about a state of affair which might not have been anticipated long before the war commenced—long before my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) attended the Conference at Constantinople, we had foreseen the possibility of the great struggle occurring. We had to consider what was the duty of English statesmen and what was the character of those British interests which might be affected by such a war, and what was the course we ought to pursue. We came, after long deliberation, to the conclusion that it was for the interests of this country to observe in that war a neutrality. In arriving at that conclusion it was not merely the value of the fortress of Kars or of the port of Batoum that we alone considered. We had to take a large view of the then existing circumstances—we had to consider the policy and the condition of many other countries; and we arrived at the unanimous decision—not a hasty one, but a unanimous decision—that it was our duty to observe a policy of neutrality in case of war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. Well, I will say that from that policy we have never swerved. And I want to know what is the evidence that the noble Earl can bring forward that can fix upon any Members of Her Majesty's Government that we ever hesitated in observing that policy? Now, your Lordships will agree that if our policy was vacillating—if it was ambiguous, if it was deserving of suspicion, the noble Earl and his Friends had their legitimate and Constitutional opportunity of bringing these circumstances under the consideration of Parliament. They did not do so, and therefore we have a right to assume, if it were only for the convenience of debate and to promote the expeditious conduct of Public Business, that, having such an opportunity and not only losing it, but forfeiting it—willingly forfeiting it—the noble Earl and his Friends could not impute any misconduct on that account—at least until after the Prorogation of Parliament. Well, what happened? Nearly the last day—nearly the last hour before the Prorogation—though I do not like extracts, I will read to your Lordships a short extract of what I said on that occasion. It was on the Motion, afterwards withdrawn, of a noble Earl (the

Earl of Feversham) upon the subject of the war. It was the opinion of the noble Earl that we should take some active interference in the war. I find that I used these words—the extract is from the authentic source, and it is literally correct. I said that—

“With regard to our policy I will only say that having been clearly expressed it has been consistently maintained. Without entering into an unnecessary discussion I may remind your Lordships that when this cruel and destructive war began Her Majesty's Government announced that they would adopt a policy of strict, but conditional, neutrality. The condition was that the interests of the country should not be imperilled.”

And subsequently I said—

“A communication was made to the Russian Government which more precisely defined what, in our opinion, ‘British interests’ were held to consist of; and to this communication Her Majesty's Government received a reply which I think I am authorized in describing as conciliatory and friendly. The Government have no reason to doubt that Russia will in an honourable manner observe the conditions which were the subject of that correspondence; but, however that may be, in any case the maintenance of those conditions is the policy of Her Majesty's Government.”—[*Hansard*, CCCCXVI. 668.]

Now, I want to know what right has the noble Earl to assume that I have used expressions on the subject of the policy of the Government which are contrary to that statement, which was made while he was sitting facing me.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** I used no such expressions as the noble Earl has attributed to me.

**THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD:** No—you did not use words precisely to that effect, but you used a great many words which, when added up, amounted to a sum which conveyed to the House a meaning almost exactly the same.

My Lords, the noble Earl went out of his way to make a further allusion to another statement with respect to our policy which I made in the course of the year. Now, I must say I am free from the imputation during the last six months of appealing to my countrymen in any extraordinary manner. I conceive that one of the greatest charms of life is not to make speeches and write letters. I did not write a single letter on public affairs during the last six months, and I only made one speech upon politics, and that upon an occasion which by the custom of the country may be called a Con-

stitutional occasion. I did not press myself forward. It was an assembly I was bound by the courtesy of public life to attend, and, attending, I was bound to express the opinion of Her Majesty's Government on public affairs. What did I then say? The noble Earl says that speech raised agitation in the country. I distinctly remember—not having that speech here—that on that occasion I spoke in the presence of all my Colleagues, and that I said that the policy of Her Majesty's Government remained as it had been from the first, that it was completely unchanged, that it was a policy of conditional neutrality; from that policy we had never swerved, and that nothing could induce us, so far as we could see, to swerve. All my Colleagues were present and have entirely agreed to that declaration. That was the only time I opened my lips during the last six months on the state of public affairs until I address your Lordships to-night. I am taunted with the fact that the Russian Ambassador did not attend at the Guildhall, and that other Ambassadors also lost their dinners—almost the cookery of the civic festival was criticized. I believe some persons have made that one of the grounds of the charges against the conduct and policy of Her Majesty's Government. Now, my Lords, let me say one word upon a point on which the noble Earl has dwelt much, and that is “conditional neutrality”—a neutrality conditional upon British interests being regarded and maintained. The noble Earl says, quoting a very felicitous remark of my noble Friend the Secretary of State (the Earl of Derby), whose absence we deplore on this occasion, that the greatest of British interests is peace. Well, that was a felicitous expression, but it was an expression of rhetoric; but the noble Earl takes it to be a statistical fact, as if he found it in a Blue Book. The noble Earl thereon says that if peace is a British interest, it is also a European interest—it is an Austrian interest, it is an Italian interest, it is a French interest—in short, it is a universal interest. But the noble Earl rode off upon a mere trick of rhetoric, because we know very well when we talk of “British interests” we mean material British interests—interests of that character which are sources of the wealth or securities for the strength of the

country. We do not want to be informed that the cardinal virtues are British interests. We possess and endeavour to exercise them, but they have not that peculiar character which the British interests that we refer to possess. Then we are told that it is a contracted and selfish view of affairs to suppose our interests peculiar to this country, or, if they are peculiar, that we ought to be silent on the subject, and put them away in a corner. All I can say is, that if our conduct in this subject in defining what this country is interested in brings the imputation of selfishness, selfishness cannot be justly imputed to England alone. I do not know that there is any other country that has not very frankly declared that it has acted, and is acting, on the same principle. I do not know whether it will be on the Table to-night; but it will be seen in a few days by the noble Earl that, in a document which I am authorized to quote, there is a definition by an eminent statesman of what the position of Austria is at this moment. I read yesterday with great interest Count Andrassy's description of the situation of Austria. He says—

"The situation of Austria is a position of conditional neutrality, and our business is to watch over Austrian interests."

It does not follow, however, that these expressions, which, according to the noble Earl, we first introduced into diplomatic language, have been very unsuccessful, for they have been adopted in a marked manner by a Power which is deeply concerned in these transactions. Germany, also, in her language, has used expressions which are no more free from selfishness than the expressions used by the English Government. When Prince Bismarck says that not the blood of a single Pomeranian peasant shall be shed in this war, do the noble Earl and his Friends sympathize with the expression? You may admire it; but you cannot say it is one entirely free from a

which, I think, the noble Earl will find that selfishness which he imputes to the language of Her Majesty's Government.

EARL GRANVILLE: I beg pardon for interrupting the noble Earl; but I have never used any word or words imputing selfishness.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: No; you only deplored the contracted sense in which we conceived and expressed our policy and the object which we wish to secure. But your Lordships can judge what was the value of the noble Earl's observations if they did not involve this charge of selfishness.

My Lords, the noble Earl has made some remarks upon the grant which he contemplates from Her Majesty's Speech we are going to ask Parliament to supply Her Majesty with. Parliament being called together at a moment somewhat unexpected, and obviously in order to appeal to it for its support, the noble Earl seemed to argue that we were bound to describe the character of the military operations which might occur to justify this urgent appeal. Well, my Lords, I must decline to enter into any controversies of that kind. I think it is enough for us to say that Her Majesty's Government, pursuing the same policy which they have pursued from the first, and having brought about the commencement of negotiations which, I trust, may be successful in their result, but which may not be successful—that they have, in these circumstances, a ground upon which they can fairly appeal to Parliament and say—"Our policy is before you; it has been before you; we have not swerved from it in the slightest degree; but it is still our unshaken opinion that there are British interests which concern deeply the welfare of this country—interests which are sources of its wealth and securities for its strength, and which may be endangered if this contest goes on; and if you approve our policy,

deplored the state of isolation in which Her Majesty's Government has, by their management of affairs, placed this country. Well, that, my Lords, is a very serious charge, and no doubt if it were a true one it would be more than a serious charge for us; it would be a great injury to the country. But I think that on such a subject we are bound to examine and scrutinize with great impartiality before we adopt a conclusion so adverse not only to the abilities and the influence of Her Majesty's Government, but which, if true, would be injurious to Her Majesty's realm. I do not see, I confess, at the best that the noble Earl—or those who share with the noble Earl his opinions on the subject of isolation—I do not see that he has on this subject of isolation in any way stated facts to establish his opinion. The noble Earl, when he touched upon this subject, went back again to that unfortunate Berlin Memorandum. It appears that the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum was the commencement and the operative cause of our isolation. Now, in the first place, never wishing to have to mention the Berlin Memorandum again, I will say that that Memorandum was a document which ceased to exist because England refused to sanction it. That does not look like isolation or want of influence. Well, then, if there be any act which can prove national concert—if there be any arrangement in the world which can demonstrate national concert clearly and completely—surely it is a Conference. And what happens? Why, the very Power which you say has become isolated in consequence of its refusing to sanction the Berlin Memorandum is the Power that not only joins a Conference of the Great Powers, but proposes that Conference. Is that a want of influence? Is that isolation? Well, if you really take a general view of what has occurred in all these transactions, the only Power that has done anything—and it has done much—has been England—England, which you say is so isolated; England, whose conduct defeated the Berlin Memorandum: England, whose suggestion

be otherwise effected. And let me also ask you this—which is the Power which at this moment has secured the commencement of a hope for peace to Europe? Why, mighty Germany and anxious Austria, and France husbanding her resources, and the other Great Powers, have all declined, when the Porte appealed to them, to interfere in a task then beset with difficulties, and which might be considered, judging from their language, as hopeless. Yet isolated England did interfere, and the moment she interfered we had the commencement of these negotiations. No doubt the negotiations are most difficult—probably more difficult negotiations never were commenced; but they are real negotiations, which I have expressed my more than hope may lead, after, no doubt, surmounting many obstacles, to a suspension of this terrible conflict. But whether they are successful or not, what is the Power that has originated them? What Power had fanned the flame of hope, even when it was expiring, and at this moment has brought about a state of affairs which engages the thoughts of all the European Cabinets? Why, it was the Power which you say is isolated. The fact is there are two Powers which have withdrawn from the European concert. Those Powers are Russia and Turkey. Turkey was recognized as belonging to the European concert. Turkey, by her rash and reckless conduct, repudiated her position and lost it. Then Russia, which, in my opinion, was bound in every way by the most solemn Treaties to take no action without first conferring with the signatories of the Treaty of Paris, came forward, and she also quitted the European concert. England never quitted the European concert. It is not England that is isolated—no, my Lords, that is not our position; and in the attack which the noble Earl has made he has represented and re-echoed the attacks which have been made elsewhere—partly, no doubt, from ignorance, partly, no doubt, from thoughtlessness; but in a great degree by means of mechanical imitation. The noble Earl who



are two kinds of isolation. There is an isolation that comes from decay, that comes from infirmity, that is a sign of impending insignificance—and all those symptoms which denote a falling or an expiring State. But there is also an isolation for a State which may arise from qualities very different—from self-confidence, from extreme energy, from abounding resources, and, above all, from the inspiration of a great cause. This country has before this been isolated. In the early years of this century it was isolated; but how and why was it isolated? It was isolated at the commencement of this century because among the craven communities of Europe it alone asserted and vindicated the cause of national independence. It was a great cause which your forefathers then maintained; and however depressed trade may be, whatever may be the circumstances brought forward to enervate the national mind—whatever may be the considerations introduced to prevent you from acting as your forefathers then acted—it may be your duty to follow in their footsteps. If that cause were again at stake, if there were a Power that threatened the peace of the world with a predominance fatal to public liberty and national independence, I feel confident that your Lordships would not be afraid of the charge of being isolated if you stood alone in maintaining such a cause and in fighting for such precious interests. My Lords, I rose after the noble Earl (Earl Granville) to vindicate the Government of which I am a Member from the charges which I think are unfounded. I do not think that the noble Earl has proved that in calling Parliament together we took a step which was unwise or unnecessary. I do not think the noble Earl has proved that the policy of the Government with regard to affairs in Eastern Europe has ever been inconsistent from that which we have declared again and again. It has never swerved from our original conception and determination as to the course we ought to pursue. Nor do I think that the noble Earl has been successful in his sneers against British

necessary to take measures to secure those interests. I do not think the noble Earl has at all successfully established his position that this country is in a state of isolation. It is in a state of which it has no need to be ashamed. I believe that in the councils of Europe the influence of this country is felt, and greatly felt. May God grant that in the negotiations which are now proceeding that influence may increase! If it does increase, I will say on the part of the Government—and divided in our councils though they are said to be—I feel that I am expressing their unanimous opinion, their unanimous sentiment—that that influence will be exercised for the greatest interests of humanity. It will be exercised for the termination of these hostilities; it will be exercised in every way for the procuring of a peace which will be stable and enduring. But if we are called upon to vindicate our rights and to defend the interests of this country; if our present hopes and prospects are baffled; if there be circumstances which demand that we should appeal to Parliament again and again for means to vindicate the honour of the realm and to preserve and maintain the interests of the Empire, I am sure that Her Majesty's Government will never hesitate to take that course.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, I listened with great delight to the ringing cheers with which noble Lords opposite greeted the conclusion of the speech of the Prime Minister—not only because that brilliant display of imagination—that corruscation of fireworks—deserved some tribute from them, but for another reason. Your Lordships' House is generally represented as being rather a "still pool," unruffled by the winds of passion, and through which even the strong currents of political feeling are seldom seen to run. But, my Lords, for my own part I have always held that if there were a question raised concerning the interests and honour of England, we would see that the House of Lords is an Assembly which can be deeply moved. My Lords, we admit on this side of the House that we are met together upon an occasion which concerns deeply, and which may

ment in this great crisis in our national history and in the history of Europe, and for having put into the mouth of the Queen words to the effect that she desired to have its counsel and advice at the present great juncture. I confess I listened to the speech of the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Beaconsfield) with great disappointment. It was very able—it was very brilliant—but I think I am not wrong in saying it was nothing to the purpose. It seemed to have been intended by him as a reply to some anticipated bitter, narrow-minded, personal attack upon the Government from my noble Friend behind me (Earl Granville), and he could not change the programme of his speech to suit the observations which were really made. My noble Friend behind me, with that suavity of manner and acuteness of intellect which characterize him, said a few things, but surely in no offensive manner, surely not in any aggrieved Party spirit, indicating that he and his Friends had not perfect confidence in the consistency of the Government. And what did the noble Earl do? He spent half an hour in answering accusations which were never made. He talked with contempt of the Press; but it was to the Press he was looking when he made that speech; and it was from the Press that he had gathered the charges he answered, and not from the speech of the noble Earl (Earl Granville), which had been delivered, in fact, for the purpose of affording the Government an opportunity of making those statements upon great questions of public policy which your Lordships have a right to expect when we are called together at a great crisis in the history of Europe. We expected to hear from the Prime Minister some definite declaration of what he proposed to do. But the Prime Minister has only filled our ears with the east wind. He has answered imaginary attacks, and told us nothing. The noble Earl's principal answer was directed to the accusation of disunion in the Cabinet. Now, I have had some

in the journals which are in their interest. [A noble LORD: What journals?] Oh! it is all very well to talk with such supreme contempt of the Public Press. Have we no relations with the Public Press? Are the Editors of newspapers never to be found in the antechambers of Ministers? How comes it that the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) never opens his mouth upon the Eastern Question but he is violently abused by the Conservative Press which is understood to represent the sentiments of other Members of the Government? I wonder how the noble Marquess likes the way in which he was treated by the Conservative Press when he was absent at Constantinople. ["Name!"] Name? I name all the Ministerial journals—every one of them. Foremost among them is *The Daily Telegraph*; then come *The Morning Post*, *The Standard*, and others. Will noble Lords deny that *The Morning Post* is a Conservative paper, or that *The Standard* is a Conservative paper? There are others which, although not supporters of the Government on its general policy, support it on the Eastern Question. And I say this—that not a word falls from the noble Marquess but which is vehemently attacked by the Conservative Press. I am almost ashamed of having been led into these observations, but I have been led into them by the extraordinary speech which the noble Earl at the head of the Government has just delivered. If there have been rumours of disunion in the Cabinet, the Government themselves are responsible for them. Even their recent speeches lead to this. I will remind your Lordships of two Ministerial speeches which have recently been delivered. The first is that of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War at Edinburgh, who talked about drums and fifes and all sorts of things in a most warlike tone; the other was by the noble Lord the Postmaster General (Lord John Manners), who made warlike allusions to "the laurel of unquestioned victory

a very material difference of tone is observable. But, my Lords, even had the noble Earl not spoken to-night I should have been compelled to offer some words, if not of protest, at least of explanation to the House before assenting to the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne. I do not intend to enter into the merits of the Eastern Question. But the Queen's Speech dwells so much upon the despatch of May 6, by the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), defining what the Government mean by "British interests," that really the two documents have to be taken together—we cannot understand the Speech without referring to the despatch. But that despatch has never been criticized in this House. Now, the Government are fairly entitled to say that the despatch having been laid on the Table of the House during last Session, and no opposition having been expressed to it, we are committed to a general approval of its terms. If it is understood that the approval is general and nothing more, I have no objection to that interpretation of our conduct. But if we are called together to be consulted by the Crown, it is well that we should be perfectly open and candid. I will now say something, therefore, about the Government definition of "British interests." It is very easy to invent vague terms of this kind, in which all men concur, though in reality they may be divided by the most essential differences of opinion. I do not say that this is the case here, but I will say there is considerable danger of it. There are four things in this definition of "British interests," of which we have heard so much from the noble Earl opposite, in which, with some explanation, we may all cordially concur. Among the points in this despatch which are declared to touch British interests and honour, there is no mention made of "the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire." The absence of these terms is one of the most important features in this despatch, and in the sentiment which it implies I do most cordially concur. There is not one word of a determination to uphold the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire; and I rejoice at it—because if the Government have made up their minds to support the integrity of the Turkish Empire as it

is conceived and provided for in the Treaties of 1856, they must have inserted it in that despatch. The absence of such a statement is, therefore, a most significant and a most satisfactory feature in respect of the policy of the Government. I now turn to the Suez Canal. That question was treated slightly by my noble Friend who moved the Address (the Earl of Warmliffe), because he said the Canal was in no danger. I do not mean to dwell upon this subject, but I wish to say that no one is more heartily with the Government than I am in declaring broadly that England never will permit, at any cost, that any Power in Europe shall interfere with her direct access to India. I have no sympathy with the language of those who talk with bated breath about our conquests in India. We are not ashamed of our conquests in India. We do not require that any excuses should be made for the men who made those conquests. We are proud of the men who conquered India for us, and we are proud of the great military and civil services by which that Empire has been so successfully governed. There is no sacrifice which this country will not make for the maintenance of our dominion in India, because it concerns our national pride and our honour—and also, I think I may say, because of the conviction which we may justly entertain—which I hold in the strongest manner—that the conquest of inferior by superior races is not an evil to the world—on the contrary, it is one of the great causes and sources of the progress of the human race—a cause and a source of progress which has been conspicuous in times past, and which will continue until the whole world is governed by civilized nations. I next come to an important point upon which your Lordships have derived no information from the noble Earl opposite. I refer to the question of the Straits. The noble Earl talked of calling Parliament together to take counsel of it, but he has given us no advice. Of course the noble Earl as the Prime Minister of the Government must observe a certain reserve, but we have been called together to vote perhaps large sums to increase our Naval and Military Forces. I think the Prime Minister might have given us some indication of his opinion with respect to this point—but all the information we have

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in regard to the question of the Dardanelles is contained in the despatch of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), who states that—

“The existing arrangements made under European sanction which regulate the navigation of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles appear to us wise and salutary, and there would be in their judgment serious objection to the alteration in any material particular.”

I am bound to say I do not concur in the literal interpretation of that paragraph. If it is meant that the question of the Straits is a European Question, and that we will not submit to any settlement in which our opinion is not consulted, then I concur; but if it means that the present rule which has been established with regard to ships of war is one that should not be altered, I do not concur. The present rule in respect to the passage of ships of war through the Dardanelles is not a rule in favour of Europe, but in favour of Turkey. It is a rule established in the interest of the independence of Turkey and not for the interest of Europe generally—and what I want to point out is this—that the moment Turkey ceases to be an independent Power the value of that rule, whatever it may be, to the rest of Europe ceases—or if Turkey should be so weakened by the war as to become practically a vassal State, and under the dominion of Russia, then I am not prepared to affirm that the present rule is one which it is for our interests to maintain. On the contrary, I shall be prepared to maintain that a material alteration will be required. But surely it cannot be that it is on account of this Dardanelles Question that we are going to increase the Estimates? Russia has frankly admitted that this is a European Question, and that no permanent settlement could be made without the question being submitted to Europe. I now come to the third point—Constantinople. With regard to that city, Lord Derby's words in the despatch of May are these—

“That the vast importance of Constantinople, whether in a military, political, or commercial point of view, is too well understood to require explanation; it is therefore simply necessary to point out that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to witness with indifference the passing into other hands than those of its present possessors a capital holding so commanding a position.”

What do these words mean? Do they mean that however much the Turks may resist the arms of Russia, Russia is to be precluded taking possession of Constantinople as a military and temporary measure, or do they mean that the ultimate possession of Constantinople is a European Question? If the latter, I heartily concur; if the former, a grave question arises in respect of the policy of the British Government. It is most inexpedient that the question whether we should enter into a war, solitary and isolated, should be placed in the hands of Turkish Pashas—nothing can be more injurious to the honour and interest of England; but that will infallibly be the result if we make the military occupation of Constantinople a question of peace or war. When we talk of Constantinople “remaining in the hands of its present possessors,” we had better recognize the fact that no part of European Turkey will long remain in the hands of its present possessors, if by that description we mean the present governing Power. The noble Mover of the Address gave us an abstract of the state of feeling of the people of this country on the Eastern Question—an abstract which, though inadequate and imperfect, was by no means unfair. In that abstract he admitted the general detestation of the ruling classes of Turkey. But it is these classes that constitute the Turkish Government; and is it for our interests and honour that we should say that Constantinople or any territory should remain in their hands? On the contrary, it is directly in the teeth of them. Therefore, I must make a grave exception in regard to both Constantinople and the Dardanelles in agreeing to the Address in reply to the Speech.

My noble Friend (Earl Granville) did not find fault with the Government for calling Parliament together—the responsibility for that must rest upon the Government; but it cannot but be feared that, at the moment when negotiations have begun, the summoning of Parliament may have the effect of exciting the Turks to offer increased resistance, in the hope that they may obtain aid from England. That most able and most venerable man (Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe), whose knowledge of the Turk is founded on personal observation extending over a period of more than 60

years, in his letter in *The Times* of this morning, says that even the general desire for peace is likely to have a most unfavourable effect upon the Turkish Government, ready as they are to catch at any, even the most slender hope of obtaining assistance or encouragement from without. Depend upon it, the summoning of Parliament—unless the Government have a very definite programme, and know very well what they are about—and the excited speech from the head of the Government which we have heard to-night—talking about “national independence”—will have put a spoke in the way of peace. Depend upon it, the Prime Minister’s language will be so interpreted; and you have made it extremely probable that the Grand Duke Nicholas will find the Turkish Pashas much more difficult to deal with on account of the observations made by the noble Earl to-night. It is a great misfortune to Europe and the world that this matter has been taken into the sole hands of Russia—that she has been almost compelled to take up the sword alone in the cause of the subject populations of Turkey. I agree with an opinion expressed at the time of the Crimean War—that whilst in Asia Russia is decidedly a civilizing Power, in Europe we have nothing to expect from her in the way of civilization. We can expect nothing from Russia with one exception—we owe to Russia nothing but her sword; and whose fault was it that that sword was drawn? I maintain—as I did last year—that the war might have been prevented by firmness on the part of Her Majesty’s Government; but, by deliberately sacrificing the European concert, you made this war a necessity to Russia. The noble Earl (the Earl of Beaconsfield) has spoken much in answer to some fancied accusations of the noble Earl (Earl Granville) behind me. He has answered very keenly on the question of isolation. It is true my noble Friend did put some pertinent questions which the noble Earl has taken care not to answer. My noble Friend asked what you know as to the agreement between the three Imperial Powers. Do you know anything? I strongly suspect you do not. As to the Government preventing or breaking up the European concert, you ask us how we prove it. It has been proved over and

over again. But what is the use of our proving what we can take out of your own mouths? Do not you know the terms of the despatch in which the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) refused the Berlin Memorandum? I apologize to the noble Earl for mentioning that document again; but when you tell us in loud and triumphant tones you are not isolated, it is necessary to recall the facts. The noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), in that despatch, said—

“I have to point out to your Excellency that Her Majesty’s Government have, since the outbreak of the insurrection in Bosnia and the Hersegovina, deprecated the diplomatic intervention of other Powers in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire.”

But this diplomatic interference was the sole object of the European concert. You deny vacillation; but, again, in this matter you went round like a whirlwind. You instructed the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), and he did interfere most vehemently in Turkey’s affairs. You did it, too, with threats of violence. It is very true that the violence was not to come from you; but you traded on threats of the coercion of Russia, and you warned Turkey that she must expect no assistance from you. I say the result of the conduct of the Government from beginning to end has been the absolute isolation of England. You have not a single Ally at this moment in Europe that you can rely on for seconding your policy, so far as we know. I shall be delighted if the Papers placed on the Table to-night show that we are in hearty accord with the other Powers; but I should accept it as a new and most unexpected revelation. A great deal has been said about the motives of Russia. I apprehend the motives of Russia are very much like the motives of other people—very mixed motives; but if the motives of Russia are purely selfish, they, at least, cannot be worse than the motives which you have yourselves avowed. What have we heard to-night? An elaborate defence of selfish motives from the noble Earl at the head of the Government. He not only said it was British interests we cared for, but he went further, and put the doctrine in a still grosser form; he spoke of material interests, money interests, the interests of commerce and wealth; but as to moral interests, we had nothing to do with them. I appeal to noble Lords opposite to say

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what they would think and feel if Russia were to avow such sentiments? Let us suppose that there should be a great public dinner at St. Petersburg, given by the Lord Mayor—if there is one—and Prince Gortchakoff to have attended and declared that Russia would look after Russian interests and no other—meaning her material interests; what would be said here by the Press of this country and by the Members of the Government? I will not describe what would be said; but all that, in such a case, would be said of Russia ought to be said of you—and you deserve it, for a baser doctrine I have never heard maintained in Parliament than has been laid down by the Prime Minister—that we ought to look only to our own selfish and material interests, and to nothing else—as if there were no moral interests concerned, or as if we had nothing to do with it. The noble Earl the Mover of the Address implied that there was a suspicion of Russia—

**THE EARL OF WHARNCLIFFE:** I said there was some suspicion as to the disinterestedness of the Russian motives.

**THE DUKE OF ARGYLL:** The noble Earl implied suspicion of Russia. It is no use concealing it—everyone has it more or less. The main motive of Russia in undertaking the war was the impulse of the movement on the part of the population which even the Government of Russia could not suppress—the motive of sympathy with their co-religionists in the East of Europe. That was a very natural movement—taking mankind as they are—a most powerful motive. Why go out of your way to discover others? The desire to deliver their co-religionists who were suffering under the most debasing tyranny was one of the most powerful sentiments, and that was the main motive of Russia to this war. Placed as Russia was, they could not, like Her Majesty's Ministers, put off the consideration of the condition of the subject populations of Turkey for an indefinite period, waiting for the hopeless reform of that most execrable Government. I say that Russia, under the circumstances, was justified in her action, and if at this moment there be a prospect of freedom to the populations of the Provinces of Turkey, it will be due to that feeling on the part of Russia, which—call it sentimental, humanitarian, illogical—what you will—has been never-

theless one of the most powerful motive forces in the history of the world. But, then, I hear it said that the freedom of nations ought never to be bought by foreign interference. My Lords, is this forgetfulness, or is it hypocrisy? Do we not remember our own case? Do we not remember that day when one of our harbours was filled with the ships of Holland; and a foreign deliverer landed on the shores of England? Now, with regard to what should be done in the future. If I thought my humble advice would induce Her Majesty's Government to alter their course in any respect, I should implore them to do this—to recognize facts and to act upon them. Do not let them deceive themselves, and talk nonsense about national independence as applied to Turkey. Turkey as an independent Power is gone—is gone never to recover. And why is Turkey gone? Because she deserved to die. I am not ashamed to own humanitarian sentiments. I think the welfare of several millions of men is a British interest. As one of the survivors of the Cabinet that waged the Crimean War, I will never cease to witness in this House that we have undertaken obligations to the subject populations of Turkey which we can never repudiate. We have bound ourselves to take some charge of their interests in the extreme circumstances that have arisen with regard to the Government of Turkey. If we believe in nothing else, let us at least believe in that new gospel—the doctrine of Darwin in the survival of the fittest—in that process, beneficent in its ultimate results, but often terrible in its operation, by which nature eliminates everything which is too bad to live. We cannot prevent its destruction. Let us not attempt to prop up the phantom of the Turkish Empire; rather let us devise some scheme for the just government of its subject populations. Look at the evidence before you—look at Paper No. 17 of last Session. So long ago as 1854, Sir Fenwick Williams, who so gallantly defended Kars, told us that he believed no country in the world had suffered so much as Armenia had suffered from the tyranny of Turkey. The country was desolate, villages were going into ruin, and cultivation was given up. A similar account was given by Consul Taylor and Consul Zohrab at a much more recent date. The Queen's Speech refers to the war

which is now devastating the East of Europe; but there are other devastating causes in operation. It was said—

“Peace hath her victories  
No less renowned than war;”

but of Turkey, and in Turkey, it may be said, Peace has her horrors yet more dread than war. That is the state of the great provinces of Epirus and Thessaly. I therefore trust that the Emperor of Russia will not agree to any terms, whatever the English Government may say, which do not secure for all the subject populations of Turkey a sufficient degree of autonomy or self-government to protect them against the systematic misrule of Turkey. I fully sympathize with the feelings of horror to which this war has given rise. Seldom in the history of the world has there been a war more cruel or devastating. But why has it been worse than other wars? Because of the barbarism of the Government with which Russia is fighting and the barbarism of the population under that Government. A savage Government will always succeed in making a savage people. Another reason is this—that in this war you have the knowledge and the tools of the most advanced civilization wielded by the hands of barbarians. These are the causes of the special horrors of this war. It is all very well to say that the horrors of this war are a great deal worse than the bad government of the Turks. I have heard that said over and over again. But that remark applies to all wars that have ever been waged in the history of the world. The horrors of war are, so to speak, a congestion of horrors—they are always more horrible and striking to the imagination than the permanent miseries of bad government. But nevertheless the horrors of war are very often the only means of shaking off bad government. Alas! my Lords, that the birth of freedom should so often be a baptism of blood and fire; but so it has been always in the past, and so it will be in time to come. There is only one thing I would beg of the Government, and that is—that they will use all their influence that such a war shall never be repeated, and that can only be done by putting an end to the misgovernment of those “ruling classes” in Turkey, who have been denounced by the Mover of the Address.

*The Duke of Argyll*

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, if the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) complains that the speech of my noble Friend behind me was addressed to observations which had not been made, I will retort by saying that the noble Duke's arguments and taunts were addressed to principles which had never been laid down by my noble Friend. The noble Duke expended a good deal of eloquence in showing that it was not our business to maintain the national independence and integrity of Turkey. Not one word about the independence and integrity of Turkey crossed the lips of my noble Friend. The noble Duke commenced his speech by showing that the observations of my noble Friend were directed against matters on which the noble Earl (Earl Granville) had laid no stress, and which had not been made the subjects of attack upon the Government, and he proceeded to specify the two points of the disunion of the Cabinet and the isolation of England. Pursued, however, by a demon which compelled him to contradict his own assertions, he immediately, at great length and with great eloquence, dilated on the proof which he thought had been shown of that disunion and that isolation. On these points I will not follow the noble Duke; I will merely repeat what my noble Friend behind me has said—that the Government have not been isolated, and that we are not isolated now. I suppose my noble Friend will expect me to present him with a neat  *précis*  of the negotiations which may have passed between the Court of London and all the other Courts in the world. But I must entirely decline to enter upon such a task. There are in other countries institutions which I have sometimes envied, and which relieve the Government from the necessity of reticence; and if we had in this country such a thing as a secret Session the Government would have no reason to complain. But we know that every word we utter here goes to every corner of this country and to every Court of Europe, and we would rather submit to the taunts of our political opponents than say a word which could indicate matters which might be injurious to the public service. As to the disunion in the Cabinet, I was anxious to know on what grounds that charge rested, and as far as I could see there were only two—one was that

Musurus Pasha had praised the Turkish Constitution, whereas I had condemned it; and the other was our old friends the newspapers. No doubt I have seen at work, since we have been in power, some distinguished professors of the art of Opposition. I believe when we were in Opposition we were not indolent and not deficient in ingenuity; but the idea never crossed our brains—I thank my noble Friend for the suggestion, and I may use it at a future time—to impute to the Cabinet of the day that they wrote all the leading articles of the so-called Ministerial papers. It is certainly a most ingenious device—that of putting into the mouth of political opponents that which they never said and never intended to say. The beauty of the thing is you cannot disprove it. Nobody knows who wrote those articles; they may all have been written by my noble Friend at the head of the Government; but it would be perfectly impossible, unless we could produce the persons who wrote them, to prove that they were not written by Members of the Cabinet. The noble Duke has been pleased to make considerable use of my name—he has told us that there are several Ministerial papers which make it a duty to abuse me whenever I open my mouth. I submit to my noble Friends whether this discussion of newspaper articles, Ministerial or otherwise, is likely to give credit or decorum to our debates. As for me, my acquaintance with newspapers is not so great that I can say whether *The Morning Post* abuses me or not; but if it likes to abuse me I hope it will continue to do so. I am sorry to hear the suggestion of the idea of what is called a “Ministerial paper” from noble Lords opposite. It is an institution which exists in France, but does not exist in this country—where the newspapers are conducted with great ability and take independent views. I believe we have the phenomenon now of two or three extremely Liberal papers which support the Government on this particular Eastern Question. But the idea of representing them as binding the Government of the day is an idea borrowed from our friends in France, which I am sure will not improve the character of our deliberations. It has been said that the trade of the country has been fearfully depressed because we have opened Parliament at this particular time. My

impression is that the depression which has affected the trade of the country has resulted from a combination of causes; but, at all events, Her Majesty's Government are free from the imputation that they have done anything to excite the Turks to resistance. When my noble Friend the noble Duke talks of exciting the Turks, I want him to consider what the effect would be of the indiscriminating and unsparing policy which he has just announced. The Turks undoubtedly have made bad use of their opportunities. I have little fault to find with the terms of condemnation used by noble Lords opposite towards that Power. I heartily and deeply sympathize with the subject races in the East; but I do differ from the noble Duke in this—I believe that this war has accumulated into nine short months more misery than would result from generations of Turkish government. True it is that war is the only ultimate cure for obstinate misgovernment; but war is righteous or unrighteous according as it is opportune or inopportune; and when there is no Power to direct it to a speedy and successful issue, and when the crimes or vices against which it is directed are not so great as to produce utter paralysis and recklessness, then the remedy is often a hundred times worse than the disease. The noble Duke is not satisfied without driving the Turks from every inch of ground in Europe.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: Not the Turks, but the Turkish Government.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Well, if you hold that end as your ultimate policy you will drive them to absolute desperation. What chance is there of the Turks accepting any peace if they are driven to despair? There is no surer incitement to a race to fight to the last than to tell them that in the resistance of despair lies their only hope of safety—and that is the message conveyed to them by the noble Duke. My Lords, it has frequently been asserted that our opinions have changed. That charge is not founded on fact. Undoubtedly we had a difficult and complicated duty to perform, and this complicated duty arose from the circumstance that England was already a party to Treaties, and that we had in past times pursued a policy of which the maintenance of the Turkish Empire was



the life and soul. That time had passed. Opinion had changed, and events had proved that the hopes formerly indulged in were not founded upon any basis of fact; and the people of this country and the Government, recognizing the circumstance, were aware that it was no longer their duty to sustain the Turkish Empire by force of arms. Long before this war broke out, and before even the Bulgarian atrocities were committed, Her Majesty's Government had warned the Turkish Empire not to look to them for support. But they were not satisfied with that. They felt that reiterated warnings were necessary before old traditions could be set aside or an ancient policy departed from. Again and again in the Blue Books you will find warnings from the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), reiterated to the Turkish Ambassador at London, reiterated to the British Ambassador at Constantinople, that the Turks must look for no assistance from England. That warning was conveyed in the strongest terms in the Instructions with which I was furnished when I went to Constantinople, and in the presence of the Plenipotentiaries of Europe I repeated it on the solemn occasion when the negotiations were broken off. That warning was again repeated when the Turks at a moment of extraordinary rashness neutralized and repudiated and stultified the efforts which we had been making with the rest of Europe to pass over this crisis without war. You may repeat insinuations and innuendos, and you may study leading articles until you really believe them to be State papers; but if you examine every word that has been uttered by every individual Minister, I defy you to find one single word which diminishes in the slightest degree the effect of the warnings which were repeatedly given, or which deviates by a single hair's breadth from the policy laid down in the noble Earl's despatch. There is no doubt that the very fact that you are compelled to rely upon such uncertain grounds of proof shows how utterly baseless is the accusation which you are always striving to bring against

take it, the point which makes us differ from our opponents—suffered the figure of the Turk to occupy the whole field of our mental view. Whatever may happen to the Turkish Empire its geographical peculiarities and conditions, and all the political results which flow from them will remain the same; and British interests as we have defined them in the noble Earl's despatch must, as well as the Turk, occupy a very considerable position in the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. The duties of humanity I am very far from disputing—indeed, I claim for this Government that we have made the strongest possible exertions to procure good government and peace for the Christian populations of the East—but I am not prepared to accept the new gospel which I understand is preached—that it is our business, for the sake of any populations whatever, to disregard the trusts which the people of this country and our Sovereign have reposed in our hands. The noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) spoke a good deal about the motives of the Emperor of Russia. Now, I entirely concur with him in repudiating the very unwise accusations which are often made against the Russian Government and Emperor. I entirely concur with him in thinking that the Russian Government is very much like other Governments, and that when you know the motives which actuate most human beings in their position you probably know their motives also. I daresay there have been unscrupulous advisers in Russia—there have been unscrupulous advisers in all countries; but I certainly must express my opinion—and I do so in the full consciousness that it may draw upon myself some of the censure to which the noble Duke referred—that during the Conference at Constantinople the Emperor Alexander himself was actuated by a sincere, an anxious, an almost tormenting desire for peace, and that he accepted conditions which, from his point of view, I should have thought would have been the very extreme conditions that an ex-

Governments, and an autocratic Government quicker than others, with a force which no individual can resist. I have felt it my duty to say this, not only because I acquiesce in all that has been said about the motives of the Russian Government, but also in order to indicate that when we ask Parliament to give us the power of taking precautions in case our interests are threatened, we are not doing so because we despair of peace. On the contrary, we hope that the humane instincts and the high prudence of the Emperor of Russia will overcome influences by which he is undoubtedly surrounded, and that an honourable peace may put a stop to this terrible and desolating war. It is not in any spirit of despair of peace that we shall ask you, if occasion arise, to help us to take necessary precautions. I am not going to follow the noble Duke into a discussion of each individual interest, or to define more narrowly than we have done already the precise circumstances upon which those interests depend. The noble Duke knows as well as I do that I should be departing from my duty if I did so. But we feel that the best intentions and the most powerful will have not always been able to control the caprice of armies in the flush of victory. The noble Lords opposite know that in Central Asia some four years ago the Imperial will was not only powerless to prevent, but powerless to retract, a step which the Imperial Ambassador had undertaken to avoid. Look again at our own history. We know the story about Nelson preferring to put the telescope to his blind eye; and there may be—and I do not doubt that there are—Nelsons in courage, and in wilfulness, too, in the Russian Army. Into these matters, however, I do not wish to enter more closely. I do not wish to examine what are exactly the circumstances under which the interests which have been defined will be threatened; but I know that the wave of war is approaching closely to the localities with which those interests are connected, and before the Parliament of England lies this alternative—If it does not trust the present Government, let it provide itself with a Government which it does trust; but if it does trust the present Government, let it confide to it the proper means for efficiently performing the great duty which its confidence has imposed upon it.

Address agreed to, *nomine dissentiens*, and ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

#### CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

The Earl of REDERDALE appointed, *nomine dissentiens*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES — Appointed.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNALS—Appointed.

APPEAL COMMITTEE—appointed.

House adjourned at Nine o'clock,  
till to To-morrow, a quarter  
before Five o'clock.

#### HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 17th January, 1878.

The House met at half-past One of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and having returned;—

#### PRIVILEGES.

Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

#### OUTLAWRIES BILL.

Bill "for the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time.

#### NEW MEMBER SWORN.

Lord Burghley, for the Northern Division of the County of Northampton.

#### THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

MR. SPEAKER reported Her Majesty's Speech, made by Her Chancellor, and read it to the House.

**ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.**

MR. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, in rising to move that an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty in answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, said, that before adverting to those grave questions which had caused Parliament to be summoned by Her Majesty earlier than usual, but not prematurely for the public interests, he wished to glance briefly at one or two domestic measures, and also at those paragraphs relating to the state of our Colonies, mentioned in the Address. The annual programme of measures included in Her Majesty's Speech afforded a standard by which the performances of the Government and of Parliament were judged at the end of the Session; and if by the hearty co-operation of the House the Government were enabled to carry the measures which they had just heard enumerated, the Session now commencing would not prove a barren one. But he might be permitted to say, as an old Member of the House, and one who had been rather a listener than an active participator in its debates, that he trusted that this Session due regard would be had to that economy of time which last Session the House had to regret was not always observed. He hoped, therefore, that the House would support its Leader and also support Mr. Speaker in any measures which might be deemed necessary for the due maintenance of order in that Assembly, and the convenient discharge of the Public Business. The domestic measures proposed were not of a sensational character, such as hon. Gentlemen opposite might possibly desire. There was no Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church—to support which some hon. Members opposite seemed to be endeavouring to induce the Leaders of their Party—unsuccessfully, he was happy to say, as would appear from the speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). During their period of office, Her Majesty's Government had carried many very useful mea-

course was in pursuance of the policy which they had steadily followed—namely, to increase the welfare of the working classes. The working classes—not only the artisans in the towns, but the labourers in the agricultural districts—might at the present time thank the Government for several measures which had given them better dwellings, purer water, better facilities for the attendance of their children at school, and an extension of the period of their education. He did not intend to allude to those measures which had been mentioned in the Speech as relating to Scotland and Ireland in the presence of hon. Gentlemen who were much better acquainted with those subjects than himself; but he wished to say a few words on two very important matters—namely, the Administration of Counties, and the better prevention of the Cattle Disease, and he felt that he might speak as the Representative of a county, and of a county particularly interested in the prosperity of its cattle. The County Administration Bill had been foreshadowed last year in the able speech of his hon. Friend the Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read), and it was, therefore, not surprising that the Government had brought the subject before the House. It was not a Party question, and he hoped that it would not be treated as one. At any rate, the state of our local self-government was always interesting to every Englishman, and the man who was successful in the municipal council or at the quarter sessions had some qualification for the Membership of the House. We had been accustomed to look with pride on our representative local institutions as compared with those of Continental nations; but at the present time he did not think that we could be satisfied with the somewhat chaotic state of our county administration. We had lately accumulated a number of fresh Boards, and new duties were constantly being imposed on the guardians, while the magistrates had less and less responsibility in the administration of county finance. In this country institutions had

Governments to settle the difficulty, but they had all failed because they had dealt only with the fringe of the question. It was obviously impossible to settle either the management of highways or the valuation of property, or anything else, unless Parliament first of all settled what the county authority was to be. The object of the Bill would be to enlist the best men among the magistrates and the representatives of the ratepayers, so that whenever any important point arose it would be referred to the Boards, without in any way destroying the administration of police and justice by the magistrates, but rather uniting them with the representatives of the Boards of Guardians. By this means such measures as he had indicated could be carried out, and perhaps he might add the education of the country also. Such a Bill would require much elaboration and attention from both sides of the House before it could be brought to a successful issue; for it could not be expected to spring fully armed at all points from the head of a Minister, in the same way that Minerva was said to have sprung from the brain of Jupiter. In bringing forward the Bill the Government did not intend to throw any slur on the magistracy of the country, for there was no question that their administration had been, on the whole, most economical; and he was sure that in their body there would be no objection to the infusion of new blood. The new body, in which the experience of the magistrates would be combined with the knowledge of local men, would advantageously counteract the tendency to centralization which our present system seemed to promote, and he would hail with much pleasure any Bill which made the basis of the county administration broader and deeper. The next question was the Bill which would be introduced with respect to the Cattle Disease, and the Report of the Select Committee would have prepared the House for some such measure. It would be remembered that the Committee was a large one, including English, Scotch, and Irish Members; that many witnesses were examined, and its deliberations conducted with much care. He believed that the Report of that Committee recommended that animals should not be imported from countries where cattle plague existed, or through which

cattle plague was likely to be conveyed. It had been stated that a loss of 2,000,000 sheep and 500,000 cattle had been the result this year, as compared with previous years, in consequence of agriculturists having been deterred from breeding, owing to the prevalence of disease. This decrease was not only a matter for agriculturists, but for the whole community, which suffered from the loss of produce. The next point brought out very strongly before the Committee was the facility for supplying large towns with dead meat instead of live animals. The evidence was very conclusive on this point, and also as to the willingness of the agriculturists to submit to any measures, however stringent, with regard to the local movement within their own district, provided all animals coming from foreign countries were slaughtered at the ports. Influential deputations had waited upon the Government urging them to bring in a Bill to carry out the recommendations of that Committee; and without pretending to say what course the Government would take, he felt confident that they would attach due importance to the recommendations, and would bring in a measure which should be satisfactory not only to the agricultural interests, but also to the country at large. There were other questions, such as the amendment of the law mentioned in the Queen's Speech; but upon those questions he would not trouble the House with any remarks. He wished, however, to say a few words on those portions of the Speech which related to our Colonies. A year seldom passed without some portion of our large dominions being subjected to assaults from external foes or internal dissensions. In South Africa, unfortunately, disturbances had arisen in the case of a tribe placed close upon our frontiers. The Galekas were at first repulsed, but after a short time measures had to be taken to secure the safety of the Colonies. Troops had been sent out, not for warlike operations on a large scale, such as the Kaffir war, but mainly to re-assure the inhabitants of the colony, and to prevent disturbances from extending to a larger area. Those measures, he was happy to say, had been entirely successful, so far as our latest information went. He thought the House would look with confidence upon the wise administration of Sir Bartle Frere in this

matter, whose large experience in India and elsewhere would prevent him from either giving way to panic, on the one hand, or taking measures of extreme severity on the other; and he believed it was owing to the promptitude with which Sir Bartle Frere acted in this matter that the present state of the colony was mainly due. As to India, matters there had taken a more favourable turn since the end of last Session. The Khan of Khelat had demanded some assistance from our Government, and the force sent forward at his request had been successful in quieting the disturbances which had arisen in that quarter, and in reopening the Bolan Pass, through which the stream of merchandize again flowed. The good feeling, too, which had long existed between this country and India must have been strengthened by the generous response which had been made not only by the English people, but by the English race in our Colonies, to the cry for assistance of those who were suffering from the consequences of a dire famine, which would, in his opinion, have resulted in a much greater loss of life but for the facilities which had been afforded by the railways in carrying food at a low rate. The question how best to prevent famines in India was now engaging public opinion. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) gave at Manchester some advice on this subject, but his statements were disputed and his arguments refuted by a very able writer in a leading newspaper. He was glad to see that a Commission was to be appointed to go into the whole subject, and he understood that the additional taxation to be imposed on India was to be devoted either to pay off the loans raised for the famine or to carry on new works if found necessary. While dealing with India he wished to touch on one point which showed how closely we were connected with that country. The Indian Government thought it necessary, for fiscal purposes, to propose an equalization of the Salt Duties in India, and

back, and now the result of a similar importation would be that wheat would be shipped to this country at a very low price. He came, in the next place, to a subject, in dealing with which he must ask the indulgence of the House, for he felt that every word which any hon. Member might utter with respect to it ought to be deeply weighed. He referred to the Eastern Question, which he had endeavoured to look at in a perfectly impartial manner. He was not one of those who had attended the meetings on either side of that question. He had travelled both in Russia and in Turkey, and he could understand the national aspirations of the former to Constantinople, as the cradle of their civilization, their art, and their religion, and the sympathy which the Russians felt towards the Christian population of Turkey. He also sympathized with the gallant defence the Turks had made on behalf of their country, which they believed to have been unjustly invaded. Her Majesty had stated that, in order that they might become acquainted with the present state of the question, and of the exertions she had made to terminate the war, she had called Parliament together at an earlier period than usual. In treating of the question he would not go further back than the end of last Session, when the House had approved by a very large majority of the policy pursued by Her Majesty's Government up to that time on the subject. That policy, Her Majesty's Government had informed them, had been since strictly carried out. Her Majesty's Government had not departed from the position they took up in May last—namely, a policy of strict neutrality, as long as British interests were not affected. The despatch of Lord Derby of the 6th of May clearly laid down the four points where British interests might be affected—namely, at Constantinople, on the Dardanelles, in Egypt, and in the Persian Gulf. It was satisfactory to find that on none of those points, up to the present time, had any British interest been touched. The

might threaten some of those points where British interests would be affected. They were willing, as Her Majesty said in Her Speech, to believe that the Russians would strictly carry out their engagements, and they were also bound to assume that the sacred word of an Emperor would not be set at nought by the advance of a conquering army. But, at the same time, Her Majesty said that some unexpected occurrence might arise which might render it necessary for the Government to take some measure of precaution. They could not shut their eyes to the fact that they might find themselves in such a position, and they thanked Her Majesty for announcing her intention to ask the Parliament, if such a contingency should arise, to supply the means of securing her interests, if those interests should be threatened. The House had been called together to express the opinion of the people of the country at this important crisis. He believed that the majority of the people wished for peace. He believed also that the majority of the people had full confidence that Her Majesty's Government would preserve peace as long as British interests were not affected. The people of the country were not unmindful of the interests of England, and were, he believed, prepared to support the Government in any steps which they might think necessary for the due preservation of British interests in the East. Her Majesty had informed them that she had every hope of a peaceful settlement being arrived at. Should it, however, be found necessary to take any steps, the fact should not be construed in any way as showing an intention on the part of this country of going into war. They might be construed simply as showing an intention on the part of this country of seeing that our interests were respected and our neutrality strengthened. That, he believed, was the view taken by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) in 1870. at

to in the course of the debate; and he assumed, anyhow, that at that time it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to interfere in the Franco-German War. Her Majesty next alluded to the mediation which had been asked for by Turkey. When the other Powers of Europe refused to entertain the proposals for mediation which Turkey made when she found that her gallant armies were no longer able to keep the field or to prevent the passage of the Russian armies across the Balkans, Her Majesty's Government undertook, not to mediate, but to ask Russia whether she would state the terms of peace she would offer to Turkey. The Emperor of Russia answered that appeal by saying that he earnestly desired peace. The Turkish Government acted upon a communication to that effect from Her Majesty's Government, and the result was that at the present time Russian and Turkish officers, they hoped, were arranging the terms of an armistice upon the field. He had full confidence that Her Majesty's Government would relax no effort in order to obtain peace between the two belligerents, such a peace as would be consistent with the honour of each and with the interests of Europe. An attitude of watchfulness was not necessarily one of weakness. England was, he believed, as strong as she ever was, and, should the occasion arise, as capable as ever of protecting her interests. They trusted that, now that Russia had got so commanding a position in the campaign, she would in her hour of victory deal magnanimously with a gallant and defeated enemy; and that, now that she was in a position to dictate those terms of amelioration of the condition of the Christian subjects of Turkey—the only object, as Prince Gortchakoff said, she had in going to war—she would rest satisfied with that which she had attained. Should Russia, however, transgress those limits which she had herself laid down, he trusted that the people of this country and the Mem-

dulgence, the hon. Member concluded by moving—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to thank Her Majesty for the Most Gracious Speech which Her Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament :

“Humbly to thank Her Majesty for taking this early opportunity of acquainting us with the efforts made by Her Majesty to terminate the War now devastating Eastern Europe and Armenia :

“Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that, after having unsuccessfully striven to avert that War, Her Majesty, whilst declaring Her Majesty's intention to observe Neutrality so long as the interests of the Empire, as defined by Her Majesty's Government, were not threatened, yet expressed an earnest desire to profit by any opportunity that might present itself for promoting a peaceful settlement of the questions at issue between the belligerent Powers :

“To thank Her Majesty for informing us that the successes obtained by the Russian arms having convinced the Porte of the desirability of bringing hostilities to a close, the Government of the Sultan addressed to the Neutral Powers, parties to the Treaties relating to the Turkish Empire, an appeal for their good offices :

“Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that, as it did not appear to the majority of those Powers that they could usefully comply with this request, Her Majesty agreed, in response to a separate appeal from the Porte, to inquire of the Emperor of Russia whether His Imperial Majesty would entertain overtures for Peace :

“To thank Her Majesty for informing us that the Emperor expressed, in reply, his earnest desire for Peace, and stated his opinion as to the course to be pursued for its attainment :

“Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that, through Her Majesty's good offices, communications have taken place between the Governments of Russia and Turkey, which Her Majesty earnestly trusts may lead to a pacific

That so long as these conditions are not infringed Her Majesty's attitude will continue the same ; but that Her Majesty cannot be blind to the fact that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on Her Majesty to adopt measures of precaution. That such measures could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation, and that Her Majesty trusts to the liberality of Parliament to supply the means which may be required for that purpose :

“Humbly to thank Her Majesty for directing that Papers on these affairs shall be laid before us ; and for informing us that Her Majesty's relations with all Foreign Powers continue to be friendly :

“Humbly to join in Her Majesty's expression of thankfulness that the Famine which has ravaged Southern India is nearly at an end ; and to thank Her Majesty for informing us of the strenuous and successful exertions made by the Local Governments, and powerfully seconded by the liberal aid of Her Majesty's subjects at home and in the Colonies, to relieve the sufferings of the population ; and also for the announcement that an inquiry will be made as to the best measures for dealing with such calamities in the future :

“To thank Her Majesty for informing us that, in consequence of the condition of native affairs in South Africa, Her Majesty has thought it expedient to reinforce the Troops in that part of the Empire ; and to join with Her Majesty in trusting that a peaceful and satisfactory settlement of all differences may shortly be obtained :

“Humbly to thank Her Majesty for directing the Estimates of the year to be prepared and presented to us without delay :

“Humbly to assure Her Majesty that our careful consideration shall be given to the measures which may be submitted to us, and that we earnestly trust that the blessing of the Almighty may attend and guide our deliberations.”

MR. TENNANT, in seconding the Motion, said : Sir, I cannot ask for the indulgence of the House upon the time-honoured plea of never having before

withholds when personally appealed to. Fortunately, Sir, my labours have been much lightened by the able and exhaustive manner in which my hon. Friend the Mover of the Address has commented on the various topics in Her Majesty's Speech; and the Speech itself, in its moderation and firmness, and in the absence of any startling or sensational announcement, cannot but commend itself to the general approval of the House, and ensure the unanimous adoption of the Address which I have the honour of seconding. I trust, Sir, I am not presuming too much in saying that our thanks are due to Her Majesty's Advisers for having called us specially together earlier than our accustomed time, to take us, as it were, into their councils and their confidence at this grave crisis, when such momentous issues, affecting the honour and welfare of this country, will have to be decided. The fullest information will no doubt be imparted to us, not only as to the views and intentions of the belligerents, but as to the views and intentions of the Government, and the public mind will be disabused of those mischievous insinuations and unscrupulous charges which have been so industriously circulated, either for private ends or Party purposes, but which have not a shadow of foundation, except in the imagination of those who so recklessly invented them. The most complete vindication of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government—if any vindication be needed—will be found in the fact that they have never deviated from those strict lines of conditional neutrality which were laid down at the outset of this most deplorable conflict. Those lines were defined with unmistakable clearness and distinctness by Lord Derby in his admirable despatch of May last, and were recognized and accepted with equal clearness and frankness by Prince Gortchakoff in his reply; and, so far as we know, these conditions have been faithfully observed by both belligerents, and we have no reason for supposing or believing that they will not be observed with equal faithfulness to the end. But, Sir, events have succeeded events at the scene of war so quickly, and disaster has followed upon disaster with such terrible rapidity, and we have had so many surprises, that it is impossible to say what complications a day or an hour may bring forth, or

how soon our position may be menaced or our interests imperilled. The time, Sir, has apparently gone by—if we are to believe the public utterances of some of those who set themselves up as the leaders of the people and pioneers of public opinion—for this country to go to war for the sake of upholding the “independence and territorial integrity” of another country, or for maintaining “the balance of European power,” or for the “vindication of violated treaties,” or upon any other of those historical pleas which in times past were considered as justifying—and, indeed, demanding—an appeal to arms. No doubt, Sir, this is a somewhat low and utilitarian view of the duties and obligations of a great country, but it is the view of the practical age in which we live; and, however deeply some of us may deplore or resent it as derogatory to our position and repugnant to our feelings, yet I think it must be admitted that it is a policy that is at present in accordance with the general feeling of the country as the one most directly conducive to its material interests. I trust, Sir, what I have just said will not be misunderstood. I should be sorry to say or believe that the tone of this country had fallen so low that it had become indifferent to its honour or regardless of its interests, or that either could be assailed with impunity. We have taken no part in the miserable war, not because we do not sympathize with the Turks, as we should with any weak and brave people fighting for their country and struggling for their existence; but because neither our honour nor our interests have been attacked, and the Turks by their own gross misrule have brought upon themselves their present calamities, and by their own fatal obstinacy have disentitled themselves to our assistance. But, Sir, if Russia in the elation of her triumphant successes, false to her solemn promises, and deaf to our appeals, should drive these wretched people to desperation, take possession of their country, and set Europe at defiance, then there would be a re-action of feeling in this country which would be irresistible, and it would be impossible that we could look idly on and see this monstrous outrage peon and see this out raising our hands to stop it. But, Sir, most devoutly is it to be hoped that



no such catastrophe will happen, and that this country will be saved from war, with all its attendant horrors and miseries; and it is most gratifying to hear that no exertions will be spared on the part of Her Majesty's Government to bring about such a result. It is a matter of thankfulness that the fearful scourge which has been ravaging wide districts in Southern India, and carrying off its victims in thousands, has now very nearly exhausted itself, and all fears as to its extension may be dismissed. This felicitous result is due mainly to the energetic action of the Government of India, aided as it was most nobly and liberally by the public munificence of the people of this country and of the Colonies. This practical expression of sympathy with our fellow-subjects in the distant Empire cannot fail to elicit feelings of gratitude on their part, which, far more than any legislative or coercive measures, will tend to cement the union of the two countries upon the permanent basis of loyalty and affection. It is satisfactory to know that measures have been taken to inquire into the causes of these scourges—which must now be looked upon as periodical visitations—with a view of averting or diminishing their intensity; and it is to be hoped that some effective and speedy measures may be the result. It is gratifying to hear that in our Colonial possessions there is, with one exception, universal peace, and, we might almost say, universal satisfaction—in itself affording the most conclusive proof that the friendly and conciliatory policy of recent years has not been without its good results. The outbreak in South Africa among the Kaffir tribes has for some time worn a threatening aspect; but the prompt and bold action taken by the Cape Government, aided by the military reinforcements despatched from this country, will no doubt ere long restore peace, and prevent a repetition of such disturbances. Such events as these demonstrate how desirable, and indeed essential, is united action amongst the colonists themselves, and what a potent weapon of defence would be the system of Confederation which was shadowed forth in the Act of

affairs will necessarily absorb so large a portion of the time of the Session, domestic legislation will not be altogether neglected. The list of measures is, however, neither formidable nor sensational, but several of them are of great practical importance, and will, I trust, become law during the present Session. This, however, will necessarily depend to a great extent upon the mode in which the Business of the House is conducted, and I hope I shall not appeal in vain to hon. Members opposite in asking them to abstain from a repetition of any of those embarrassing scenes which characterized the closing days of last Session. Those tactics, though perfectly legitimate in exceptional cases for checking hasty legislation and upholding the rights of minorities against a dominant majority—of which I am myself as strong an advocate as anyone—become altogether inexcusable when systematically resorted to as an obstruction to all legislation. The proposal for constituting a representative Governing Body for counties is one which cannot fail to be received with interest by all ranks and classes of society. The inhabitants of the large towns in the manufacturing districts are proud of their municipal corporations and of the self-governing privileges which they enjoy, and which they exercise so well and value so highly, and they will undoubtedly view with sympathy and approbation any measure which may have the effect of binding together county interests, and of conferring upon the rural districts some of those advantages which can only be secured by an administrative system founded on a comprehensive basis, and extending over a wide area. By this measure, too, the county ratepayer will have a direct voice in the expenditure of his money, and a great anomaly in the administration of our county finance will be removed, and representation and taxation will accompany each other. The proposed measure regulating the importation of cattle will no doubt be the well-considered result of the deliberation of the Committee of last Session, and will be directed to the prevention and removal of disease, so that the number and health of our home-bred animals may

most desirable objects we shall not by imposing too stringent regulations so restrict our supply from other sources as to raise instead of cheapen the cost of one of our most important articles of food, and thus frustrate one of the main objects of the measure. I am glad, Sir, to see that the consolidation and amendment of the Factory Acts is to be one of the Government measures. At present there are no fewer than 15 Acts of Parliament regulating manufacturing labour generally, besides several special Acts affecting particular trades and occupations; and, as may well be imagined, the provisions in these various Acts are not only often-times conflicting, but in some cases unintelligible. Their consolidation into one general Act will be a great boon both to employers and employed, and the Amendments will, I trust, remove the anomalies and inequalities which exist under the old Acts, and which were rendered still more unequal and unjust by the Act of 1874. By that Act the textile industries were placed in a most invidious and unequal position as compared with other trades; and in common justice and fairness, all trades and manufactures where the same class of labour is employed should be placed upon precisely the same footing. From my recollection of the Bill of last year I cannot but feel some misgivings as to whether this measure will accomplish all I have ventured to express, and my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary will, I hope, forgive me when I say that if it does not, I shall feel bound to repeat the Notice of Motion which stood in my name for many dreary months, while this Bill was languishing a painful existence last Session. It may appear somewhat incongruous and mistimed to be introducing measures of this sort imposing further restrictions upon trade at a time when trade is suffering under an almost unprecedented depression, and is so hardly pressed in the race of competition. It will not, however, handicap us more heavily in the race—it will simply equalize our weights. The restoration of peace will, no doubt, tend to the restoration of commercial confidence, and give a stimulus generally to trade; but we must look deeper and further for permanent improvement, and nothing short of our being able to compete, and successfully compete, with foreign nations at home and abroad will

bring about that result. At present nearly every civilized nation is our rival in manufactures. America, Germany, France, Russia, Belgium, Italy, and Spain are each and all competing with us, many of them not only supplying their home demands, but sending their surplus productions into our markets, where they are admitted free and unrestricted; while, at the same time, our goods are subjected to a heavy import duty in their markets, amounting in some cases to actual prohibition. Now, Sir, I am no advocate for a return to Protection—indeed, he would be a bold man who would come forward in these days and avow himself a Protectionist—nor do I see how a system of what is called reciprocity could be practically carried out, and we must look for remedies in other directions. One great country—America—seems to be already awakening from her suicidal policy of late years, and no efforts should be spared in inducing other countries to follow her example. Our Commercial Treaties with most of the European Governments are either just expired, or just on the point of expiring, and the position in which they now stand is anything but satisfactory. In Austria and Hungary, and it is to be feared also in France, specific duties will in all probability take the place of an *ad valorem* tariff. Switzerland, where—if in any country—the policy of free trade is supposed to be in favour, has largely augmented her import duties. Spain, in a spirit of retaliation at our refusal to modify the duties on her wines, has imposed a highly-protective tariff against us, as compared with Germany, Switzerland, and other favoured nations; while Italy—whose Treaty has just expired—has agreed to a renewal for a few months, and may, and most probably will, again revert to those specific duties which tell so adversely against us. These, Sir, are heavy disadvantages to contend against, and especially as all our foreign competitors have longer working hours and are living at a less cost than we are. Still, notwithstanding these drawbacks, it is most satisfactory to know that our manufacturers continue to hold their own. The Board of Trade Returns for the past year show that the exports of all our main staple manufactures are in excess of the previous year, and the receipts on our railways from mer-

chandise and mineral traffic also show an increase; so that neither abroad nor at home have we been doing less business. This is so far re-assuring, as showing that trade itself is not leaving the country, though it may be, and no doubt has been, carried on with little or no profit—a condition of things which could not of course continue for any length of time; for capital is very sensitive, and if unremunerative would soon be withdrawn, and a readjustment, therefore, between capital and labour would seem essential. The interests of the two are identical, and cannot be separated, and by their combined operation, supplemented by the application of greater art and skill, the cost of production can no doubt be still further reduced; and we can compete, even with all our present disadvantages, at a living profit until the arrival of better times. The struggle, however, in the meantime, will be hard and severe; but I have every confidence that we shall come out of the ordeal successfully, and enter upon another course of uninterrupted prosperity, and continue to be, as we always have been, the chief manufacturers of the world. It is satisfactory to see that both Ireland and Scotland are this Session to have full justice done to them in the way of special legislation. Each country is to have two separate measures of its own, as well as its share in the general measures affecting the whole Kingdom, and if one-tenth of the Bills of which we have had Notice this evening become law, Ireland will, at all events, have no reason to complain; and I cannot doubt but that the House will gladly devote the requisite time and attention to them. All these measures have, I understand, been the subject of discussion for years past amongst those most conversant with the subjects, and who have specially interested themselves in them; and the Bills to be introduced will, I believe, be the results of those discussions, and will embody,

themselves as to what is best to be done, they will meet not only with no factious opposition, but with cordial support from English Members on either side of the House. I believe, Sir, I have now touched upon all the points in the Speech which seem to require special reference, and I will not trouble the House further—indeed, I feel that I have already trespassed too long, and am most grateful for the forbearance that has been shown to me. In conclusion, Sir, I hope I shall be excused if I venture to entreat the House to enter upon the deliberation of the momentous issues which will soon absorb our attention, to the exclusion of all other questions, in a calm and dispassionate spirit, throwing aside all political jealousies and Party differences, remembering that when our national honour and interests are concerned we should have but one voice and one will. Let us, on the one hand, keep steadily in view the position we have to maintain, and the great and varied interests we have at stake, and which, if menaced or assailed, it is our bounden duty to protect. On the other hand, let us not be too sensitive to assume indignities where none are intended, or conjure up interests which have no substantial existence. This country can afford, without compromising its dignity, to take a high stand and a broad view, and to err on the side of peace rather than war. Neither belligerent has yet infringed our conditions of neutrality, nor have any assurances been yet broken. Let us believe they will continue to be respected until we know that they will not, and let us magnanimously abstain from any act which might be taken as expressive of defiance or provocation, and might lead to the very consequences which we should all deplore, and are so anxious to avert. Should it, however, unfortunately be otherwise, and should it appear that Russia has designs and intentions at variance with the assurances of her Representative and the

her interests, and forfeit her high and proud position among the nations of the world.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, &c." [See p. 67.]

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON :**

Sir, there are many subjects which are referred to in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech which at any other time and under any other circumstances would, no doubt, excite the most lively interest in this House, and perhaps would, even at this early period, lead to considerable discussion. But I think that the public attention and the attention of hon. Members of this House is so almost exclusively concentrated upon one important subject that it would be almost vain for me to endeavour to enlist the attention of hon. Members in regard to any of those minor subjects which are mentioned in the Royal Speech until the House has had an opportunity of hearing those explanations which Her Majesty's Government are naturally anxious, and have to make with reference to the war between Russia and Turkey, and which we are all impatient to hear at the earliest moment. I think that the hon. Gentlemen who moved and seconded the Address—a task which I am sure those who sit near me will agree has been performed with all, and more than all, the usual ability—will feel that although well qualified to speak on the various subjects referred to in the Speech, they have failed to enlist attention on any subject but the one which now occupies the attention of all classes of our fellow-countrymen. Therefore, without any apology, I shall defer to some convenient opportunity any observations which I think it necessary to make on the other topics mentioned in Her Majesty's Speech. I can assure the House that I felt no surprise, and it is far from my intention to make any complaint of the summoning of Parliament at an earlier period than usual. I think it was perfectly natural that Her Majesty's Advisers should desire to have the assistance and support of Parliament in the circumstances in which they found themselves. I feel that on more than one occasion it has been the misfortune of Her Majesty's Government to have had their policy misrepresented and misunderstood—misrepresented and mis-

fessed opponents, but by some who call themselves their supporters and friends. These gentlemen have on various occasions found a meaning and have placed an interpretation on the actions of the Government which, when explanations were given, it was found they were not susceptible of. I need only refer to such points as the despatch of the Fleet some time ago to Besika Bay, as to which, as we all know, a totally erroneous intention was for long attached to the country. And, again, the other day when it was announced that Her Majesty's Government had communicated to the Government of Russia the desire of the Government of Turkey to treat for peace, there were some who seemed to wish to attach to that announcement the inference that Her Majesty's Government had in some way or other made itself a party to that demand, and had intervened in some manner or other with Russia in favour of Turkey. But that there is no foundation for these commentaries on the action of the Government we know from the authority of a Member of the Cabinet, Lord Carnarvon, who, speaking not long ago to a deputation in terms which have never been disowned, said that the action which the Government had taken did not even partake of the character of mediation, far less did it partake of the character of intervention. Well, such mistakes and such misrepresentations, whether they are intentional or not, are less likely to occur, or, at all events, are more speedily corrected when Parliament is sitting than when it is not. In that case, questions are asked in the House, explanations are obtained, and misapprehensions, which, whatever they may be, are calculated to do great damage to the country, are removed from the public mind. Nevertheless, the fact that Parliament had been called together three weeks before the usual time did undoubtedly create considerable uneasiness and anxiety. The mind of the country was quiet with regard to this matter. When Parliament was prorogued no exciting debate had recently occurred upon foreign affairs. Parliament had acquiesced, and I think the country had acquiesced—perhaps not with any great satisfaction—but, at all events, had acquiesced in the policy which had been adopted by Her Majesty's Government. During the autumn

the attention of the country was no doubt kept on the stretch by the various events which occurred in the progress of the war; and the advocates of the Turks and the friends of the Russians fought their battles in speeches and in the newspapers with almost as much animosity as the combatants themselves; but the public in general was contented with taking a lively interest in that progress, and was satisfied with our position in regard to those events. A speech which was eagerly expected was made in the autumn at the Guildhall banquet by the Prime Minister which excited no alarm in the mind of the country. Lord Beaconsfield, whose opinions are tolerably well-known, contented himself upon that occasion with an expression of sympathy with the Turks; but he did not in the least lead the country to suppose that we were in danger of being dragged into the war. No doubt when, shortly afterwards, the Turks suffered great disaster, their partisans in this country became greatly excited and redoubled all the efforts which they had used more or less during the whole progress of the war in order, if possible, to induce this country to take some action in the war. Some excitement was, perhaps, caused by the acts of the Turkish party; but it was very quickly dissipated by a speech which was made by Lord Derby at the Foreign Office in reply to a deputation. That speech materially re-assured and tranquillized the public mind, and once more entirely dissipated the idea that there was any intention on the part of the Government to allow this country to be dragged into war. Suddenly, however, it was announced that Parliament would be summoned to meet earlier than usual; but what was unfortunate about this announcement was, that it was not possible that Parliament could be summoned immediately, but only after the lapse of a month. During that month I think it may be said the mind of the country was greatly agitated, and time

fears, as the case might be, so as to induce the Government to depart from their position of strict neutrality. Her Majesty's Government cannot but be aware that the trade and industrial interests of the country have suffered from the anxiety perhaps inevitable from that delay. In some places where a revival of trade had commenced it was immediately checked by the announcement of Parliament meeting so early that it might be in the contemplation of the Government to propose to Parliament the adoption of a particular course. Trade, I have been informed, has been greatly paralyzed by the agitation that has since prevailed; and it appears to me that some further explanation from Her Majesty's Government as to the early meeting of Parliament other than that contained in Her Majesty's Speech is required from them. It is announced very naturally that one of the reasons for this early meeting of Parliament is that Her Majesty might have the advice and assistance of Parliament on the present state of public affairs; but that is not the only reason, for we are informed that it is in order that we should be made acquainted with the efforts that have been adopted to terminate the war that is now devastating Eastern Europe and Armenia. The announcement of the early meeting of Parliament was made on the 18th December, and the only attempt in the direction of negotiations of which we have any knowledge before that date was the unsuccessful Circular that was sent to the neutral Powers generally, upon which no result took place, and the only effort of Her Majesty's Government to restore peace of which we are at present aware was communicated to the public through the Press when Her Majesty's Government undertook, at the desire of the Sultan, to convey to Russia the desire of Turkey to make peace—namely, on the 29th December—10 days after the announcement that Parliament would meet. We ought, therefore, to have some explana-

they are referred to in Her Majesty's Speech, it appears to me that every care has been taken to prevent this country from incurring any responsibility to the Porte in respect to these negotiations. We shall no doubt see, when the Papers have been presented, how far this object—which the Government evidently had in view—has been accomplished. In connection with this, it will be a point of great interest to know whether the Government of Turkey made this application to Her Majesty's Government of their own motion, or whether it was on the advice of Her Majesty's Government that the Turks applied to us to communicate with Russia on their behalf. Well, ever since the 19th of December but one subject has occupied the public mind, whether in the Press, in private conversation, or at public meetings—namely, as to what would be the nature of the communication which was to be made to Parliament on its assembling? And when I refer to the public meetings which have been held in the country, I cannot help calling the attention of the House to the almost complete unanimity and at the same time to the moderation of language by which those meetings have been marked. It will not, I think, be asserted on either side of the House that those meetings have been of a Party, or, at least, of an exclusively Party character. They have been summoned, and, I believe, attended by gentlemen who belong to both sides of politics; and from many Conservative quarters of the country expressions have been heard not less strong in favour of the maintenance of our neutrality than those which came from anyone sitting on this side. And the speech which we have had this evening from the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Tennant), the Representative of a great commercial constituency, has borne testimony as emphatic as any that could be borne by any hon. Gentleman behind me that the prevailing feeling of those whom he represents is strongly in favour of the maintenance of the present attitude of the Government—a policy of neutrality. As I have said, the question which everyone is asking is—What is the nature of the communication which is to be made to us by Her Majesty's Government? It has been partly answered to-night in the Speech which has been read from the Chair. But the

House, if I mistake not, still awaits with considerable anxiety the fuller explanation which it will be in the power of Her Majesty's responsible Advisers to give, and which will, no doubt, be given to this House. Much still depends upon what Her Majesty's Government will say. It will be in their power to clear up much that still remains of anxiety and uneasiness; it will be in their power to hasten the progress of negotiations, and, perhaps, the restoration of peace. On the other hand, it will be in their power to convert what is now merely anxiety into something like alarm; to convert what is now suspicion into active hostility; to divide the people of this country as they never yet have been divided; to check every hope of the revival of trade and industry in England; to put an end to every prospect of an improved revenue; to give to a great portion of the people of this country, perhaps to a majority of the people, increased burdens with the prospect of insufficient employment, and therefore of insufficient means of subsistence. A great and deep responsibility will attend the words which Ministers will be able to utter to-night, and I hope they are aware—I have no doubt they are aware—of the responsibility which rests on them. I will not pretend for a moment to say that I expect the statement they can make will be one which it will be satisfactory to themselves to make, or, indeed, to any of us to listen to. They will have to tell of negotiations which are going on, or are about to begin, between Russia and Turkey, of the terms of which we are ignorant, and the basis of which has not yet been communicated to us. I cannot conceive that for men who, not two years ago, boasted and made it their pride that they had been the means of rejecting the Berlin Memorandum because it contained the words, "the other ulterior measures," which might be applied to Turkey; I cannot conceive that men who thought they had become the masters of the situation because by their refusal to assent to that document they had prevented even the possibility of its presentation to the Porte—I cannot, I say, imagine that statesmen who took that view of the affairs of the East will come with any very cheerful countenance before Parliament to relate that negotiations are going on between Turkey and

Russia affecting the future condition, perhaps the very existence, of Turkey, on terms and on a basis of which they know nothing whatever. Certainly, if they have taught themselves to look with satisfaction on such a state of things as that, I must say they have greatly altered since the time of the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum. No doubt it may be said that the terms of peace now being discussed will require the assent of the Great Powers, and we shall hear what the opinions of the Government are on that point. But it is not very easy to see, if the terms which are now being agreed to by Turkey are not satisfactory to the Government, by what right the Government intend to insist on Turkey carrying on the war in order to obtain terms more satisfactory to them; or how, if they possess that right, they can call on her to carry on the war for the purpose of obtaining terms for the only thing they profess to care about—namely, exclusively British interests. However that may be, I assume that there is no danger of our being led into war, or even into an approach to war, to vindicate any claim which we are likely to make to assert our right to take a share in these negotiations; because, as we understand, it is on the recommendation of Her Majesty's Government itself that the Porte has been induced to enter into separate negotiations with Russia. To a certain extent statesmen take particular views upon this matter, and there are probably some who look on this state of things as a humiliation to this country. Now, I have no desire to see my country humiliated. I am not prepared to admit that this state of things—although it may be, as I have said, mortifying to a certain extent to the statesmen who have taken a particular view of the Eastern Question—is humiliating to this country. We might have had a share in these negotiations that are now going on. We might have had a share in them in various ways. We might

The Government, in accordance with a very large public opinion, also declined to be the ally of Russia; and the Government felt compelled at the outbreak of the war to express to Russia their sense of the misconduct of which she had been guilty. It was not likely, therefore that they could stand in the position of a neutral friendly to Russia, which had been assumed by Germany and Austria. I say, then, that the position we have assumed is one which we have assumed by our own choice—which we have deliberately assumed in a great measure in deference to our own conscientious convictions. I, therefore, am not able to say that there is any humiliation to this country necessarily involved in our temporary exclusion from the settlement of this quarrel in which we deliberately resolved to take no part. The paragraph in Her Majesty's Speech which will be most scanned in the country, and which will cause the greatest concern, is that in which Her Majesty refers to the conditions of her neutrality, to the manner in which these conditions may be infringed, and to the prospect of their infringement. I am not surprised that Her Majesty should inform Parliament that, so long as those conditions are not infringed, her attitude will be the same. I am not surprised at the announcement, after the conditions of neutrality were laid down at the commencement of the war, that Her Majesty's Government will be bound in honour, if not bound in policy also, not to depart one jot from those conditions. I am not surprised, therefore, that it should be declared that, as long as the conditions publicly announced by both belligerents are respected, our policy of neutrality should not be departed from. But, it seems, something has happened or is expected which was not anticipated in August last; something which may render it necessary to make preparations; something which was not imagined at the outbreak of the war or when Parli-

which is contingent on the continuation of the war; in other words, whether the Vote Her Majesty's Government are going to ask for is to be simply without reference to anything going on, or is contingent on the long continuance of the war. What I gather by the language of the paragraph, and also partially, and to a certain extent, from the whole Address, although the language of the Mover of the Address gave me an opposite conclusion, is that the intention is to ask for an immediate grant. Sir, it appears to me that there are grave objections to this course. What is the one reason that is alleged? What are the facts as stated in Her Majesty's Speech, and how do they stand now as compared with the facts put before us in August last? Her Majesty informs us that—

“Neither of the belligerents has infringed the conditions on which my neutrality is founded, and I willingly believe that both parties are desirous to respect them, so far as it may be in their power. So long as these conditions are not infringed my attitude will continue the same. But I cannot conceal from myself that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution.”

So far we stand in a more favourable position now than we were in last August, when we had no knowledge whether the conditions of our neutrality would be observed, and whether such observance was the desire of the belligerents themselves. Now we have obtained satisfactory evidence on both points. Is there any other circumstance which is less favourable now than it was then, when war was only just commencing? Why, at that time the war had only just begun, and it was impossible to tell what its course would be. Now, as we are informed, negotiations have been commenced which may lead to a peaceful settlement. Here, again, we stand in a very much more favourable position than we did last August. Then Parliament was about to separate for many months; now Parliament has just met for the Session. Her Majesty informs us that neither of the belligerents have infringed the terms of the neutrality. She believes, further, that both of the parties are desirous of peace. Thus far, we stand in no different light than we did before. The fair inference,

therefore, from every fact in this comparison would be that there is less reason to suppose that we are likely to be called upon now to interfere in defence of our interests than we were last autumn. Every fact points to the conclusion that preparation is less required now than last autumn; but Her Majesty's Government appears to have come to a directly opposite conclusion. Whereas they were satisfied to prorogue Parliament last August without making any preparations, they are now not satisfied to summon Parliament without informing us at once of their intention to prepare for measures of precaution. There is but one reason that they give for this intention; but I ask the House whether that reason will bear investigation. It is alleged that hostilities may be prolonged, and that they may lead to some unexpected occurrence, which may render it incumbent to adopt measures of precaution. Well, I ask whether that is a reason at all; whether it is one fit to be addressed to a reasoning deliberative Assembly, and would inquire of the Government what are the circumstances on which they found their anticipation of unexpected occurrences which they ought not to have found out before the end of last Session? Her Majesty's Government seem by their present course to condemn themselves for want of foresight last year. Was it not more likely that something unexpected would take place when Parliament was about to separate than now? [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER dissented.] The Chancellor of the Exchequer shakes his head; he seems to know what the unexpected occurrence really is, and that it is extremely likely to take place. If there is sufficient justification for the measure which is suggested, it appears to me to have been a grave mistake of the Government not to have made their preparations before this. I may be told that the Turkish Government have abandoned all hope—if they ever possessed it—that they are to be assisted by the intervention of this country. I believe they had that hope, and that, as drowning men catch at straws, the one hope of the Turkish Government throughout this war has been that, sooner or later, they would be aided by the intervention of England. Why, Sir, what will be the effect in Constantinople when this recommendation of Her Majesty's Govern-



ment is read? When it is known that Her Majesty's Government speaks of unexpected occurrences and preparation for measures of precaution—which, I suppose, means military preparations, if it means anything at all—is it not likely that the Turks will interpret it as the signal for one more desperate effort to put off the signature of a disastrous peace, an effort which will prolong, at all events, the suspense and indecision of England, and which may possibly bring about the unexpected occurrence which is to be the cause of our taking part in this affair? It appears to me that this measure is either disingenuous to England, or cruel to Turkey. Either you intend to verify the old French proverb, *Pest imprévu qui arrive toujours*, or you know what this unexpected occurrence is and intend that it should occur. But, in any case, it is cruel to Turkey to tempt her on for another struggle by hopes which you must know are inevitably destined to be disappointed. You know perfectly well that the Russian Government will respect your conditions of neutrality. You know that the task they have in hand is not so easy as to make them desirous of having another enemy on their back, and that every one of your conditions will be respected unless you make it impossible. You will, therefore, have no opportunity of quarrelling with Russia; and, therefore, under such circumstances, if you administer the slightest encouragement to the Turks, it is not kindness but cruelty, and it is not an act of friendship for England to induce them to defer the opportunity of peace. It is for their interest as well as for the interest of this country that the war should be concluded as quickly as possible. If it were not detaining the House I would ask what are the conditions with reference to which you dread that some "unexpected occurrence" may render measures of precaution necessary? I do not suppose the House has forgotten the definition of British interests which was made last May, when the Chancellor of the

Britain only, have been or can be within any human probability affected. If any interests can be interfered with it is those which, as was pointed out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is the duty of England, in concert with the rest of Europe, to protect. He said—

"There are many other matters which are of interest to Europe generally; and I think we may feel confident that those nations which have closer interests than ourselves in these matters will take care at the time they think best and most convenient to protect their interests."—[3 *Hansard*, ccxxxiv. 947-8.]

I see no reason, as he further said, why we should put ourselves forward alone to fight for those interests. Now, I would ask whether anything has occurred to render the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Government less confident than they were that they may rely upon the assistance of the other Powers for the protection of those interests in which they are interested equally with this country? Have they so mismanaged matters that when the Papers are presented we are to find we are isolated so completely that we shall have to stand alone now in the defence of those interests of the world for the defence of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer said last May we could count on the assistance of the whole of Europe to protect. I hope I may be wrong; but when I read the paragraph in the Queen's Speech to which I am especially referring, I could not help thinking that it was the work of men who were not altogether satisfied with the position which they had taken up. I cannot but fear that there are some who had a hand in the preparation of this paragraph who do not distinctly understand the compact which was made between the Government and the nation, and in what the conditions of our neutrality really consisted. The conditions were clearly understood by the country, and it seems to me that some one has had a hand in the preparation of this paragraph who wished that these conditions had been somewhat different to what they

over Europe ever since the outbreak of these troubles? It did not arise simply from a consideration of the horrors of a war between Russia and Turkey, dreadful as they might be. It was not dread of the re-distribution of territory in Asia, however important that re-distribution might be to us or to other European States. It was felt and feared that the violent re-opening of this Eastern Question would lead to the disturbance of the peace of Europe, and the re-opening of other questions. It is that apprehension that has never been absent from the minds of European statesmen since the events of 1870. Are the relations between Germany and France, between Austria and Italy, so settled that they can look without apprehension on the prospect of any extension of the area of the struggle? Surely it would be the very height of madness if, at such a moment as this—as was said at the outbreak of the war of 1870 by the present Prime Minister—when vast ambitions are abroad—and we have reason to believe they still are abroad—that the influence of this country, which is one of the most powerful influences for the preservation of what remains to be secured of peace, should be lessened by our being drawn into any participation in this struggle. I hope the House will consider questions such as these, and that it will not be tempted by the apparent insignificance of the demonstration which it may be invited to make to ignore its importance. I am aware that the House is not anxious at this moment to listen to an expression of the views either of myself or of my Colleagues on the Eastern Question, and that what it desires to hear is the declaration on the subject of the Ministers of the Crown. I have, I am afraid, stood too long between it and the gratification of that natural wish, and it only remains for me to thank hon. Members for the patience with which they have listened to the few observations which I have felt it my duty to make on the present occasion.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am sure, Sir, that the House entirely concurs in the view taken by the noble Lord at the outset of his remarks, that it would not be in accordance with its desire that we should enter into any general discussion of the miscellaneous topics which are mentioned in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech. I

wish, I may add, with the noble Lord, to tender my thanks, and the thanks of the Whole House, to my hon. Friends the Mover and Seconder of the Address for the manner in which they have discharged their task, and for the interesting and valuable observations which they have made on other portions of the Royal Speech, while I, following the example of the noble Lord, confine myself to the earlier parts of that Speech. Now, Sir," the noble Lord asks what is the explanation of the step taken by the Government in calling Parliament together at a somewhat earlier period, and under the circumstances in which it has been called together. Now, upon that point I am reluctant to trouble the House with minute comparisons of dates. At the same time, as the noble Lord has thought it necessary to raise the question, and as, perhaps, I shall be best consulting the wishes of the House by going rather more minutely than I otherwise should have gone into particulars, I will venture to trespass upon their indulgence. The circumstances in which Parliament was prorogued, so far as relates to foreign affairs, were these—The war had commenced, and had so far proceeded that both parties to it were engaged in one of the most severe struggles that can be conceived. The policy of Her Majesty's Government had been declared in a most emphatic manner. It had been declared clearly in Parliament, and also in despatches addressed to foreign Powers which have been laid on the Table of the House. Our foreign policy was a policy of strict neutrality in the struggle going on between Russia and Turkey; but it was a policy guarded by declarations of the Government that there were certain interests of our own which it was necessary for us to respect, and which we were especially bound and determined to defend, and that the declaration of our neutrality must be considered as subject to the duty which we recognized of protecting those interests. That policy had been discussed in Parliament, and it had been accepted—I may go further, and say affirmed—by a very large majority, and not only by a large majority of this House, but, I believe, by the general consent of a very large majority of the people of this country. From that position—which we laid down for ourselves, and which was so affirmed

and accepted—from that moment to the present we have never shrunk or varied. I admit it has been a position which was a difficult one to maintain, because of the very great excitement which would naturally prevail upon one side and upon the other, and because that excitement which would not unnaturally lead persons to take strong views in favour of Russia or Turkey, would naturally lead some on the part of this country to further the views that Russia had undertaken to promote, or others go forward in defence of our ancient ally the Porte. That excitement in the circumstances naturally led to all sorts of constructions being put on every act and word of the Government, which, even though they had no significance whatever in the slightest degree inconsistent with the policy which they had laid down, were, as the noble Lord has very fairly reminded the House, twisted and distorted and misrepresented, so as to give them a totally different colour from that which they ought to bear. So far I go with the noble Lord; but I must beg leave to differ from one observation which he made when he said that these misrepresentations did not originate with the political opponents, but were generally to be found emanating from the political friends and supporters of the Government. Well, Sir, I do not wish to say anything on behalf of certain indiscreet friends and supporters. They may from time to time have put an improper construction upon our acts and words; but I must take leave to say that the construction which has been put not only upon individual acts, but upon the whole course of our policy from first to last by the associates and Colleagues of the noble Lord, and by his friends, has done tenfold more mischief than any indiscreet remarks or comments of any political friends and supporters of ours. It has not been a question as to whether the sailing of a particular vessel to a particular place at a particular time did or did not mean this, that, or the other. What we complain of is, that from beginning to end we have had it continually urged upon the country by the adherents of the Party opposite, and by their friends

the country was not to believe them; the tone they assumed was a convenient cloak, but it was a cloak and nothing more, to conceal the secret desire and fixed intention of the Government to carry the country into a war for Turkey. Now, I do not say—far be it from me to say—that the noble Lord, or any of those who sit upon the bench opposite, or who take an active part in politics, thus misrepresented the conduct and intentions of Her Majesty's Government; but I do say that such misrepresentations have been continued from the time those difficulties commenced, and that they have done the greatest possible mischief. The noble Lord speaks of the possibility of Turkey having been misled by certain conduct of ours. I say that those misrepresentations that have been placed upon our acts by friends and supporters of the noble Lord, and the construction that has been placed by them upon our policy—that sooner or later we should go to war for Turkey—these have been the cause of misleading the Turks. For what would the Turks—what would anybody—naturally say? They would say—"We learn that certain language has been used by English Ministers, and if we were to draw our own conclusion from that language, it would be that they are resolved to remain neutral; but we learn from men of authority in England, from men who speak from the heart of affairs in England, and who are naturally regarded as knowing what the language of English statesmen means—that Her Majesty's Government mean to go to war." I will not venture to say how many times it has been asserted that we were going to war to support Turkey; but these, I say, were the misrepresentations which misled Turkey. I must apologize to the House for a digression into which I was led, because I had undertaken to show what was the position when Parliament was prorogued, how it differs from the present position of affairs, and why it was that we took the step of calling Parliament together, to ask the advice of Parliament upon the matters which have recently occurred. The noble Lord contrasted the position of affairs with their position now, and he asks how it is that—the

own acknowledgment to complain of the readiness of either party to respect those conditions—you think it necessary to take measures of precaution or to review the position of the country now any more than you did at the time Parliament was prorogued? Well, I wish to point out to the noble Lord the very material alteration which has come about in the circumstances of the country and in those of the belligerents. Let me remind the House of the purposes for which Russia went to war. She went to war after the failure of the London Protocol and of the efforts made to bring about a peaceful settlement of the questions relating to the government of the Turkish Provinces, for the purpose of giving effect to those points which the Powers of Europe jointly recommended and endeavoured to induce Turkey to accept; and in the Circular issued by Prince Gortchakoff he declared the necessity of going to war with Turkey to effect that which the European Cabinets had sought to obtain. That was the object and intention with which Russia went to war, and it was perfectly obvious that such an object was certain to be pursued and might have been obtained without in any way violating or infringing the interests which we expressed ourselves bound and determined to protect. Therefore, while the struggle was going on, and the Porte maintaining its position that it would not allow its sovereign rights to be interfered with, and no other questions than those relating to the government of the Turkish Provinces seemed to be or likely to be involved, there was no ground for interference. Well, it was, of course, the object of Her Majesty's Government to take every possible opportunity of bringing about a cessation of hostilities; but it was perfectly clear that any attempt in that direction while the struggle was going on with equal fortunes was hopeless, and would lead to no good result. But after the lapse of a certain time, and when we came to the month of December, matters had changed very materially. Russia obtained such considerable successes, and the Porte was so beaten that she was no longer able to maintain the attitude which she formerly did, and which was the cause of the war. The Porte was forced to confess that Russia was too strong for her, and applied to the Powers to endeavour to obtain a cessation of

hostilities for her. That step having been taken, it became obvious that the position the question had reached was about to be changed, and that if Russia stated she was content after her victories in Europe and Asia to accept—I do not say the precise terms, but particular terms, somewhat similar to those she had demanded prior to entering upon the war, no question could arise as to the course which those Powers must take who had supported the view she had taken in common with them—namely, that certain alterations were required in the administration of the Turkish Provinces. On the other hand, it was possible that Russia might develop new views and wishes, and it was necessary and important, if so, to know what those new views and wishes were, in order to see whether they in any way affected the position of this country in relation to the struggle. The noble Lord asks what were the circumstances which induced us to call Parliament together. They were these—Plevna fell on the 10th of December. On the 12th December the Porte addressed a Circular to all the Powers of Europe. The effect of that Circular was not encouraging to the Porte. No Power seemed to think it would be possible to do anything or was inclined to do anything. Therefore Her Majesty's Government, on the 24th December, made a communication to the Porte to this effect—that Her Majesty's Government had delayed replying to the Circular of the Porte, dated the 12th instant, until they could become acquainted with the views of the Governments to which it was severally addressed. It soon became evident that there was little prospect of its being agreed to, and the refusal of the German Government rendered it impracticable. Her Majesty's Government, nevertheless, felt that they would not be justified in abstaining from making an effort to initiate negotiations for peace, and they go on to say that they ask His Excellency whether the Porte wished England to mediate. That was the Circular addressed by our Foreign Office to our Ambassador at Constantinople; but on the same day a letter was written at Constantinople, replying to the Turkish Ambassador in London, requesting that a communication might be made to England, asking on the part of the Porte for the media-

tion of the Government of Her Britannic Majesty. Her Majesty's Government thought it was utterly out of the question to think of attempting mediation; but they informed the Porte that they were ready to make the communication to His Imperial Majesty the Czar, suggested in the despatch to which I have referred; and, the Porte assenting, that communication was accordingly made. The Correspondence from which I have briefly quoted is very short, and will be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow; and I think it will be most satisfactory to refrain from further reference to it until hon. Members have had an opportunity of considering it. I have had, however, in consequence of the Questions put by the noble Lord, to refer to it briefly as I have. "Then," says the noble Lord, "if what you have stated is accurate, and the summons which has called Parliament together was determined upon on the 18th of December, how had it reference to the proceedings of the 24th of the same month?" I think we should not be quite so minute as all that in the criticism of dates. From the moment that the Porte issued that Circular to the Powers, and addressed it, among others, to Her Majesty's Government, it became clear to the Government that we were approaching a new state of things, in which it might be possible for us in some way to facilitate the closing of this disastrous and terrible war. We thought this, although we did not think that the appeal of the Porte was put in the most proper form for its acceptance to be agreed upon. Her Majesty's Government thought that, as they were approaching a new state of things, it would be of great importance to have as soon as conveniently might be the assistance and advice of Parliament, in order that in anything they might do they might have the means of making their statement in the most formal and Constitutional manner, and, in any steps they might think it necessary to take, that they might be supported by the

tated by questions as to the policy of Her Majesty's Government in calling it together, and as to the recommendations they might have to make; but, on the other hand, I do not think that the step taken was one of a very alarming character. It was perfectly obvious that a great change had come over the fortunes of the struggle between Russia and Turkey, and it was equally clear that events might happen which would require the attention of Her Majesty's Government; but I think it must be admitted that we did not call Parliament together in a violent manner, as if we were going to recommend extraordinary measures and ask for the assistance of Parliament in their and our support. On this as on former occasions we acted upon the principle that we were anxious to maintain our position of neutrality; but, at the same time, to watch over the interests of this country. If it had not been for the persistent way in which suspicions have been raised against and doubts cast upon the Government, none of this uneasiness would have come about; and I do hope and trust that, whatever may be the view taken by Parliament of the position which we thought we ought to take and actually have taken, that we shall get out of the region of hesitating doubts into which we have drifted. I do not wish to enter into quarrels with or make complaints about these matters; but I do wish to point out to the House that it is really a serious question of public interest whether such a state of things should go on, and whether it is not more worthy of all persons interested in the welfare of the country that they should give credit to their Ministers, whoever they may be, for sincerity in what they do. The noble Lord has taken the present occasion to throw out a few taunts—if they were taunts—which I cannot regard as having even the merit of novelty. We heard a great deal of the Berlin Memorandum of last year. We have heard these things from time to

do not know whether it was a wise thing to do, but I am quite sure it is not a humiliating thing. I am certain there has been nothing in the conduct of Her Majesty's Government from first to last—and certainly not in the mode in which we dealt with the Berlin Memorandum—that could in any sense be called a conduct humiliating to this country. I venture to say when they mention what they are fond of talking about—the humiliation of this country—[*Opposition cheers*—I am very glad to hear that cheer—I am never in the habit of talking of the humiliation of this country—and I solemnly protest against such language, because it does no good—that there is no more certain way of making other persons think you humiliated. Further, I think with regard to our supposed great apprehensions as to danger to this country that we often make the danger ourselves by expressing apprehensions at times when no one can see grounds for them except ourselves. I am surprised, I own, when I hear about the “foreign friend argument.” My right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) may remember on some other measure that Lord Salisbury objected to the argument of the “foreign friend,” and “what foreigners would think of us.” I think that the same caution should be observed in this case. We ought not to be always running about and talking of what foreigners would say—it is quite painful. I do not myself see why we should allow foreigners always to be dragged in. But if they are, it seems to me that if we are satisfied with our position, and with the results of what we are doing, we may afford very well to pass by what foreigners think with something of contempt. Sir, the position of England is by no means one of humiliation. The position of England is by no means one of isolation. It is a very favourite phrase that is current among hon. Gentlemen opposite, that England, by the conduct of Her Majesty's Government, has been placed in a position of isolation. I see no position of isolation at all. I am quite unable to recognize anything in our position that differs at all from that of other neutral Powers in respect of isolation. We have not joined either of the belligerents; neither has Austria; neither has France; neither has Italy. We do not hear about

the isolation of those countries. But, Sir, we have taken upon ourselves to act and to speak for ourselves when we have thought it wise, right, and necessary to act; and as long as Her Majesty's present Advisers are entrusted with the conduct of affairs they mean to take that course continually. If we find it is necessary for us to speak we shall speak; we are not anxious to place ourselves in a different position from other nations; we are not anxious to separate ourselves from the European concert, and we have proved that we have not. Isolation of England for rejecting the Berlin Memorandum! Well, clearly hon. Gentlemen must have got that Berlin Memorandum so largely on the brain that they can see nothing of what has happened since. Granting, however, for a moment that we isolated ourselves on that occasion, which is now two years ago, do they forget our communications with the other Powers in reference to the Servian War, and do they forget that we not only took the initiative, but were the Power which most of all conduced to the stopping of that war in concert with others. But beyond that, what do you say to the Conference? I think the actual proposal of the Conference came from us; at all events we were foremost in promoting it, and took an active part in the deliberations of that Conference. It has been said that there are some men who are never so much alone as when they are in a crowd; and, perhaps, the hon. Gentlemen to whom I allude think that a nation or a Government is never so much isolated as when engaged in a Conference with other nations or Governments. But anyone who knows the proceedings of the Conference and the part England took in it will see that England was in no position of isolation; we separated ourselves in no way from the other Powers, and they showed no desire to separate themselves from us. I will say nothing as to the London Protocol, but simply close this branch of my remarks with the observation that since Russia went to war we have occupied a position precisely similar to that of all the other Powers which took no part in the war. The language which has been used by the other Powers has been very similar to that used by ourselves. Of course there are differences in regard to each and every Power, but I am thankful to say the language that

has been used by other Powers is very similar to the language used by us. I observe that the Austrian Government, for instance, have explicitly declared their neutrality to be conditional, but they reserved to themselves "full liberty of action for the protection of Austrian interests." That is exactly the position of England. And when we know that the other Powers hold similar views we cannot accept the isolation view held in regard to England. Now, let me say a word with regard to the humiliation, and with regard to a separating of this country from all participation in Eastern affairs. We, of course, have always held the same views which the noble Lord has referred to and quoted just now from the French proverb. We have always held that there are a great many interests in this matter which are the interests of the whole of Europe, or of other Powers of Europe besides ourselves; and that there are other interests which are more peculiarly our own. We have watched more particularly over those interests which we have felt to be more peculiarly our own, and we may say that the respect which has been paid to the declaration of England with regard to those interests which are more peculiarly her own is a respect which we need not view with anything like dissatisfaction. I refer especially to the case of Egypt, and it is a very striking case. If this Government put the question of Egypt in the forefront of the interests which it was necessary should be respected, and although Egypt as a portion of the Turkish Empire has been supplying assistance to her Suzerain, still out of respect to that declaration of England Russia has recognized her honourable obligation not to interfere with Egypt on that account. I entirely accept from the noble Lord that which he said some little time ago, when he said he could not question that as long as those interests were respected Her Majesty would retain the attitude which she had taken; because, having declared her intention to take that position, it would not be consistent with her

But now what are we to say with regard to the unexpected occurrences which the noble Lord is so amusing about? I suppose that the language of the Queen's Speech is always considered to be a fair subject for criticism, and no doubt the noble Lord may be justified in his remarks with regard to the peculiarity which he finds in some of the expressions of the present one; but I think everybody must see what is the real meaning and what is the obvious intention of the paragraph to which he alludes. We cannot say what may be the conduct of Russia at this moment. When hon. Members see the Papers now upon the Table they will find that they do not carry the whole matter down to a conclusion, for the simple reason that the whole matter is not yet at an end. They bring us down to this point—that after the British Government had, at the request of Turkey, made an inquiry of the Emperor of Russia as to whether he was ready to state his terms of peace, the answer given was to the effect that the course that must be taken was that the Porte must address itself to the Imperial Commanders-in-Chief in Europe and Asia, who would state the conditions on which an armistice would be granted. That reply was made by the Russian Government as far back as the 29th of December. Subsequently negotiations took place, and the result was that we advised the Porte to open communications with the Russian commanders, to whom we were informed instructions had been given. The Porte, after a time, took that step, and on the 9th of January, which was some 11 days later, they informed our Ambassador that on making an application to the Russian commanders they found that the conditions spoken of had not been received by them. This circumstance caused considerable delay, and naturally created some surprise. However, inquiry was made, and the explanation that was given by the Russian Government on the 11th of January in answer to Lord Augustus Loftus's inquiry was that the necessary instructions were sent about a week pre-

result has been that some delay has taken place, not on the part of the Porte in making the application, but on the part of the Russian generals in communicating the terms of peace. According to information which only reached me some half-an-hour or an hour before I came down to the House, the two Turkish Envoys who have been deputed for the purpose of treating with the Russian commanders are still on their way, and it does not seem probable, from the circumstances mentioned, that they will succeed in reaching the headquarters for another day or two. Under these circumstances, it is obvious that these Papers will only show how these negotiations have been opened, and to what point they have been advanced. The transaction is not a complete transaction. We do not at the present moment know what the Russian demands or conditions may be, and, of course, until we know what they are, we have no proposals to make in the matter; because it would be obviously improper to assume that an answer will not be given such as we have reason to assume will be given. If the proposals that are made by the Russian commanders are of a character which will be satisfactory both to the Porte and to the other Powers of Europe, *cadit questio*, nothing can be more satisfactory. But it must be borne in mind that any arrangement, or any terms of peace that may be made, can only be made with the consent and assent of the other European Powers, if the peace is one which in any way varies or affects the arrangements made between those Powers. Therefore our position is one of considerable delicacy and anxiety. We trust, and we are ready to believe, that the proposals that will be made by the Russians will be in accordance with the declarations which they made before the beginning of the war; but it is impossible to say what may be the effect which these hostilities and this long struggle may have had upon the position and views of the Russians. It is, therefore, necessary that we should maintain an attitude of watchfulness and reserve until we see and know what it is they are prepared to demand. The answer cannot be very much longer unknown to us, and when we know it, we shall see more clearly where we are. In answer to the Question of the noble Lord, I may

say that at the present time we make no immediate proposals; but we think it right to warn and to remind the House that it may very well become our duty to put ourselves into a position to take the measures of precaution that may become necessary. I speak frankly. It is necessary that we should speak frankly. We have no wish to excite false hopes, on the one side, nor to give offence on the other. We maintain the views which we have always taken on this matter. We desire to see a fair, proper, and reasonable settlement of the government of that great country—the Christian Provinces of Turkey. We have done what we could by reason, persuasion, and argument to bring about an amelioration of that government. We have gone further than that, and have told the Porte that if it refused to adopt our advice and that of the other European Powers, we could not take up arms to defend and save it from the consequences of its own folly. It is perfectly true that we had entered into Treaty arrangements, among which was one binding upon us and upon the other Powers, under certain circumstances, to defend Turkey from attack; but the position in which that country has placed itself has been this—that she has refused and resisted all the recommendations that were made by those Powers, and therefore those Powers, finding themselves unable to induce it to adopt them, are, of course, in a very different position from that which they previously occupied. The position of the Eastern Question is, and has long been, not in our time only, but for generations past, one which has interested not one or two countries only, but the greater part of Europe. That question is as difficult now as it has been at any previous time. It will require the greatest firmness, the greatest caution, and the greatest prudence in dealing with it and in endeavouring to settle it. We are as well aware as you are of the horrors of war. We are as anxious as you can possibly be to save this country, or to save any other portion of Europe, from the horrors of war. We are anxious to do whatever we reasonably and possibly can to put an end to the fearful war that has been going on, and which has certainly led to so many horrible and fearful sufferings. But we must take care lest, in our anxiety to



avoid those evils, we run into greater ones. We must beware lest we allow the question to get into such a position as to lead to the result which the noble Lord referred to—that of the possibility of a much wider and greater scope being given to the war. We believe that now is the time when, by proper action and influence, we may hope to localize the war and bring it to a conclusion. We are earnestly desirous to accomplish that end. We have no secret intentions to play the country false, or our Allies false, or Turkey false. We have no desire to adopt any other policy than that which we have declared. It is a policy which, as I have said, has been already approved, and which, I believe, the country is prepared to approve still. It is one which I admit, and which I call upon you to admit, is one of difficulty and delicacy to follow; but it is not one which we shall be able to follow with success unless we have the avowed support and confidence of Parliament and of the country. If we are to be continually weakened in every step we take, and in every declaration we make, by insinuations, and, indeed, by something more than insinuations, that we are playing false, and do not mean what we say, no one can answer for the consequences. I repeat that we cannot undertake to carry on affairs of this kind unless we are properly and honestly supported. I venture to say that this is a question involving the interests of this country and of Europe. I say that the interests of Europe are not disassociated from those of this country in this matter—are not separate from, and are certainly not opposed to them. We are not desirous of prosecuting a selfish policy, nor of obtaining advantages for ourselves at the expense of others. We desire to promote that which has been the great object and boast of England. We desire to promote the cause of freedom, of liberty, and of peace, upon the largest and the highest scale. When you talk of the possible effacement of England, I say that not only can England herself not afford to be effaced, but that Europe cannot afford that she should be effaced, because England represents

blessing of her own country, but of the whole of Europe and the world.

MR. GLADSTONE: Directing my eyes for a moment, to the clock, I perceive we have passed what I may call “the hour of expectation,” and that we have reached what I may term “the hour of despair.” Under these circumstances, I do not know that the promise of brevity is of great importance, or will be very welcome to the House; but I can, after the speech of my right hon. Friend, promise great brevity, and with every expectation of keeping that promise. I must say I hardly know how to express my thankfulness for the debate we have had to-night. I, with many others, had found the passage in the gracious Speech which contains the pith of the Eastern Question an enigma that it was hardly possible to solve; but I own I read it, I reluctantly read it—it was reluctantly read by almost all my Friends, and it has apparently been also read by the Mover and Seconder of the Address—as implying that, in the view of Her Majesty’s Government, the time had come when they felt it to be their duty to make to Parliament a proposal for an increase in the military establishment of the country with a view to the present state of the Eastern Question. That was the construction which, so far as I knew, was generally put within political circles upon that passage of the Speech. Unless I am much misinformed, that construction has been put upon it elsewhere—namely, in that portion of London which is most sensitive to the influence of political rumour and anticipation of the immediate future. And my noble Friend evidently, in the speech he made, spoke under the apprehension that that was the only interpretation that could be placed upon the Speech. Now, Sir, I am very desirous not to hold my right hon. Friend to any words that he has used; but to make sure that I perfectly understand him, I will say now that I understand him to have used these words—“Until we know the Russian demands and conditions we have no proposals to make.” Let my right hon. Friend confirm the accuracy of the report that I make of

referred to in the course of the present evening, which I think it would be idle at the present time to go into. For instance, the Mover of the Address, in his able and interesting speech, referred to proceedings in 1870. That reference assisted to mislead me into a belief that a proposal was about to be made, and in that case it would have been my duty, with reference to the proceedings in 1870, of which I possess the authentic record, to contend, and I think I could demonstrate, that they would have afforded no justification whatever for such a proposal. There was another point. I will not follow my right hon. Friend into the historical portion of his speech, which I must say I did think rather unhistorical; but in his view Her Majesty's Government is naturally the best of all possible Governments, and its acts have been throughout the best of all possible acts. I leave him in possession of the field, and will not enter on any subject of contention such as that. But he appeared in one part of his speech to intimate or suggest a doctrine which, perhaps, he did not mean broadly to convey, and which I should be sorry if he were to be misunderstood as broadly conveying. He spoke of the demands that Russia had made at the commencement of the war, and said it was material for us to know whether any further demands were to be made. I think many would infer from the language of my right hon. Friend—but, I hope, will untruly infer—that he intended to lay down this doctrine—that Russia was bound, having obtained great success in warlike operations, to limit her demands to the demands to the terms for which she was originally willing to keep the peace. This is a point which it is not necessary to discuss at length at present. Such a doctrine as that is totally untenable. It is contradicted by the proceedings of every Power. Germany, in 1870, had to begin a war simply because she was not willing to give a pledge binding her discretion in the future with respect to a Spanish marriage; but when she succeeded in the war, she was not satisfied with requiring France to withdraw the demand for that pledge. We, in 1854, commenced war against Russia because the Emperor of Russia would not accede to certain very moderate terms we endeavoured to impose upon him; but as the war advanced

we were not willing to keep the peace on the same terms, but gradually increased the conditions as we made our successes; according to what appeared to be the necessity of the case and the just demands arising out of the military situation. I am almost safe in the assumption that my right hon. Friend did not mean to say that it is possible to hold Russia generally to the terms of the London Protocol or the propositions of the Conference at Constantinople. It is perfectly clear that we are to have no proposal until the Government know what are the Russian demands and conditions, and until they know whether these demands and conditions are such as they may think require action upon their part. Then my right hon. Friend thought it right to warn the House in case a necessity of coming to Parliament to ask for additional means should arise. I will make no complaint as to that. It is a frank and ingenuous proceeding. He has immensely relieved our minds by giving us explicit assurances that the case has not yet arrived; and to that warning I do not think I can give a more frank reply, or better show a corresponding spirit than I do in saying that we take it as it is given; that we shall reserve—I, for myself, for I am not entitled to speak for others, shall reserve the case to be judged upon its merits when it occurs. I confess I have a firm, the very strongest, opinion that the circumstances of our own position would not justify an increase of our military strength—that it would be in a high degree dangerous and injurious, and would have been in glaring contradiction to the expressed wishes of the country. I may here interpolate a word to say that my right hon. Friend complains—and I do not wonder from his point of view that he does complain—of the manner in which misrepresentation and Party action have entered into the course of discussion on the present question. I hope he will feel, at any rate, that during the last month that has not been the case. I can assure him for myself I have resolutely refused many and many a demand, supported by every possible argument, that I should undertake to point out the dangers of our position, and be myself the instrument in eliciting by argument and by appearance the declarations and the views of the people of England on

the subject of our neutrality. I have steadily declined to do any such thing, because I have said—"Let us, if possible, have a national declaration." My right hon. Friend says he feels he could not go forward without the general support of Parliament and the country. I agree with my right hon. Friend in the strongest manner, and I think a difference of Party—a great contest in this House, notwithstanding your large majority, of which, of course, you are justified in boasting—a difference of Party in this House on a question of foreign policy, of peace or war, or an increase of military establishments connected with the contingency of peace or war, is a public evil of the gravest character, and one never to be encountered except for the sake of averting some other and yet much greater evil—namely, the dragging of this country into war—perhaps of Europe into war—for a cause not sanctified by justice. I think I need not trouble the House any further on that matter. My right hon. Friend warns us in a friendly spirit, and in the same friendly spirit we warn him, that the question will be a very serious one indeed, if, upon any circumstances resembling the present circumstances, so far as we know them, a demand of this kind is made. In the meantime we accept with the utmost thankfulness his frank declaration. I have never known an instance when the speech of a Minister added so much—and added so much that is satisfactory—to the Speech delivered from the Throne. And as it is the custom by form of ceremony to call the Speech from the Throne a gracious Speech, I am also thankful for the gracious speech delivered from that Bench. I thank my right hon. Friend for the relief he has given, not to our minds only, but to the mind of the country. I willingly, indeed, suppress and reserve all the criticism I might have been tempted to make on the Speech from the Throne had it been construed in a different sense. And while I admit that my right hon. Friend has naturally

"throw aside Party differences, and have but one voice" on the Eastern Question. Such a result is certainly much to be desired, if only that one voice should be in the right direction; but it is not easy to be attained in a Representative Assembly of a people which has lately been distracted by public meetings and torn by agitation. Of the existence of agitation for the last few months, and of the meetings which were held to fan it and to give it expression, there can be no doubt. Concerning the causes of that agitation, which I think are three, it is well worth our while to inquire. The first cause is that the Government failed to lead public opinion. The people remained in doubt until their anxiety became unendurable. They yearned for information, and longed for the Government to give them some clue as to the just conclusion to which they should arrive. It is the duty of a Government to govern, or lead the public mind; and not a voice of undoubted and uncontradicted authority was heard. Therefore, the people, after waiting for some time in suspense, took the matter into their own hands, and judged for themselves as best they were able; each man going astray, as his feelings or his interests misled him. The second cause of the agitation was the unceasing contradictions of Ministers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer spoke in Devonshire, and said that he saw a piece of blue sky in the political horizon, and that peace between Turkey and Russia was imminent. Three or four days afterwards, Lord Salisbury spoke at Bradford, and said that no blue sky was visible, but that all the political atmosphere was as dark, melancholy, and dreary as the atmosphere of that manufacturing town. Then the Postmaster General went to Ipswich, and contradicted both of his Colleagues, pinning his political faith to Lord Ponsonby and the future victories of the Turks. Next, we had the Secretary of State for War in Edinburgh; and the only positive statement he made was that England would never allow a sepa-

proposal to send troops to Gallipoli, to which the noble Marquess on this side (the Marquess of Hartington) has just alluded. It was on a Friday, the 20th of July, I think, that the news came of the Russians having crossed the Balkans. Orders were at once sent to our military and naval stations, commanding troopships to be at once prepared, and troops to the number of 10,000 men to be assembled for instant embarkation. Yet before the succeeding Monday these orders were three times countermanded and three times re-enacted. Three times the dockyard labourers were bidden to work overtime, and three times they were forbidden. Then, on the Monday, came the Ministerial Statement, that the intention was only to "send 3,000 men, in order to raise the garrisons of Malta and Gibraltar to their proper complement." The same contradiction was observable in the refusal to sign the Berlin Memorandum, to which the noble Marquess has also adverted. Yet I differ from him in his estimate of that act. I think that the Government were right in refusing, and wrong in everything else that they did. They refused to sign, because they refused to interfere with the sovereignty and independence of the Porte. Why, then, did they agree to the mission of the Consuls, which was an illegal interference with the independence of the Porte? Why did they consent to the illegal interference of the Andrassy Note? On that occasion, January 18th, Lord Derby wrote a despatch to the Porte, promising, in the names of England and of Russia, that if the Sultan would sign that note, nothing more should be asked of him, and pledging the faith of England in that case to support the Turks and defend the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Then the Conference was another illegal interference. There, again, another contradiction arose; for every one of the bases of the Conference—which were propounded by Lord Derby and agreed to by all the Powers—bases upon which alone the Porte would consent to a Conference—every one of these was violated in the Conference itself. The Protocol of London, again, was a most illegal interference with the independence of the Porte, and a contradiction of our policy. By means of the Conference and Protocol, we endorsed the *casus belli* of Russia, and made her the

mandatory of Europe for the defence of the Christians in those parts, and taught all Christian sects to look to her as their sole champion. These acts were, then, in flagrant contradiction with the refusal to sign the Berlin Memorandum. Then we have had further contradictions from the Chancellor of the Exchequer this evening. He said—"We are not in isolation;" yet the Prime Minister said, on August 1st, 1876, that we were isolated, and why? "Because," he said, "we refused to interfere with the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire." Was that isolation marked last November 9th at the Guildhall? It is usual on such occasions for all the Ambassadors to attend, yet on that occasion only one Ambassador was to be found—the Ottoman Ambassador. "But," the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "we are not more isolated than the other neutral Powers," and he specially mentioned Austria. Has he, then, forgotten all about the Triple Alliance, in which the three Empires are bound closely together in one unholy conspiracy, Austria being one of them? I believe I might have said a Quadruple Alliance, for it is said that Italy is another. I have now mentioned two of the causes of agitation—the Government did not lead, and the Government confused the public mind by their contradictions. The third cause has been the numerous appeals to the people to hold meetings, in order to guide the Executive and overawe Parliament. These appeals were invitations to the constituencies, who have no knowledge of the details, and no qualifications of previous political training, sufficient for arriving at a just judgment. This course of action was, in fact, a revolutionary attempt to transfer the executive power from the Sovereign to the people. In order to show that I am not exaggerating, I will quote one passage from the manifesto advising those meetings, which was issued by the "National Federation of Liberal Associations." It says—

"It is for the country to use the interval before the meeting of Parliament to make its voice heard, and its will understood. The House of Commons needs this guidance from its constituents. . . . Parliament requires to be clearly informed as to the opinion of the country, in order that, so instructed and guided, it may save England from a policy which may lead to war."

This manifesto is signed "J. Chamber-

lain, President." I believe he is the hon. Member for Birmingham. Much has been said, both this evening and during the Recess, about "British interests," as if the defence of these was our only policy. If so, we have drifted away from both of the lines of policy so clearly laid down a little more than a year ago. Two policies were then promulgated, which were contradictory, and both intelligible. The first was enunciated by Mr. Disraeli at the Guildhall, on November 9, 1876, and the other was proclaimed at St. James's Hall on December 8 of the same year. The first was, that we are bound in honour to fulfil our engagements and stand by our rights, and observe treaties; so that, as a necessary corollary, we were called upon to defend the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, which we guaranteed in the Treaties of 1856. This policy seems to have had, at first, the support and adherence of the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), for, on August 1, 1876, after stating that the war had been brought about by the Russian Revolutionary Committees, he concluded in these words—

"I am not ashamed to say that I desire the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire. I do not see how, if that is broken up, we can avoid very serious difficulties and dangers."

The second and contradictory line of policy was that we should not fulfil our engagements and not support treaties, but should join Russia, and send our Fleet to the Dardanelles—contrary to treaty stipulations—and prevent the passage of Turkish armies into Bulgaria. This was a policy of coercion on Turkey. Its friends gave it the euphemious title of "insisting that Turkey should fulfil her promises." What? insist on Turkey fulfilling her verbal promises, while we violate our written engagements! Its enemies called this policy the "bag-and-baggage policy." Again, its friends defended it by saying that it was Canning's policy—namely, "joining Russia in order to control her

every step further, such as this was, must mean war. Thus, the Liberal Party gave up the second intelligible policy as untenable, and fell into the policy of peace; while the Conservative Party, on the same day, gave up the first policy, and stood up for "British interests." Thus, the two intelligible lines of policy—the south pole and the north pole of policy, were insensibly or senselessly abandoned. The one Party said that their aim had merely been the amelioration of the condition of the Christian Provinces. The other Party pointed to Layard's despatch, and to Forbes's article in *The Nineteenth Century*, to prove that the condition of the Christians had been excellent until the Russians invaded the country, and was now deplorable. They further said that the condition of the Christians can be ameliorated only in peace, and that the Constitution was a great step towards it. Then the other Party retorted on the Government—"You signed the Andrassy Note; you were represented at the Conference; you appended Lord Derby's name to the Protocol, thus endorsing a *casus belli* for Russia, and making her the mandatory of Europe in fighting Turkey; therefore, while pretending to be Russia's adversary, you have been playing Russia's game." Those were the two intelligible poles of policy; and they have both been abandoned; while the two Parties appear to have coalesced on "conditional peace," and "British interests;" or peace on condition that British interests should not be attacked.

If you take your stand on British interests, you should, at all events, be careful to enumerate them all; for, if some of them drop out, as they did in that declaration by the Home Secretary, and that by Lord Derby in May last, then they are sure to be disregarded whenever the peace shall be concluded. One interest which has not been enumerated is our commercial interest. By a Return presented to the House last year, and called "Import Duties on British

as 90 per cent *ad valorem*; the average being 32·32 per cent. That is, Turkey encourages our trade, while the duties in Russia are nearly prohibitive. Is it not, then, very much our interest to maintain the territorial integrity of Turkey, and keep every part of it from coming under Russian domination? Another interest which has not been enumerated is our interest in preventing the aggrandizement of Russia; in preventing any Turkish Provinces from being absorbed by Russia. That this is our interest cannot be doubted, for it was for this that we expended so much blood and treasure in the Crimean War. In 1854 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) said—

“I apprehend that what we think to secure by the war is not the settlement of any question regarding the internal government of Turkey, as this will be a work for many years; but there is the danger of the absorption of the Turks by Russia, which will bring upon us greater evils than those which already exist. This we are called upon to resist by every means in our power.”

In December, 1877, a letter of the right hon. Gentleman, dated December 11, was published in *The Times*, in which he reiterates that statement, adding—

“The immediate object of the war in 1854 was to repel the aggression of Russia upon Turkey. . . . The war aimed at repressing a violation of law.”

The aggrandizement of Prussia in 1866 now costs Austria about £20,000,000 a-year, and Austria remains her slave. The aggrandizement of Germany in 1871 now costs France about the same sum, and France is the slave of Germany through fear; and do you think that the aggrandizement of Russia will cost you nothing? If Russia should become master of the Black Sea, or dominant in Armenia, extending her influence perhaps as far as Antioch, she will threaten Syria, and Egypt, and your Suez Canal. The very fear of such a thing, the possibility that she may some day make one of her wonted aggressions in that direction, would compel you to maintain, not a few soldiers, as you do now, but a large army such as can be obtained by conscription alone; and this army must be ready to repel an aggression at any moment. We live in an island, and have no borders but salt water; therefore, we have no tradition,

much less a personal experience, of what is meant by having an aggressive Power hovering on our frontier. We know nothing of the relations of hostile States which are in contact; and therefore it is that we are heedless. There is another British interest which has not been enumerated. There is such a thing as being held in consideration by other States. For, unless a State is so held—unless it is respected—its wants and wishes are sure to be disregarded by all the Powers of Europe. This applies most particularly to India. Mr. Layard, in his despatch of May 30, has taken another ground, by which he shows the danger of any annexation by Russia in Armenia. I will confine myself to the ground of our being held in consideration by other States. We have a small army in India, by which we hold in check many millions of alien races. We hold down a vastly superior number because they respect and fear us. One of our generals commanded in Kars, in 1856; and when Kars was taken, the Native races thought that Russia must be very strong, and we must be very weak. The Persians at once began to intrigue against us; and the Affghans plotted; and, in 1857, we had the Indian Rebellion. It was not without reason, then, that Russia sent word to Shere Ali, last November, as soon as Kars was taken. For it is foolish to assume that there is no solidarity in Islam. On the contrary; every effect, whether of irritation or contempt, which is produced on the Mussulmen in Turkey, is sure to be found also in the Mussulmen of India. We have heard lately of the great subscriptions which poured in from our Indian Mahommedans, and their addresses to the Sultan, which Lord Salisbury did his best to repress; that was a result of solidarity. This solidarity was, moreover, proved in the Eastern Papers, xviii. of 1855; for Lord Stratford—as shown by a despatch of January—threatened the Sultan that, unless he would accede to our views, the Mussulmen of India should be maltreated. As this solidarity exists, it becomes more than ever important, in view of our hold in India, that we should be held in respect and consideration; for if we irritate the Turks, we prepare for ourselves hatred in Hindostan; and if the Turks learn to despise us, we shall be held in contempt

throughout India. For this reason, I suppose—I mean to lessen the consideration in which we are held—Russia and Prussia have lately subjected us to snubs and insults. For example, the *Ruski Mir* had this:—

“The interests of England, which had hitherto embraced the whole of Turkey, both in Europe and Asia, have suddenly collapsed, and are now concentrated only in one point—Constantinople. Kars, Erzeroum, Trebizond, the Euphrates Valley, and the famous ‘Road to India’—all lately the representatives of British interests—became of no importance to England directly the Russian arms triumphed in Armenia.”

The German Press branded us as “a fish-blooded people,” and treated us with “unmitigated contempt,” saying that “Gortchakoff treated Turkey as a sick man, while Bismarck regards England as a sick old woman.” Again, it informs us that the Czar “will not allow England to take an active part in the eventual restoration of peace.”

The Chancellor of the Exchequer this evening has strongly deprecated the assertion that “the country is not in earnest.” I ask you whether you are in earnest, even when British interests are involved—I speak not of moral interests, such as a name for honour, a desire to be just and fulfil our engagements, and so forth; but I speak of defending our material interests, and I ask you, are we in earnest? It seems to me that our interests have been vague and flitting, like *ignes fatui*. When did we first hear of British interests? The big bow-wow began when Russia was forced to retreat, and when the Postmaster General said, on the faith of Lord Ponsonby’s assertion, that the Turks were strong, and the Russians were weak, and that the Turks would be a match for the Russians. Well, in November, Kars was taken. We immediately heard that “Kars is of no consequence.” In December, Erzeroum was invested; at once your British interest gentlemen exclaimed—“What does it matter? even if the Russians get Trebizond, it will make no real difference to us. After all, what interest

get Constantinople, so much the better.” Then some excited or timorous gentry in London proposed to throw open the Dardanelles to ships of war. “By all means,” said the right hon. Gentleman, “provided they do not ask us to throw open the Thames.” Thus we performed a sort of strategical movement with our British interests. As the Russians advanced, our interests executed a masterly retreat. We may think that we are in earnest; but will either Europe or Asia imagine that we are in earnest? We folded our arms while Turkey fought for our interests; and when Turkey got the worst of it, and our interests went down, one by one, we folded our arms and said—“What does it matter?” The net result of all this is, that we have made an enemy of Russia without weakening her, and raised the hopes of Turkey and then deferred them, and made her heart-sick; while our disregard of Treaties and engagements has averted from us every ally in Europe and Asia. But why do we talk of British interests, instead of asserting British rights? Why hanker after material interests, instead of taking our stand upon Treaties, which make or, at least, define our rights? Let me ask you, are our interests and rights co-extensive? If so, why prefer the names of interest and expediency? And why be ashamed to speak of right, and justice, and law? Do you say they are not co-extensive? Are our rights larger than our interests, and will you fight for the latter only? Then you are prepared, in a craven manner, to yield some of our rights, and without our consent. Or are our interests larger and more extensive than our rights? Then you intend to fight for interests where we have no right. So it follows that you are either weak and cowardly, or dishonest and criminal. Our rights are determined by the Treaties of 1856 and 1871, so far as the Eastern Question is concerned. Are they binding, or are they not? If so, you are bound to fight for the independence and integrity of Turkey. If not, then the door is open

you have folded your arms. Now, when Turkey is beaten and wants to make peace, you say—"Oh, no; please to observe the Treaties which we signed. Please not to 'enlarge your terms'"—as the right hon. Member for Greenwich suggested—"but observe the faith of Treaties." Is not that pitiful, mean, disgraceful, dastardly, and despicable? England has hitherto opposed lawlessness. When Napoleon I. set law aside, we fought him for 20 years, through a great war, against all Europe combined; and we freed Egypt and Spain from French legions, and Europe from thralldom. When Nicholas wished to override Europe we fought him. On that occasion the Queen—according to Vol. III. of the *Life of the Prince Consort*, by Theodore Martin—wrote these noble words to the King of Prussia—

"The Great Powers have been, since the Peace of 1815, the guarantors of Treaties, the guardians of civilization, the champions of right, the ultimate arbitrators of nations. If Prussia renounces the obligations of her place among the Great Powers, and if her example should find imitators, European civilization is abandoned as a plaything to the winds."

Alas! since that time, in 1859, we disregarded law, and justice, and Treaties; and again in 1866 and in 1870; and the Triple Alliance is the result. Lately we winked at the Revolutionary Slav Committees, and did not call on Austria, under the Treaty of April, 1856, to stop the war; which she could easily have done, by sending a *corps d'armée* to the Carpathians, which would have forced the Russians to retreat. And then we did all the illegal acts which I have already mentioned. What is now the state of Europe? Count Andrassy said, the other day, to the Commission of Hungarian Deputies, that "Treaties, in these days, are of no value, except in so far as supported by material force." Prince Gortchakoff's official paper, the other day, argued that he might make a separate peace with Turkey, setting aside the Treaties of 1856 and 1871, because that the Treaties of Vienna and other Treaties had repeatedly been set aside without the consent of the contracting parties. That is, because wrong has been done, therefore it should become the general rule. Lord Derby, I am sorry to say, uttered much the same opinion on February 8th and on April 19th, last year. From this disregard of

Treaties and law, there results a great instability in the relations of the Great Powers, while there is no security at all—as Hanover has found out—for the smaller and weaker States. If it were not for this disregard of Treaties, the Triple Alliance against us could not now exist. You talk of your policy being peace! But how can you make peace without a Treaty? and how can a peace be lasting if Treaties are not observed? If we had taken our stand upon Treaties from the first there would have been no war; not a shot would have been fired, nor a sword would have been drawn in Europe; otherwise, why was it necessary for the Russians to entangle us first in the missions of the Consuls, then in the Andrassy Note, then in the Conference, and then in the Protocol? If she could have done it, she would have acted without regarding us. But she could not do so without the necessity for the Marquess of Salisbury to go to Constantinople to menace and bluster, while the Earl of Derby staid at-home and folded his arms and sighed. Perhaps you will say to me that you have feared all along that Germany would pounce upon France and Holland as soon as our hands should be full in war; and you will tell me that Germany induced the poor French voters to elect a Radical Ministry through fear that if they elected a "Clerical" or Conservative Government, Bismarck would march his armies into France, as he felt sure that such a Ministry would ally itself with Austria and France and put down Russia at the Carpathians, and break up Germany in Poland. If you tell me this, I will say that this reveals Bismarck's fear; and his fear is your policy. The true policy for this country was that announced by the Prime Minister in November, 1876—to observe your engagements and support your Treaties. Do you fear war? Fear isolation more, and the shame which will cling to you and lessen your consideration in Europe. You have been cajoled, bamboozled, outwitted in diplomacy; be not now scared by the hobgoblin of Germany and bugbear of Russia. For 20 years you carried on a war against all Europe and America, and gloriously withstood their whole power. But there were men in England in those days. In 1848 the Russians helped to put down the Hungarian rising; and Bem, Dembinski, Kossuth, and Casimir Batthyany



escaped into Turkey. Their extradition was demanded on the ground of high treason; Turkey refused to violate the rights of asylum. Whereupon Austria and Russia declared war upon Turkey. England and France merely sent their fleets to the Dardanelles, without moving a soldier or horse; and Austria and Russia instantly withdrew their demands and made peace. "But now there is a triple league or conspiracy," you say? Austria has her reckoning to pay to Russia for keeping France from helping her in 1866, when Prussia attacked her; and France has her reckoning to pay to Russia for keeping back Austria's help in 1870, when Prussia attacked her. Both Austria and France suffer under the same slavery of fear; they are slaves that wait on Russia and Germany; and you feel the same slavery, as you fear that Prussia will pounce on Holland and Belgium and Denmark. Fear not; take your stand on Treaties; and all the small States will be with you, as Treaties are their only security; and France and Austria will be with you. Count Beust proposed it, last June, to you. I was greatly struck by manifestos in the official paper of Austria, the *Fremdenblatt*, of November and December. The first was in these words—

"No second peace of Adrianople. . . . Europe, and especially Austria, will never permit it. . . . All parties of all nationalities of the Austrian-Hungarian monarchy are ready to make the greatest efforts and the greatest sacrifices in order to prevent a separate peace which, in placing Turkey in complete dependence on Russia, would damage our most vital interests."

In December I read—

"We are told that the Cabinet of Vienna recently applied to the Cabinet of London asking its aid in maintaining the rights of the Powers; but that these overtures met with nothing but apathy on the part of England. We are willing to believe this, especially after Lord Derby's speech. . . . We should be most unjust towards Austria were we to place her inaction on a par with that of England. Austria is in a most difficult position; and external and internal obstacles, almost insurmountable, hinder her from adopting an energetic policy. She is entangled in the alliance of the three Emperors. . . . As for England, she is entirely free to act; she boasts that she is ten times as rich and powerful as when alone she fought against the universal monarchy of Napoleon, and that if she

Russia and Germany may be strong in soldiers, but financially and socially they are very weak; and in these directions you have an enormous advantage. We are the only Power which has not systematically trampled upon Treaties. Russia and Germany asked us to join their conspiracy, and take Egypt for our share. We refused to do so. Let us not then fall between two stools. We have abjured injustice; let us take our stand upon right, and not lie prostrate and commit our secret sins in seclusion. We shall only alienate all allies by our selfishness, and acquire contempt by our weakness. In this spring-tide of your fancied security, I tell you that an ebb of troubles is near. A voice of warning and of sorrow I raise, although I stand alone. My words, I see, are unheeded, and their sense does not reach your minds; but these words will be preserved, and will be remembered when you have been softened by misfortunes and rendered docile by despair.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, now that the debate upon that portion of the Address which referred to foreign affairs had, apparently with the general consent of the House, come to a conclusion, perhaps he might be allowed to call the attention of the House to some matters of great importance nearer home, and to beg leave of the House to amend the Answer to Her Majesty's Gracious Speech by the addition of the following paragraph—

"That we humbly represent to Your Majesty that, while we are glad to observe that the questions of the Grand Jury Laws and Intermediate Education in Ireland are to be brought before Parliament, and while we await information on the nature and scope of the proposals which may be submitted, we humbly assure Your Majesty that we shall regard it as the duty of Parliament, on the earliest opportunity in the present condition of public affairs, to consider, in a wise and conciliatory spirit, the national demands which the Irish people have repeatedly raised."

There were many hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House who might not agree with the political views of his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Butt); but he was sure they would be sorry to learn that his health, long tried by intellectual labour, had rendered it impossible for

and learned Friend. He had known his habits for many years, and he knew that he was to be found at his desk at 7 o'clock in the morning and was engaged in intellectual labour the whole of the day, and that he placed his services at the disposal of almost everyone who asked for them. There was not a single branch of English literature which he had not touched and adorned. He had not only written an excellent novel, as in this respect resembling the Prime Minister; but he had edited classical works and written the best history of Italy of modern times, besides many works on political economy and other subjects outside of his profession. Therefore it was not to be wondered at that the hon. and learned Member should now be somewhat jaded in health, and he trusted the House would accept his assurance that it was with great diffidence that he accepted the duty of moving that Amendment. In 1874, after the General Election, which was the first election under the Ballot, a number of Irish Members were returned under the name of the Home Rule Party, and they had remained a united Party up to the present time. On the occasion of the Speech from the Throne in that year the hon. and learned Member for Limerick moved an Amendment to the Address in much the same terms as those in which he had now moved. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) made a very fair statement on that occasion, and asked why, if they complained of so many things in the government of Ireland, they did not ask the House in a practical way to remedy those grievances by bringing in Bills dealing with them. In pursuance of that, a settled policy of the kind had been undertaken under the leadership of the hon. and learned Member for Limerick, and the Irish Members had, at any rate, now freed themselves from the stigma that they would not say what they wanted. They had introduced Session after Session a series of Bills clearly setting forth what were the wants of Ireland. They had stated that the laws and privileges of the three countries were not the same, and they claimed for Ireland equal rights and privileges with England and Scotland. They had introduced a Bill to assimilate the franchise of the two countries, a Bill to improve the registration of votes, and a

Bill to repeal an Act which did not exist in England—the Convention Act. There were other Bills introduced, some of them merely designed to assimilate the laws of the three countries. They had been told in 1874 that Parliament was quite ready to remedy any inequality, and they were continually told that Ireland had the same laws and privileges as England, but that she wanted a great deal more. English and Scotch Members, however, did not appreciate their position. To take the right of voting. In the towns of Liverpool or Manchester there were a greater number of Parliamentary voters than in all the towns, cities, and boroughs in the whole of Ireland put together. In Ireland there were only 50,000 entitled to the franchise in the boroughs. In Ireland only one out of 20 had the vote, whilst in England one out of every eight had it. Dublin, with its 267,000 inhabitants, had only 12,000 voters, while Leeds, with its 260,000, returned 48,000 voters. Limerick, with its 50,000 inhabitants, had only 1,947 electors, while Gateshead, a town with only 48,000 inhabitants, had upwards of 11,000 voters. Parliament had been asked to redress these things, but they had repeatedly refused. Then as to the municipal franchise. Cork had 100,000 inhabitants, and only 2,000 were entitled to the municipal franchise, while Swansea, with only 80,000, had 12,500 voters. Limerick, with 50,000 inhabitants, had only 1,100 persons entitled to the municipal franchise, but Gateshead, with its 48,000 persons, had 10,000 interested in municipal voting. Leeds again, with 260,000 inhabitants, had 52,000, but Dublin, with 267,000, had only 5,284 voters on the municipal roll. There were many other similar cases of disparity. He now, therefore, solemnly asked the House whether the Irish people could be contented with that state of things? They had been told that a General Election might soon take place, and he would ask if Parliament was going to send them back for election under the present franchise? Would a refusal to amend it be a message of conciliation or of justice? The registration of voters in Ireland again seemed to be managed for the express purpose of preventing people having votes who were entitled to them. Then there was the question of education. Irish education was a *bête noir* in that

House. They had asked for a reasonable University education for the great masses of the Irish people. No less than 54 of the Irish Representatives as against 14 were in favour of the Bill of last year, and the Government rejected it, and no proposal was made to meet them. They were now offered what they did not at the moment press for—namely, intermediate education—although it was quite true that intermediate education was in a miserable state—but it was proffered to them in this way just in order that the demand of the Irish people might as usual be shirked. The tactics of the English Government were traditional and always the same—to trail a red herring across the scent—if the Irish ask for University culture, offer them grammar schools; if they ask for a share of middle-class educational endowments, talk to them of Universities and common schools. With respect to the other measures which were introduced by Irish Members, he should not say more than this—that they were totally misunderstood in the House of Commons, and especially on the question of all others which touched the Irish people—namely, the question of the right to manage their own local affairs. He had often been astonished at the misrepresentation of this question. It had been declared that what they were asking for was a total separation of Ireland from England, as much so as the separation of France and Germany. They asked for no such thing. They asked for nothing more than the right to manage the internal affairs of Ireland, in an Irish Assembly or Parliament which should deal exclusively with Irish local affairs. England, under the Home Rule proposal, would have the control of the Army and Navy just as now. She would have as many soldiers and as many ships around the coasts as she had now. The Irish Parliament would have nothing to do with foreign affairs or with the affairs of the Kingdom as a United Empire. They would be debated in the House of Commons, and all that their proposals would effect would be to relieve the House of a great

given this power to Canada; it existed still more fully in Jersey and Guernsey, and it was universal throughout the States of America. Their demand for the introduction of State Legislatures as they existed in America was worthy of a more accurate and careful study than it had received from the House of Commons. With what cheers had every Minister been received who had opposed these proposals, often upon most futile and preposterous grounds. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) thought he had completely snuffed out the Home Rule proposal when he said that such a thing would require a written Constitution, and there never had been a written Constitution in England. A written Constitution existed in every other Constitutional country in the world, and all that would be required would be a written Constitution in so far as it referred to the particular business to be transacted by the local Legislatures. That was no answer, and yet the right hon. Gentleman's statement was received with cheers as though it were conclusive. There was, indeed, a lamentable ignorance of Irish affairs. Nobody ever thought of going to Ireland to study its condition, yet everyone thought they knew how to deal with it. When an Eastern Question arose, hon. Gentlemen took flight to study the question on the spot. But how many had gone over to Ireland? It seemed almost incredible that the responsible Ministers of the Crown had never cared to go to the country which had given them so much trouble. He would promise them if they went they would be well received. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) had favoured them with his presence last autumn. Although that right hon. Gentleman had said many bitter things about the religion of Roman Catholics, no single word had been uttered against him whilst in Ireland. The Irish people were generous as well as brave, and their gratitude for the benefits he had conferred upon them alone was remembered when he was their guest.

strong reason why the Irish people were so patriotic. If the House of Commons could understand the fervour of the patriotism of the Irish people they would do justice to them and to their religion. He now turned to another matter. The Government had lately done something which for the life of him he could not understand. Would they explain why the military prisoners had been set free at a time when no one was asking them to confer that boon, and after all hope had been given up that the Government would yield to the entreaties of the Irish nation? It was an instance of the hideous inopportunities of all their conduct. When 138 Irish and English Members asked the Government to release these unfortunate men they were refused with scorn and contumely, and in words of anger and insult. They would have thanked Her Majesty for the concession had the prisoners then been amnestied; but now they knew that the release was due to a little cloud in the East. If he might be allowed to apply the words of an historic letter he would say—"The boon you gave had it been early had been kind; but it has been delayed until we are indifferent and cannot enjoy it, for we know that it has been extorted by your fears, and that it has not sprung from your love. To one unhappy man, moreover, it has come too late—disease did its work in your dungeons. The common vanquisher of disease has set the captive spirit free." The conviction was universal in Ireland that the prisoners would never have been released if it had not been for the Russian War, and under that conviction gratitude would be out of place. He trusted, however, that by the adoption of the paragraph he had suggested as an addition to the Address, the House would send a message of conciliation to Ireland. Let the House remember the words, and endorse the sentiments of Sir Robert Peel, who, in proposing the Maynooth Grant in 1845, when trouble with America was in the air, said—

"On the far horizon of the West there arises a cloud—a cloud, small indeed, but threatening future storms."

"When I made the declaration to a Foreign Power that if our rights were invaded we were determined and prepared to maintain them, I confess that when I did make that declaration I did recollect with satisfaction and consolation that the day before I had sent a message of peace to Ireland."

He moved the Amendment pledging the House to endeavour to understand and weigh the just and reasonable complaints of the Irish people and their claims to equal laws and privileges.

MR. M. BROOKS seconded the Amendment. He expressed the hope that the spirit of sanctified justice which the right hon. Member for Greenwich had alluded to, would prevail in order to allay the wide spread and deep-seated dissatisfaction now prevalent in Ireland.

Amendment proposed, at the end of the Question, to add the following paragraph:—

"We humbly represent to Your Majesty that, while we are glad to observe that the questions of the Grand Jury Laws and Intermediate Education in Ireland are to be brought before Parliament, and while we await information on the nature and scope of the proposals which may be submitted, we humbly assure your Majesty that we shall regard it as the duty of Parliament, on the earliest opportunity in the present condition of public affairs, to consider, in a wise and conciliatory spirit, the national demands which the Irish people have repeatedly raised."—(Mr. Henry.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, he agreed with the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) in the complaint that the Government had not shown sufficient interest in the great and national demands of Ireland, judging their intentions from the expressions in the Queen's Speech. He wished to call attention to an act of the Government with which his name had been associated—he referred to the partial amnesty of the Fenian or political prisoners. He was not at all displeased at the response to one expression of opinion put forward by the hon. Member for Galway from the other side of the House. When he expressed the view that it was owing to the imminence of war that the Fenians had been liberated he was met with "No, no," from the Opposition benches. He was delighted to find that the motives which actuated Her Majesty's Government were of a very different character, and he trusted the Government would show they had not been influenced by fear, and that if there should be no war they would complete the good work by opening the prison doors to the other political prisoners. Reference might be

possibly made as to the manner in which the liberated prisoners had been received in Ireland. He wished to say, however, that the accounts which appeared in *The Times* and other London newspapers were characterized by their inaccuracy—he would not say untruthfulness. Despite the authority of the correspondent of that paper, it was not true that the public-houses of Dublin had contributed largely to the throng of people, and he (Mr. O'Connor Power) could say their reception was most cordial. Indeed, generally speaking, *The Times* correspondent was remarkable for his inaccuracy, and could not, even by accident, stumble upon the truth. He (Mr. O'Connor Power) complained of the cruel and unjust treatment to which these prisoners had been subjected, and last Session, when the Prisons Bill came up to the House, he brought forward the subject, and on that occasion he read some of the letters written by the prisoners, which had been got out of the prison in spite of the prison authorities. In the case of Colour-Serjeant M'Carthy, who had died since his release, a very Conservative jury had declared that his death had been accelerated by the treatment he had received in prison. He had been acquainted with M'Carthy, but had he not known when he met him on Kingston quay that he was 44 years of age, he should certainly have supposed that he was 74. He never saw such a wreck of what was once a fine specimen of a man. If M'Carthy had been a man of weak constitution to begin with, there would have been no surprise that 12 years' penal servitude should have told so marvellously upon his health. The treatment he had received was inhuman and wholly unnecessary for the repression of any sort of political crimes. Although the doctor had recommended that M'Carthy should be removed to an invalid prison, that recommendation had been overruled by the directors. As long as the present system lasted men would be treated harshly. He wished to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Home De-

partment whether any inquiries had been trusted that the matter would be taken up in earnest. He had seen the other prisoners—Davitt, O'Brien, and Chambers, who were all young men when they went into prison 10 years ago, but now they were completely broken in health. A system that could reduce men to such a condition in so short a time was totally indefensible, and the House would not consent to the continuance of such a system. There was to be a Commission of Inquiry into the condition of convict prisons; he hoped the Commissioners would have full powers of inquiry into all the modes of punishment in convict prisons, and especially that to which political prisoners were subject. He had given Notice of his intention on an early day to move for the repeal of those parts of the Prison Felony Act which allowed the infliction of harsh punishments on political offenders. That Act was introduced in the interests of humanity. There had been of late frequent controversies as to what really constituted a political prisoner, and he again invited the Government to consider the question. They had set at liberty several prisoners, but there yet remained some eight men more whose cases deserved attention. Two of these were connected with the attack upon the police-van in Manchester, when Police-serjeant Brett was killed. This occurrence he had on a previous occasion in that House described as an accident, and he repeated the statement. The shot which killed the policeman was fired merely for the purpose of breaking a lock in order to the release of certain prisoners who were seated in a prison-van. It had been frightfully vindicated by the sacrifice of three lives upon the public scaffold, and it was quite time that those men who had nothing whatever to do with it should be released. Another of the political prisoners was the man convicted of having fired at Talbot, one of the greatest scoundrels Ireland ever produced—a wretch who in the employ of the Government went about the country swearing in young men as members of the Fenian Confederacy, and then informing against them to his em-

ought to be now amnestied, when it would not be in the power of anyone to question the motives of the Government in taking that course. Furthermore, he hoped, in conclusion, that when the liberation had taken place, the Government would consider the whole subject of prison discipline, more especially as it affected political prisoners. He had no hesitation in saying that if the House of Commons wished to disperse the disaffection in Irish hearts they must certainly change their policy.

Mr. MACCARTHY entreated the House in this troublesome time and at this exceptional Session, not to refuse to Ireland the message proposed by his hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry). The late Lord Macaulay, speaking from that front bench, had characterized the dealings of this House with Ireland as one long series of disastrous blunders. The language was strong; but he supposed that most hon. Members would admit its substantial accuracy. ["Hear, hear!"] He was glad that they had the candour so honourable to English gentlemen of acknowledging past errors; but he would remind them that they had also a faculty, not quite so charming, of forgiving themselves those errors and proceeding to new legislation with as serene a confidence as if they never committed an error at all. They insisted on managing Irish affairs; they generally made a mess of them, and they blamed Ireland for the result. Under their management every Irish interest—material, intellectual, and moral—had suffered. Take the agricultural interest, the chief material interest of the country. Of 20,000,000 acres of Irish arable land more than two-thirds were not tilled at all, but allowed to drift into pasture. A million of cultivable acres was not even in pasture—it was absolutely waste. De Laverghore, the first agriculturist in Europe, estimated that it would require an expenditure of £100,000,000 to put the Irish soil into the same condition as the soil of France or Belgium. Until a late period the landlord, as the great Edmund Burke said, virtually told the Irish peasant that he should improve and confiscate his improvement for the good of the landlords. In latter times this law had been amended; but in proof that such confiscation was still possible, let them look to the slopes of the Galtees. There, by

labours and privations so severe that their recital moved to tears many who heard it, the peasants had created little spots of culture on the bleak hill side, and under the law as it now stood such property was inequitably—nay, to use the famous words of the late Prime Minister, "feloniously confiscated." Turn now to the manufacturing interests. That had peculiar claims on the House, because in the evil days of old the House had destroyed the manufactures of Ireland. That destruction had not been affected accidentally—it had been done deliberately. It was not done by Administrators only—it was done by the Legislature. It had not been done for a brief period, but persistently year after year, Act after Act, for dreary centuries of insolent outrage and cruel wrong. Of course, everyone regretted this; but what had been done to repair the ruin so created? Nothing whatever. The woollen trade, which was destroyed, was never revived. In nearly every Continental country, as the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (the Earl of Derby) lately pointed out, the State had endowed and superintended a system of technical instruction, and to this instruction his Lordship attributed the growing superiority of Continental manufacturing. In Germany there was a complete system from the village schools to the Polytechnical University. Nothing of that sort had been done for Ireland. Technical instruction was almost unknown. Turn to the education of the country, and they must admit that under their management it had drifted into the most lamentable condition. Elementary education was defective in principle and unsatisfactory to all concerned. As to intermediate education, the Crown Commissioners reported that out of a population of 5,500,000 there were only 17,000 youths who enjoyed it in any degree whatever, and the Commissioners characterized it as a reproach and shame not only to Ireland but to the Empire. As to University education, it was still in the condition characterized by the late Prime Minister, as miserably and scandalously bad. But underlying these and a hundred other grievances and blunders, there was the primal one of denying to Ireland the reasonable control over its own affairs, which was the first condition and prime essential of civil liberty. Give

to Ireland, as Sir George Grey advised, a State Legislature and a State Executive, and secure thereby the residence of its ablest men in the country; open a fair field, as Ministers, legislators, and orators, to its best and wisest men, affording from the same source occupation to Irish architects, sculptors, and painters; secure a resident aristocracy of worth, talent, and wisdom, and it would, at the same time, restore the wealth, the trade, and the commerce of Ireland. Dumb Ireland would then speak again; half-inanimate Ireland would again awaken to a national life and breathe the breath of hope and freedom, whilst accustoming the Irish to the management of their own affairs, they would be educated in that political knowledge which would enable them to put an end to the ills which afflicted them, the causes and the cure of which none could know as well as themselves.

MR. O'CLERY drew attention to what he considered a grave omission in the Speech from the Throne. There was no reference to the desirability of inviting Irishmen at this critical time to take part in the defence of their country in the same way as Englishmen and Scotchmen were permitted to do so—in other words, to enlist the services of Irishmen in Volunteer corps. The right to bear arms in the defence of one's country was recognized by nearly every country in the world, and indeed in many countries it was a duty rigidly enforced. The public papers told how since the Russo-Turkish war the Volunteer corps in England had increased with the probability of war, and also the efficiency of the Volunteers had increased. All this time, however, there was no reference to Ireland, although Ireland was a factor in the question which could not be ignored. It had come to be understood among foreign nations that the weak point in the armour of Great Britain was Ireland, yet there was no attempt to repair that weakness. It seemed to him that Ireland must appear much the same to England that Poland was to Russia. Poland was Russia's weak point, and Austria had the power of checking Russia and striking a sword at her heart by inciting an insurrection in Poland through Galicia. He knew it would be denied by the Government that Ireland was a weak point, and that Irishmen could be trusted as they were

trusted before in the wars of Napoleon the First. If that were so, he asked again why not permit Irishmen to form themselves into Volunteer corps to bear arms as citizens were allowed in England? It might be said that Ireland could not be trusted because of the religious differences among the people and the animosities sometimes rising to the height of passion. But to that he replied that in three Provinces nothing like a riot ever rose out of a religious difference, and in Ulster, he was glad to say, the spirit of faction was fast disappearing. If this was really a reason, then, the Government might deny right to bear arms to those districts where rioting might be expected. The history of Hungary afforded an instructive lesson. In 1849 the Hungarian Parliament and Crown were destroyed with armed force by Austria, and the national forces, the Honveds, were disbanded after the struggle. The present Government, although they were entering upon the fifth year of their power, could not point to a single Act or Amendment affecting the people of Ireland during their tenure of power. How, therefore, could those who represent the interests of the people of Ireland let this occasion pass without drawing the attention of English and Scotch Members to the failure to complete the promises to Ireland? If they wished to conciliate the people of Ireland and put an end to the agitation for a Parliament in Ireland, should not their course be to try and take away every grievance? Allusion had been made to the question of the land. At the present moment there was more agricultural distress than there ever had been before the war with Russia. After the crushing disaster of Sadowa, one of the first acts of Austria was to restore to the Honveds their right to bear arms. Such a message to Ireland would be conciliation of the greatest, safest, and best kind, in the face of events that might occur.

MR. M'CARTHY DOWNING said, that he was sorry there was no response from the opposite Benches, even though an adverse one. When the present Government came into power with their large majority they had a fine opportunity for conciliating Ireland, and many thought they would make use of it. For the first two Sessions, therefore, Irish Members took little part in the discus-

*Mr. MacCarthy*

sions of the House. In 1876, however, *The Times* called attention to an ingenious device by which Irish Members contrived to bring-in so many Bills that none could be brought in by Scotch and but few by English Members. The House would be surprised to hear that the Government opposed all those Bills, every one of which except two merely asked the House to give Ireland the same laws which existed in England. Let the House observe the different way in which matters affecting Ireland and England were dealt with in the Speech from the Throne. While in the case of England it was said that a Bill would be laid before the House upon the subject of County Government, in the case of Ireland all that was said was that attention would be invited to the subject of Intermediate Education and the Grand Jury Laws. The people of Ireland wanted a Catholic University, but all that the Government offered to them was a scheme of Intermediate Education. Not a single movement had been made by the Government since 1876 in the direction of assimilating the franchise in the two countries. There were more ejections upon notices to quit than at any former period. The Government were supporting the exactions from the peasantry, against whom there never was in the memory of man a single crime laid to their charge. He did not know whether his hon. Friend would go to a division upon this Amendment, but he thought a very strong case had been made out why there should be a division on this Address. There was a total absence of everything they had asked for in Ireland. He hoped it would go to the people of Ireland that they did not come over here to hear platitudes about the war, but to do their duty. If there was any real intention on the part of the Government to redress the grievances of Ireland and to remove the causes which led directly to political agitation, they would have brought forward, at the earliest possible moment, measures similar in their character to those which, when introduced by Representatives of Irish constituencies, had only been rejected by comparatively small majorities. He hoped that besides calling attention, as was promised in the Queen's Speech, to the subjects he had referred to, measures would be introduced with the *bona fide* intention of removing the well-

founded causes of complaint which existed in Ireland on both those questions.

MAJOR O'GORMAN: Sir, eight or ten Irish Members have spoken, but not a single Member of the Government has had the ordinary decency to rise and reply in defence of their conduct. I beg to move that the Debate be adjourned till Monday next.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—  
(Major O'Gorman.)

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, I am perfectly prepared, as a matter of course, to reply to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Galway. I am simply waiting for the proper time to rise. I noticed that there were several hon. Members anxious to address the House, and the hon. and gallant Member is aware that it is usual for the Representatives of the Government to rise at the conclusion of the debate. Under these circumstances, I hope the hon. and gallant Member will allow the debate to proceed.

MR. REDMOND said, that the way in which the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had been treated would be received in Ireland in a way which he would not characterize. Her demands were listened to, but thought no more about. The important question they had been discussing was ignored altogether not only by the Members of the Government but by English and Scotch Representatives, not one of whom had risen to address the House in reference to it. The Irish people would deeply feel the conduct of the House in declining to discuss Irish questions. The principal demand of the Irish people was that they should be allowed the management of their own affairs in their own House of Commons in Dublin; and, after what had occurred on the present occasion, they would not trust their affairs in the hands of that House. During the last 100 years no step had ever been taken to ameliorate the condition of Ireland, except when England was placed in a dangerous position. Even now it had assumed a most extraordinary character. Last Session they asked them to grant an amnesty to the remaining Irish political prisoners. This request, made



with moderation, was refused with insult; but some three months later some of them had been released. Why was the request granted in that manner? One of them, in appearance quite an old man, though 10 years his (Mr. Redmond's) junior, was so broken down and emaciated by disease that if they could have seen him, they could have felt nothing but kindness and the desire to mitigate his affliction—yet he, to the very last hour of his imprisonment, was subjected to all the horrors of hard labour and the other punishments of penal servitude. He had since died, and he asked them whether they thought the spectacle such a man presented to the Irish people of English justice and English clemency was one that was likely to cherish feelings of affection for England? We had been talking lately a great deal of the unjust acts of people abroad, but the ill-treatment which this man had received was most disgraceful. He would say that if it were thought that the demands which were comprised in the Amendment of his hon. Friend would be satisfied with any tinkering of measures they would be deceived. Some people said that Home Rulers asked too much; but they said so in ignorance. A vast number of the Irish people, let him tell the House, said the Home Rulers asked for too little. And they said the Home Rulers did not ask it in the right way. They said that the grievances of Ireland would never be remedied by Constitutional agitation. He himself was opposed to desperate courses; but he could assure the House, however they might think the demands he had alluded to were exaggerated, that the day would never come when the people of Ireland would retire from them. He contended that the Home Rulers were the only Constitutional Party in the Kingdom, and he hoped that they would not in Ireland have further trouble, but that justice would be granted without civil tumult, bloodshed, or rebellion.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, I rise to say a few words in answer to a subject referred to by the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry). I was not in the House when the hon. Member made an allusion to the release of the Fenian convicts. I understand that he said they were released on account of the political situation of Europe at the present moment.

*Mr. Redmond*

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: I said that was the impression current in every cottage in Ireland.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: That is practically the same thing. The impression is published by a Member of this House.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: I share in it myself.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: It is for that reason I have to state why the men were liberated. The hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) will remember that when the matter was brought forward two years ago, the Prime Minister, who was then in the House of Commons, alluded simply to the case of Michael Davitt, and said that although we did not see our way to letting him out, as we were asked, there were circumstances which induced the Government to take a more favourable view of the case than they had done before. Davitt's fellow-prisoner had served a period of seven years, and Davitt's own sentence was 14 years, in consequence of something that transpired at his trial, to which I will not allude. I think the Prime Minister stated that the case of Davitt would be considered by the Government in due time. But when the hon. Member brought forward his Motion last year I had the honour of communicating with him on the subject, and I stated that the Government had taken this case fairly into consideration and that he would find before long that Davitt would be released. The fact was his fellow-prisoner on a shorter sentence had been already released, and the Government thought two Sessions ago that Davitt would have had a fair commutation of his sentence if he were released at the end of two years more than his fellow-prisoner. That was the conclusion to which the Government came, and when the time came round I signed the order for his release, and in consequence of the pledge which had been given more than a year and a-half ago. This statement must dispose, in the mind of any candid person, of the view now mentioned by the hon. Member. It then became a question for the consideration of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War whether, Davitt having been released, the other prisoners under his Department, should not also be let out, and they were let out. That

is the whole history of the proceedings which have been referred to. I will now say further, that no hon. Member from Ireland can regret more than I do the death of the man after his release, or sympathize more with his friends. I am told that an inquest has been held, and that the jury came to the conclusion that he had suffered from ill-treatment. I think that before the jury come to that conclusion, it would have been wiser on their part if they had examined someone from the prison as to the treatment he had received, I am bound to say, too, that before the House discusses the subject further, they should endeavour to ascertain the facts of the case as far as they can. As soon as I heard of the death I sent for the Director of Convict Prisons, who told me that the man did undoubtedly suffer from heart disease, and had been treated for it by the surgeon of the prison. He further told me he had been treated leniently on account of his disease. There are two sides to every question, and I only ask the House, before it proceeds to discuss the subject, to wait and see whether it cannot be placed before it in a somewhat different light. The first thing to be done was to order that certain inquiries should be made as to the whole of the facts of the case, and when the Report comes before me I shall be very happy to lay it before the House for its consideration. But I do not want the House to rest on any *ex parte* statement of mine or on any *ex parte* inquiry. The House knows that in consequence of a promise which I gave last Session a Commission has been appointed to inquire into the convict prisons and into the working of the Penal Servitude Acts generally, and I can assure the hon. Member for Mayo that the terms of that Commission are wide enough to admit of the fullest inquiry. Now that we have a number of Gentlemen appointed for that distinct purpose, with ample power to make every investigation, I think the wiser course to pursue will be to let them proceed with their duties. That is the fairest possible way in which we can get at the truth of this matter, and I trust that the Irish Members will see that there is no desire on the part of the Government to conceal any of the facts, but, on the contrary, a desire to bring them into daylight. I may add that, knowing the kindheartedness not only of

the Director of Convict Prisons, but of the Governor of that particular prison, I have no doubt when the facts are before the House, it will come to a calm and deliberate judgment on them; but I would rather deprecate the further discussion of this question at present, considering that it is to be the subject of an Inquiry. With regard to the Motion of Adjournment made by the hon. and gallant Member for Waterford (Major O'Gorman), I hope the House will consent to go on with the debate to-night. I can assure hon. Members from Ireland that there is no wish on the part of the Government, nor, I believe, on the part of anyone else, to treat them with the slightest discourtesy. But they must remember that my right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland has the power of speaking only once, and, as a great number of Irish Members rose to address the House, it was only in accordance with the usual practice for the Minister having special charge of a particular Department to wait to hear what others may have to say on a subject connected with that Department; otherwise he would not have the opportunity of answering their remarks, and might also be accused of seeking to close the discussion prematurely. I hope, therefore, that the hon. and gallant Member for Waterford will withdraw his Motion.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY said, the feeling of the Irish Members was not that personal discourtesy had been shown to them, but that the House seemed to have entered into a conspiracy of silence on matters of legislation affecting Ireland. Irish Members on that (the Opposition) side had been allowed, or rather compelled, to rise one after another because no notice was taken of their speeches, though hon. Gentlemen were perfectly ready to vote against them. There were hon. Gentlemen opposite, one of whom had held office, and he thought they ought to have something to say on the matter. He hoped, therefore, that his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Waterford would persevere with his Motion.

Mr. PLUNKET said, that after the appeal that had been made to him he could no longer remain silent, although he felt that he would get little credit for doing so, because it would be said that unless he had been bullied into it he

would not have spoken. It was not in the nature of his countrymen or his personal nature to shrink from speaking when thus challenged, nor was it from any want of courtesy to Irish Members that he had not risen earlier. His only reluctance in thrusting himself on the attention of the House was because it had been his unfortunate duty to speak on all these subjects at least 20 times during the last four years, and as he could not add anything in the way of novelty to the debate, he did not think it would add either to the interest or the hilarity of their proceedings by repeating again the same arguments. He had often heard hon. Gentlemen denounced for contradicting the statements of speakers on the other side; but that was the first time when, even in an Irish debate, hon. Gentlemen had been found fault with because they had not contradicted the speakers on the other side. It reminded him of an incident he heard of the other day—which occurred in the course of the civil war which had been raging in the vitals of what was called, absurdly enough, the Irish Party—though he was glad to say there had been an armistice, if bases of peace had not actually been agreed on. One of the more moderate Members of the Party opposite, considering that he had been offended by an hon. Gentleman who had won for himself the now historical and illustrious name of an Obstructionist, wished to obtain that satisfaction which alone could set at rest the indignant feelings of a patriot in Ireland. He addressed him in these words—"Sir, if you are not prepared to withdraw what you have said, just step over the Channel with me to Belgium and try if you can obstruct a bullet." Well, he was unable to obstruct a bullet, and he declined altogether to attempt it. The war which had for some time raged in the ranks of the Home Rule Party had, he understood, been temporarily assuaged, and one of the conditions of the armistice was, that there should be an Amendment moved on the Address, although no one then

The Amendment had been moved, and he would borrow a phrase coined by its Mover, by characterizing it as "hideously inopportune," and that hon. Member would thus perceive that he had done him no discourtesy in not listening to all he had said. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) had begun by saying that in 1874 the hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) also had moved an Amendment to the Address. That was the case; but how different were all the circumstances of the present time from those days when the freedom of the Press was restricted, and when there was a much severer Coercion Code than now existed. What had since happened? The Press of Ireland was as unfettered as any in the world, and the country was at present freer from Coercion Laws than it had been at any time for the last 100 years. Therefore, it appeared to him that the occasion for bringing forward this Amendment was "hideously inopportune," and that there was no necessity that evening to interpose with this Motion at a moment of the greatest national interest to step between the House of Commons and Her Majesty and say that the Address should not be voted until certain measures had been passed. But the House should try to imagine the subjects to which its attention was called. The Borough Franchise Bill was in the nature of a Reform Bill, and, like all such measures, must fight its way—if it were ever to be passed to maturity—but however that might be, he must remind hon. Members opposite that the hon. and learned Member for Limerick had said that it would have been carried but for the conduct of the extreme section of his own Followers. As for the Registration Bill, it had been read a second time last Session, and nothing but changes which it was necessary to introduce in Committee prevented its becoming law. Surely, under such circumstances, hon. Members would act more reasonably if they endeavoured to carry it this year instead of making use of it as an

mary education was now conducted on a principle established by the late Earl of Derby, when Mr. Stanley, whose proposals had been resisted by both extreme parties—by the strong Protestants as well as the strong Catholics; yet it had now been found possible to work it without offence to either, and its merits were universally acknowledged. He would next consider intermediate education, which he would admit was in a backward state; but now, when, for the first time, this Conservative Government promised to bring in a Bill to meet the wishes of the Irish Members on that subject, they were not only not satisfied, but made it a ground of complaint; for they complained that the subject of University education was not taken up at the same moment; but the Government could hardly be blamed for not adventuring on a field in which so many defeats had been sustained. What was the history of this question of higher education in Ireland? In 1845 the Queen's Colleges had been founded to meet the wishes of all parties, and the University was afterwards added, with the honest intention of removing the grievance. These institutions were quickly denounced by those for whose benefit they were intended, so keen was the competition in ingratitude. Next, in 1866, the Government of Lord Russell had endeavoured to extend them further, but the attempt had broken down. In 1867 a new Government came in, and Lord Mayo proposed a separate Roman Catholic University to meet the wishes of the Roman Catholics; but that proposal also failed, owing to the excessive demands of the Roman Catholic Bishops. Then came the Government of 1869, the strongest which had been seen for many a day, but the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) failed, in his turn, to settle the question. Meanwhile, the University of Dublin had thrown open its doors to all Irishmen—to the humblest Roman Catholic peasant as well as to the richest Protestant, without distinction, and things were in that condition when the hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) brought in his Bill on the subject. That measure, which was understood to meet the wishes of the Roman Catholic Body, was of the most elaborate kind, consisting, as it did, of some

220 clauses. It contained much that was good, and in many respects was far better than the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, which was, in his opinion, as bad a measure as had ever been proposed within the walls of that House; but it had a great and fatal defect, it aimed at uniting in one University a strictly Roman Catholic College with a perfectly free College, and, for that purpose, at placing Dublin University so completely under denominational control that there could not be the smallest development of its curriculum without the sanction of 12 Bishops and Archbishops of the Roman Catholic Church. He desired to speak with all respect of those gentlemen in their religious character; but it was absurd, anomalous, incongruous, to elect persons to be Governors of a great educational institution simply because they happened to hold high ecclesiastical rank. So the question remained. He could sincerely say for himself that he should be glad if it could be settled in some reasonable way, for nothing could be worse for education in Ireland than a state of uncertainty as to the future. Such a Bill as that of the hon. and learned Member for Limerick could never be agreed to; but he invited hon. Members to make some other proposal, and assured them, as one of the Representatives of the University of Dublin, he should give their measure the most careful consideration. Then there remained Home Rule—he did not think they could usefully begin a discussion on Home Rule at midnight, more particularly as the proposal had never been satisfactorily explained. Hon. Gentlemen who sat in the last Parliament would remember that when there was only one Home Ruler, he (Mr. Plunket) had prophesied that the movement would grow into a formidable body which might be capable of injury, so that some action of Parliament would be necessary; and that at the next election they would have 60 Home Rulers returned, and he was correct to within one; and since then they had a large section of Irish Members masquerading as Home Rulers to the injury of their influence in that House. But, happily, other more serious evils which he had apprehended on this score had not come to pass; for, as if it were by an effort of nature, the country in its agony at the Election of 1874, produced such a powerful ma-

majority on the Conservative side of the House that the Government had been able to treat the Home Rulers with a patience which could not be imputed to panic, and a conciliation that could not be imputed to necessity. In the meantime—and this was better still—the great Liberal Party which might again return to power, had had time to think the matter over, and they had pledged themselves up to the eyes, so that whatever the temptation might be they could never forego those pledges. ["No, no!"] Well, if it did forego them, he committed the Liberal Party to the good opinion of Great Britain. But the Liberal Party had pledged themselves most patriotically, under no temptation, however great, to unite with this unfortunate spinster of Home Rule that could never find a mate. Still the Home Rulers had a lingering gleam of hope that if they could not conquer the Whigs in the House of Commons they could compel them at the hustings. He would not confine his remarks to the Opposition, for he regretted to say that some Gentlemen professing Conservative principles had coquetted with Home Rule; but what was the consequence? The election for Salford, he thought, would rank as one of the 15 decisive electoral contests in the world; because it showed that the English electors would not tolerate any coquetting with the Home Rule Party. Thus had Home Rule been repudiated in the constituencies, and had been borne down in argument in that House on both sides; while it had been finally utterly destroyed by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth), who denounced it as not only injurious to the Empire, but also degrading to Irish patriotism. Home Rule might linger on a while as a common denomination sheltering under its banner whoever would accept its discredited shilling; but he (Mr. Plunket) had said in Ireland, and he would repeat it in that House, that as a practical proposal for a re-arrangement of the Parliamentary relations between England and Ireland there were not ten men—he doubted if there were five men—inside or outside the walls of Parliament, who did not believe in their hearts that Home Rule was dead—["No, no!"]—dead as Julius Cæsar, and the performance recently in the Rotunda at Dublin last week was no-

*Mr. Plunket*

thing else than its wake. With regard to the topic of the Irish political prisoners, it had been his great misfortune when a subordinate Member of the present Ministry to resist a proposal for the liberation of those prisoners. He had done so with pain and regret, but conscientiously, and if placed in the same position, he should do so again. What since happened? Those men had been released as a message of conciliation to Ireland. ["No, no!"] It was not right for hon. Gentlemen to say "No, no!" when they had just heard an explanation from the Government of why those men had been liberated. But a well-known journal in Dublin, in announcing the release of the prisoners, told the people at the same time that it was not a message of conciliation, but an act wrung from the Government by their fear of the consequences of an impending war—that they owed their gratitude, not to the clemency of the Queen of England, but to dread of the Czar of Russia. Such conduct made him (Mr. Plunket) cry shame upon those of his countrymen who were always coming *in formâ pauperis*, saying—"If you only give us this, there will be an end of our complaints—we will bear it as a message of peace to Ireland;" but when their supplication was granted, it was used not as an engine of good will towards this country, but incitement to hate and aversion. ["No, no!"] Had they no dignity? He would remind hon. Gentlemen who cried "No!" that by such conduct they were turning the key on the unlucky prisoners who were still immured; it was a cruel kindness which was being practised against them. He earnestly begged his hon. Friends, now they had got a new Leader—["No, no!"]—well a temporary substitute, to inaugurate his *régime* with moderation, good sense, and dignity, and not to detain the House by the discussion of these questions from the adoption of the Address in Answer to the Gracious Speech from the Throne.

MR. SULLIVAN: Sir, the House stands indebted to the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Waterford (Major O'Gorman). His Motion has broken "the cold chain of silence" that hung over the Government Benches, and has elicited from the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. Plunket) a speech which, whatever its

other characteristics, we have all admired for its varied play of humour, eloquence, and ability. He had no need to apologize to the House for the time he was occupying. This is the Business, and this of all others is the subject, with which the time of the House should most rightly be occupied. Parliament has been assembled three weeks earlier than usual, and within these three weeks there should be good time for discussing and considering the Irish question—for fully considered and discussed we are fixedly determined it shall be. Mr. Speaker, that hon and learned Gentleman said of the men amidst whom I stand that they were “masquerading as Home Rulers.” *Masquerading!* The phrase is not offensive, I suppose, or he would not have applied it; so I may use it too, and say that the thing which is really intolerable is to see the grandson of the great Plunket masquerading on the floor of this House as an Imperialist. We are supposed to be concerned just now with the Turkish question. One of the cruellest wrongs which the subject Christians under the Moslem yoke were made to feel was that oftentimes the children of Christian parents were seized and carried into the Turkish camp, trained up in Turkish ideas, embraced the faith and the banner of the conqueror, and appeared many a time, scimitar in hand, to wage war upon their kindred and their race. Even so has it been with us in Ireland through many a sad chapter of our country’s story. Sometimes by force, sometimes by guile, sometimes by one influence, sometimes by another, the British power has been able to tear away from us children who bore great names and might have greatly served their country; and we have seen these converts, as to-night, skilfully set in the fore-front of the assault when their countrymen were to be cut down. Who is our accuser? The voice is the voice of an Irishman; the wit, the ability, the brilliant play of fancy and of genius, the rhetoric, the skill—all, all are Irish, but all are used against Ireland! Who, I repeat, is our accuser? If we stand here to-night, as we do, upon the floor of this House, to maintain in the face of the Empire and of Europe the protest of Ireland against the memorable crime that robbed her of her Constitutional liberties, whose behests are we fulfilling—who pledged us to undy-

ing hate and eternal war against that wrong? The hon. and learned Gentleman had the temerity to use a phrase, for ever notable in the history of his family, when he spoke of men “swearing upon the altar.” Who was that great Irishman, that distinguished Constitutional lawyer, who declared that if the Irish Parliament were successfully overthrown, he would bring his child—ah, why did he not say his grandchild!—and swear him upon the altar of his country to wage relentless war against that tremendous wrong? How little did he imagine in that hour that to-night the Representatives of Ireland should discover in the ranks of their Imperial adversaries the heritor of his great name, and in no small degree of his genius, false to his principles and his teaching, false to his lineage and his fame! But, Sir, I turn from the man to his arguments. He drew for us a picture of Ireland. Many years ago O’Connell was defending a sheepstealer. In his speech to the jury, he drew a glowing picture of the prisoner at the bar as a model husband and father—he was not married at all—a dutiful son, an exemplary citizen, virtuous, pious, industrious, inoffensive. At this point the prisoner in the dock could stand it no longer, and he exclaimed to those around him—“I never knew before that I bore so high a character.” Well, Sir, we have heard to-night the defender of British Rule in Ireland extolling the virtues and excellencies of his client; and well may the prisoner at the bar in this case exclaim—“I never knew I was so beautiful, so virtuous, so meritorious, as all that.” Only believe the hon. and learned Gentleman and there is not the slightest need of changing anything—the slightest possibility of improving anything—in Ireland. Everything there is already perfect in the matter of government, law, and administration. There is not, if you believe him, a more fortunate spot on the face of the habitable globe. It is the home of happiness, peace, prosperity, of beneficent rule and abounding loyalty. [“Hear, hear!”] Hon. Gentlemen opposite cheer. You evidently think so too. You know all about it. You know Ireland better than we do. You are better entitled to speak for it than we, the Irish majority, are. Are you? But pray, by what right does your Party hold those benches and rule the destinies

of England, but by the right of a Parliamentary majority? In virtue of a Parliamentary majority, you say you are entitled to speak to the world for England; while in virtue of a Parliamentary minority, you would claim to speak for Ireland. But, Sir, the question before the House is much wider, and greater, and more serious, than the merits of the Irish "Bills" which the Government has promised. If it were a matter of a better or a worse Grand Jury law, or a better or a worse Intermediate Education Bill, I, for one, should hesitate to concur in an interposition like the present. The question we raise is that for which it may be said Parliament has been especially convoked. We have been told in the Royal Speech of a possible danger near at hand, of precautions and preparations that may be necessary for the defence of the power and stability of the Empire. Well, we have come forward to suggest the wisest precaution and the most potential preparation which the Government could make. The matter is glozed over by avoiding phrases, but the danger that you all mean is war—a war in which England will have to fight for her very existence as a nation. If that war break out, if it be not averted, as I hope it may be, England will find herself in such desperate strait as she has not known for 400 years. Your Army, small, but brave and fearless as ever, will behave with its traditional valour; wherever it may be sent, on whatever field it may fight, the Army of this country will exhibit those splendid qualities that have justly given it a world-wide fame. I would say as much for it, even were it not composed as largely as it is of my own brave countrymen. But there is not a military man sitting in this House who does not know and feel the truth of what I say—that a recent memorable war in Europe has demonstrated that courage and prestige no longer compensate as largely as they used to do 60 years ago against overwhelming odds; and that your Army of 100,000 or 150,000 men would be utterly powerless before the hosts that now stand arrayed and disciplined on the Continent of Europe. Should this calamity befall, should this trouble for your existence arise, think you that it is upon inanimate sword and bayonet, and ship, and gun, rather than upon stalwart arms and patriotic enthusiasm, your best

reliance will be? Should that crisis come, right sure am I that amongst the English masses patriotic fervour will answer to your call. Throughout England and throughout Scotland it will be so; but will it be so in Ireland? In the spirit of the oath which I swore at that Table—and higher obligation still, by the duty I owe to conscience and to truth—I dare all misconception and outcry, to deliver at this momentous crisis my solemn testimony and belief that in this Empire enters upon a struggle of such magnitude while Ireland is in the attitude which Hungary occupied towards Austria previous to Sadowa the popular enthusiasm which you will receive in England and in Scotland will not respond to you in Ireland. ["Oh, oh!"] I was prepared for your exclamations, and I do not complain, for the statement I have made is serious and naturally unwelcome; but time will vindicate the truth of my words and the integrity of my motives. Twenty or 25 years ago there stood upon the floor of this House a band of Irish Members struggling, as we struggle now, to persuade you to listen to Irish demands. Study for yourselves what was their fate; read for yourselves the lesson of that time. They were voted down, they were shouted down, they were laughed at, they were denounced or derided. You had in that day—as you always have—some gifted and eloquent Irishman in your service to get up and do your work against his countrymen; to contradict their testimony; to tell you pleasant tidings which you hailed as gospel truths, while their honest warnings of danger were shrieked against as seditious incentives. John Francis Maguire and others ventured to say in this House, as I say now, that there was danger and disaffection in Ireland. They were set upon angrily as almost traitors. They were contradicted and contemned. This House, by overwhelming voice, declared their testimony untrue, and that Ireland was peaceable, contented and loyal to the core. Alas! a year or two barely passed when events threw a terrible light on all this. At that very moment my unfortunate countrymen were being sworn in by the thousand in a secret conspiracy for armed insurrection. Barely a few years passed away when the crowded dock, the convict ship, the penal gang, the triangle,

*Mr. Sullivan*

and the bloody lash—nay, the scaffold itself—furnished a frightful contradiction to the pleasant testimonies which you preferred to believe; a frightful corroboration to the warnings you denounced and disregarded! What happened then? Like the story of the recent Fenian amnesty which we have heard to-night—measures prayed for in vain in the hour of your tranquillity when concession would have grace and efficacy—were conceded amidst public disquietude and almost panic. Writing, some six weeks ago to a friend in the North of England—a fair-minded, a kindly-hearted, and a high-principled Englishman—yes, I believe in the existence of such men, not in scores or hundreds but in hundreds of thousands—I complained of this, and asked how and why it was that English statesmen and politicians should thus put a premium on turbulence and revolt. Just look what has been the history of any great political measure passed for Ireland in our own generation. The argument of Catholic Emancipation was exhausted in 1819. Its justice was as patent to all men in 1822 as at any time afterwards; yet it was resisted and refused until, as the Duke of Wellington declared, civil war seemed inevitable. Was not that a mischievous lesson to Irishmen? The Tithe question you resisted until our land was reddened with blood. The Church question and the Land question—it is a story of recent years. A Land Bill was passed in 1870, after passions had been aroused, hearts broken, homes desolated by the thousand; after you had filled America with combustible elements that are at this moment a serious menace to England. In that struggle you broke the heart of Lucas and drove Gavan Duffy into exile; robbed Ireland of the services of a man whose genius and whose worth you have been glad to recognize at the Antipodes. The Land Bill, prayed for in 1850, was granted in part in 1870, after the terrible tragedy of Ballycohey had startled the Empire. In 1868 you suddenly overthrew the Irish Church, because, as you avowed, of the spread of Fenianism. In the face of the men whose warnings you had angrily resented a few years previously, you came down to this House to concede in an hour of alarm what you had refused in the time of tranquillity. Is this narration true or false? Am I, or am I

not, reciting facts known to you all? What do those facts show? That by some malign fatality, some calamitous coincidence, if nothing more, you scoff at men like my Colleagues and myself, who beseech you to be just in time. You resist concession in time of calm, and yield it only in the face of real or fancied peril. If it be not so, let someone get up to-night, and name for us any great national concession made to Ireland under any other circumstances. As it has been, perhaps, it is still to be. You will complain of my words; you will say I do not warn, but threaten; and you will prefer to believe those who tell you the Irish masses are contented and well affected, as enthusiastically ready as Englishmen could be to pour their blood in your defence. But I dare all risk of temporary misrepresentation and blame. I look into the future, and can await my vindication. Do not affect to mistake our position in this crisis of the Empire. We are not so many Members of a Party, or a section of this House. We are not so many advocates of this or that Bill. We are the national Representation of Ireland, here, in overwhelming majority, to demand the restoration of Parliamentary Rule and Constitutional Government. We are projecting no new proposal, like the friends of this or that great reform or amelioration. We are here to call for the restitution of what we enjoyed and possessed; but which you wrung from us by means held to vitiate and render illegal every public transaction between man and man, between nation and nation. We want our own. Possession gives you no title to it, for no time runs against a claim asserted and renewed as ours has been from generation to generation. Legally, we stand to day where we stood 70 years ago. Restore to Ireland the reign of law; it is all she asks as the price of her friendship; a price cheap indeed, for it takes nothing from you that belongs to you. The price of her friendship! You are now in view of a terrible emergency, possibly at hand, searching Europe through for Allies. Here we are to-night, empowered to offer you one worth the best you could elsewhere find—the alliance, the hearty friendship, the enthusiastic support of Ireland. I own, I have deep reason to wish this question settled, and to see a cordial feeling established between the two countries before dark clouds grow



darker, and while yet the reconciliation can be free and generous, and efficacious. The peace, the happiness, the tranquillity of Ireland are most dear to me; and I do not wish to see my country desolated and destroyed by being made, perhaps, a battle-field of the coming struggle. I do not want the ghastly episode of some Continental despot, making what he would call a diversion in Ireland, wasting the blood and blasting the hopes of my country in a mere stroke of tactics to serve his own ends. I shudder when I think of such a possibility; and I appeal to you—yes, unchilled by the foregone conclusion of your unwise refusal, I nevertheless raise and record my appeal to you and to the English nation to-night, to let us clasp hands in friendship on the only terms on which we can be either allies or friends. Be simply just. That you will be so yet, despite your customary refusals now, I am as convinced as I am of my own existence. It is the time which, with your customary unwisdom, you may select for such a step, that alone disquiets me. Fear not; be boldly just. Remember that one of the first acts of the liberated Irish Parliament was to vote 5,000 Irish seamen to the Imperial Navy in a dire emergency. I tell you that your present position is weakness. Austria tried your present policy towards Hungary, and changed it after Sadowa. I hope and pray you will wait for no such hour to accept the proffered hand and secure the ready aid of the brave and gallant Irish nation.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I feel that there are some observations in the speech of the hon. and learned Member who has just sat down which ought not to be allowed to pass without one word of comment. Those who have listened to that speech cannot but admire, as they always admire, the eloquence of his language and the earnestness with which he appears to speak; but I trust that the sentiments

or a Scottish constituency in this House—there is no disposition in any part of the United Kingdom—to deny Ireland full and fair consideration for every grievance which she may wish to bring forward, or full consideration of any measure which her Representatives desire. We know perfectly well that in different parts of the country there will be differences of opinion, and in this House there will at all times be perfect readiness to learn what the Members for Ireland desire to bring forward, to listen to every argument, to give them a full consideration, and to reply to them where they appear to demand a reply, and to give them due weight where a reply is not to be found. But it ought to be distinctly understood that there is an equal determination on the part of the Members of this House not to consent to the sort of demands which have just been made by the hon. and learned Member, especially under present circumstances. The Parliament of this country is charged with the duty of considering and legislating for the interests of every part of the United Kingdom, and Ireland certainly has had as full a share of the time, sympathy, and the attention of this Parliament as any other part of the United Kingdom, and I can promise on behalf of the House that any measure brought forward will not fail to receive careful, attentive, and respectful consideration. I am quite sure that, looking to the ability and eloquence of those who represent the Irish constituencies, that the merits of every such measure will not fail to be duly represented. But I am loth to believe that there is any foundation or substance in some of the over-fervid remarks in which the hon. and learned Member has just indulged, particularly in his observation that in a time of national emergency Ireland might be found to be a source of weakness to this country. I am ready and willing to believe that the hon. and learned Gentleman

Government that has been in power in this country for a long time past to do full and complete justice, so far as they can clearly see their way to it, to every Irish interest—it is because we feel that, that we believe we are strong in that respect. It is because we know the justice of our position, and are ready and willing to listen with the most perfect respect and willingness, and to give full consideration to what you say, that we assure you that is language which should not be used, not the way to carry any point you may desire to carry; and that it is not the way in which the Parliament of the United Kingdom should conduct its deliberations. I earnestly trust we have heard to-night such language as we may not be called upon to hear again.

MR. MELDON hoped the Government would now consent to an adjournment of the debate, in view of the large number of points which remained for discussion by the Irish Members, and which would require serious consideration.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he should not object to an adjournment, it being understood that the debate would be continued to-morrow.

Question put, and agreed to.

Debate adjourned till To-morrow.

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Friday, 18th January, 1878.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Intemperance, appointed.

PUBLIC BILL — *First Reading* — Metropolitan Board of Works (Election of Members)\* (1).

### INTEMPERANCE.

#### MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Moved that a Select Committee be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the prevalence

And, on January 21, The Lords following were named of the Committee:—

|                     |                      |
|---------------------|----------------------|
| L. Abp. Canterbury. | V. Gordon.           |
| L. Abp. York.       | V. Hutchinson.       |
| D. Westminster.     | L. Bp. Peterborough. |
| E. Shaftesbury.     | L. Bp. Exeter.       |
| E. Belmore.         | L. Bp. Carlisle.     |
| E. Onslow.          | L. Hartismere.       |
| E. Morley.          | L. Penrhyn.          |
| E. Dudley.          | L. Aberdare.         |
| E. Kimberley.       | L. Cottesloe.        |

The Committee to appoint their own Chairman.

### THE EASTERN PAPERS.

#### OBSERVATIONS.

EARL GRANVILLE called the attention of the Lord President of the Council to the fact that though two sets of Papers on the Eastern Question were presented to the House of Commons last night and were distributed to the Members of that House this morning, and had been published in the newspapers of that morning, neither of those Papers had been delivered to their Lordships, and only the first had reached the House at all. On inquiry at the proper office he found that the second of these Papers would not be delivered till Monday. He did not in the least complain of the early distribution of these Papers to the newspapers, for he thought it was a great convenience and advantage to the public to have this intelligence early and quickly disseminated. But he thought it was desirable that the distribution of Public Documents of this nature should be delivered simultaneously to the two Houses of the Legislature.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he concurred in the last observation of his noble Friend. In the absence of his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, he presented Papers on the Eastern Question last night, and he had been under the impression that they included the two sets, and that both were ready for distribution. He would make inquiry as to the second set, and also on the subject of an earlier distribution of Papers presented to their Lordships' House.

METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (ELECTION OF MEMBERS) BILL [H.L.]  
A Bill for altering the mode of the election of

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 18th January, 1878.*

MINUTES.] — NEW WRITS ISSUED — *For* Greenock, *v.* James Johnstone Grieve, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds; *for* Leith District of Burghs, *v.* Donald Robert Macgregor, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Hours of Polling (Metropolis), appointed.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolutions in Committee—Ordered—First Reading—*Permissive Prohibitory Liquor\* [24]; Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland)\* [38]; Divine Worship Facilities\* [46]; Money Laws (Ireland)\* [54]; Clerical Disabilities\* [57]; Intoxicating Liquors (Licences) (Ireland)\* [70].

*Ordered—First Reading—*Public Health (Ireland)\* [1]; Linen and Yarn Halls (Dublin)\* [2]; Factories and Workshops\* [3]; Roads and Bridges (Scotland)\* [4]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday\* [5]; Voters (Ireland)\* [6]; County Infirmaries, &c. (Ireland)\* [7]; Rating of Towns (Ireland)\* [8]; Glebe Loans (Ireland)\* [9]; County Courts\* [10]; Employers' Liability for Injuries\* [11]; Women's Disabilities Removal\* [12]; Tenants' Improvements (Ireland)\* [13]; Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis)\* [14]; Queen Anne's Bounty\* [15]; Colonial Marriages\* [16]; Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Election\* [17]; Waste Lands (Ireland)\* [18]; Capital Punishment Abolition\* [19]; Municipal Franchise (Ireland)\* [20]; Hospitals, &c. (Scotland)\* [21]; Town Councils, Local Boards, and other Local Governing Bodies\* [22]; Criminal Law Evidence Amendment\* [23]; Entails and Settlements Limitation\* [25]; Queen's Colleges and University (Ireland)\* [26]; Habitual Drunkards\* [27]; Real Estate Intestacy\* [28]; Hypothec (Scotland)\* [29]; Medical Act (1858) Amendment\* [30]; Tenant Right (Ireland)\* [31]; Married Women's Property (Scotland)\* [32]; Parliamentary Electors Registration\* [33]; Public Parks (Scotland)\* [34]; Valuation\* [35]; Cruelty to Animals\* [36]; Public Baths and Washhouses\* [37]; Agricultural Tenants (Security for Improvements)\* [39]; Sea Fisheries (Ireland)\* [40]; Union Officers (Ireland)\* [41]; Union Justices (Ireland)\* [42]; Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Law Amendment\* [43]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland)\* [44]; House Occupiers Disqualification Removal\* [45]; Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment\* [47]; Training Schools and Ships\* [48]; Hypothec (Scotland) (No. 2)\* [49]; Land Tenure (Ireland)\* [50]; Assistant County Surveyors (Ireland)\* [51]; Marriage with a Deceased

Officers' Qualifications\* [62]; Ancient Monuments\* [63]; County Boards (Ireland)\* [64]; Voters (Ireland) (No. 2)\* [65]; Public Health Act (1875) Amendment\* [66]; Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment\* [67]; Borough Voters\* [68]; Criminal Law Practice Amendment\* [69]; Election of Aldermen (Cumulative Vote)\* [71]; Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education)\* [72]; Parliamentary and Municipal Registration\* [73]; Vaccination Law (Penalties)\* [74]; Church Rates (Scotland)\* [76]; Racecourses (Licensing)\* [76]; Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise (Ireland)\* [77]; Irish Peerage\* [78].

## QUESTIONS.

THE EASTERN QUESTION — THE  
BLACK SEA, BOSPHORUS, AND  
DARDANELLES.—QUESTION.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government can present to Parliament any Report or Memorandum already in existence, or to be prepared for the purpose, giving the history of the political conditions established at different times with reference to the navigation of the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Dardanelles?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he had inquired at the Foreign Office, and found that there was no Report or Memorandum of the kind referred to by his hon. Friend which could be presented to Parliament; but there would be no objection to lay on the Table extracts from the various Treaties bearing on the subject, if his hon. Friend would move for them.

PUBLIC BUSINESS—SUNDAY CLOSING  
IN IRELAND.—QUESTION.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If he can state what course Her Majesty's Government intend to pursue with reference to the question of Sunday Closing in Ireland?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH : Sir, I observe that the hon. Member for

Member for Londonderry County (Mr. R. Smyth), Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to take the same course with regard to it as they took last year. They will support its earlier stages, but reserve to themselves the right to move such Amendments as may appear advisable in Committee. I cannot doubt that the hon. Member for Roscommon will take every means in his power to secure opportunities for the discussion of his Bill by the House; but, if necessary, the Government will be prepared to aid him in obtaining greater facilities for this purpose, with the view of securing, so far as we are able, that a settlement of the question shall be arrived at this Session, and shall not be delayed, as was the case last year, from want of time.

#### CONVICT PRISONS—THE COMMISSION.

##### QUESTIONS.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state to the House the scope of the inquiry about to be held with reference to Convict Prisons, and whether its proceedings will be public?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, he had made the terms of the Commission which was about to issue as wide as possible, in order that the Commissioners might inquire into any matter which they thought bore upon the question. As to the mode of the inquiry, he believed that, according to the practice usual in such cases, that rested with the Commissioners themselves. He was quite sure the noble Lord at the head of the Commission would do everything that was fair and right. For his own part, he should offer no opposition to the inquiry being held in public, if it appeared that by such means more ample justice would be done than was likely to result from a private inquiry.

MR. CHILDERS: Will it be a Royal Commission?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Yes.

#### PUBLIC BUSINESS—SIMONY LEGISLATION.—QUESTION.

MR. LEATHAM asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a

Bill, during the present Session, which shall give effect to a Resolution passed unanimously by this House, viz.—

"That it is desirable to adopt measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law, and checking abuses in the sale of livings in private patronage?"

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, he saw no possibility of the Government being able, in the present Session, to introduce a Bill of the kind indicated in the Question of the hon. Member.

#### MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER—COLONIAL LEGISLATION.

##### QUESTION.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any Colonies which have passed Bills for legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister since 1874 have forwarded the same for Her Majesty's sanction; and, if so, if he will specify the names of such Colonies, the dates at which such Bills were received, and the dates at which such sanction (if any) was given, or the reasons for delay?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, since 1874 Bills for legalizing marriage with a deceased wife's sister have been forwarded for Her Majesty's sanction from the Governments of New South Wales, Queensland, and Western Australia. The New South Wales Bill was received on September 27, 1875. Her Majesty's assent was communicated by despatch, dated December 8, 1875. The Queensland Bill was received on the 15th of November, 1875. Objections being entertained against it as being *ultra vires*, it was referred to the Lord Chancellor, by whom certain recommendations were made, and in due course forwarded to the Colony. An amended Bill was received at the Colonial Office on the 21st of September, 1877, and was again referred to the Lord Chancellor, by whom it has been approved, and an Order in Council for its confirmation has now been made. The Western Australian Bill was received on the 16th of December, 1876. As it appeared to be open to somewhat similar objections as the original Queensland Bill, it was referred to the Law Officers, and Amendments were suggested by despatch, dated February 22, 1877. An

amended Bill was received on the 22nd of October, 1877, and is at this moment under the consideration of the Law Officers of the Crown.

### ORDER OF THE DAY.

#### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

##### ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [17th January.]—[See p. 126.]

And which Amendment was, at the end of the Question, to add the following paragraph:—

"We humbly represent to your Majesty that, while we are glad to observe that the questions of the Grand Jury Laws and Intermediate Education in Ireland are to be brought before Parliament, and we await information on the nature and scope of the proposals which may be submitted, we humbly assure Your Majesty that we shall regard it as the duty of Parliament, on the earliest opportunity in the present condition of public affairs, to consider, in a wise and conciliatory spirit, the national demands which the Irish people have repeatedly raised."—(*Mr. Henry.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there added."

##### Debate resumed.

MR. MELDON rose to support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Galway, and would implore the House seriously to consider it. He wished first to point out that it was not an Amendment that went to the question of Home Rule, but only to the systematic refusal of the House to redress the many grievances brought before it by Irish Members. This was not the first Amendment moved by Irish Members on the Address. In 1874 an Amendment was moved that there should be an inquiry into the causes of the discontent that existed in Ireland, and on that occasion an argument was used which certainly had much force in it. They were told that if they could only substantiate any grievances, the House would be ready to redress them. The complaint they now made was, in substance, that the promises given in 1874 had not been carried out. It was that notion of av-

sentatives brought in for the redress of grievances, that gave them so much and such just cause of complaint. He should wish to call attention to the position of the Irish Party in that House. They were placed between two Parties—the Party of action in Ireland, who did not believe in Parliamentary action, and the Party who trusted in Parliament to redress all Irish grievances. He was not about to bring the question of Home Rule before the House, but to point to the results of the efforts of the Irish Party during the last few Sessions. It had been remarked last evening that the Amendment was inopportune, in consequence of the insignificance of the questions that it raised as compared with the vast interests now at stake. But he would ask whether the question of assimilating the borough franchise in Ireland to that of England was an insignificant one? What reason was there that the people of Ireland should be placed upon a different political footing from those of England and Scotland? How had that question been received by that House? A Conservative Government had conceded household suffrage to England and Scotland, but when a similar measure was proposed respecting Ireland, it was met by a Party movement and refused. The borough franchise was a most important question, and he considered that its rejection struck at the root of all Constitutional agitation in Ireland, and was calculated to give rise to agitation of another character. When questions of importance like that were brought forward in an argumentative manner, it was not right to treat them with silence. Such treatment surely could not be defended. Ireland was one part of the Kingdom the people of which did not enjoy the benefit of political power. The demands which they made were perfectly reasonable, and he submitted that those demands ought to be treated with proper respect. He admitted that the question of the registration of Parliamentary voters in Ireland was a small one, but at the same time he could not see why the legislation for Ireland on this subject should be more unfavourable to the voters than that for England and Scotland. Then, again, there was the question of the Irish mun-

were not Home Rule measures, but had for their object the assimilation of the laws of the two countries. He complained that the House of Commons had systematically declined to discuss all these questions, and had thereby weakened the hands of those who sought to remove Irish grievances by Parliamentary action. The release of the political prisoners had been refused with insult last Session, yet for some unknown reason certain of them had been released during the Recess, but it could not be said that their release had been granted in answer to the prayer of the Irish people. The speech of the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) endorsed the policy which had been adopted here—namely, that of disregarding the wishes of the people of Ireland. That sort of speech was calculated to do more mischief than any adverse vote in that House. It was a speech that might have been delivered before a constitutional club, but he certainly regretted from the bottom of his heart that it had been delivered in that House. Whenever the hon. and learned Gentleman sought to be argumentative his speech almost answered itself. The hon. and learned Gentleman had proved most conclusively that the House would not remedy the grievance of Ireland with reference to the University question, for he had told them that as far back as 1845 the University question was a grievance which the Government were bound to take up. It was because that duty was felt that the Act for the establishment of the Queen's University and the Queen's Colleges was passed. Up to the present moment that Act was almost a dead letter. The Irish Members were asked why they did not themselves introduce a reasonable scheme which might be accepted as a settlement. The hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) did introduce such a measure, and what was its fate? Why, it was ignominiously kicked out of the House, the English Members of which did not even think it worth discussion. That question had agitated the people of Ireland probably more than any other question. Where England or Scotland was concerned, the House was in favour of religious education, but on this University question, on which the people of Ireland might have expected that the Con-

servatives would act in accordance with their own principles, Conservative joined with Liberal Members in kicking out the Bill. What the House ought rather to have done would have been to have admitted the grievance—to have admitted the principle of the measure, and then said—"The Bill goes too far, in our opinion, but we shall strive to amend it." But they did nothing of the kind. Was it their policy to kick out every measure introduced by Home Rule Members? The Home Rule Members had the greatest difficulty in getting the people of Ireland to believe that any of their grievances would be remedied by Constitutional means. He was the last man who would like to hold out a threat, but as a matter of conscience he could not allow the debate to close without endorsing to a very great extent the sentiments expressed by the hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. Sullivan). As far as he could judge, if this country should become a party to the war on the Eastern Question, no help need be looked for from Ireland. ["Oh!"] This was a most opportune moment for acting towards Ireland in a conciliatory spirit, and it would be far better if reforms were granted instead of being wrung from unwilling hands. If they asked too much, that was no reason for acceding to nothing at all. Their complaint was that this Parliament had systematically rejected everything that they had asked for. The Land Bill, the Church Bill, and the Emancipation Bill, were only got from fear; and the Amendments to the Prisons Bill were only granted after an attitude of defiance had been set up by Irish Members. He hoped that they would have some expression from the Government in favour of their demands. If the Government pursued the course hitherto adopted, they would endanger the peace of this country. On the Sunday question they had nine-tenths of the Irish Members in favour of it, but they were denied that boon by the Conservative Government. He hoped that they would not refuse the just demands of Ireland. This was a question of the most serious moment, and he asked that they should not be compelled to resort to unconstitutional action.

MR. HERMON reminded the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken that the strongest opposition offered in that House to the measure for closing

public-houses on Sunday in Ireland came from hon. Gentlemen on his own side. He repudiated the imputation made on the previous evening, that English Members took no interest or concern in Irish measures. For himself he had always been a patient listener to Irish debates. He never interrupted them; and, although English Members as a rule did not speak on Irish questions, they did their best to obtain information on them and to understand them to the best of their ability, and it was unfair to assert, as the hon. and learned Member for Kildare had done, that the demands of the Irish Members were treated with scorn. He was very much struck, he might say distressed, by some of the inflammatory language used by his hon. Friends opposite last night. The hon. Members for Wexford and Louth made use of language which he believed both hon. Members in their calmer moments must think a little too strong. The Irish Members were, no doubt, better acquainted than himself with Ireland; but it must strike commercial men like himself that the procedure of last night was not exactly the panacea for Irish wrongs. He was not aware whether hon. Members addressed the same style of language to their constituents, but if they did he thought it most unwise. The best thing for Ireland would be to establish commercial enterprise there; but after the speeches of last night what capitalists would venture their money to build mills and establishments upon what, according to hon. Members opposite, was a volcano? He did not exactly understand what hon. Gentlemen meant by "the national demand" of Ireland; but if the grievances of which they complained were real, and if they wished greater attention to be given to the Bills they introduced, let them choose a more suitable mode of making such a proposal than by way of an Amendment to the Address. There was a good deal of talk about Home Rule, but he never met with anyone who could tell him exactly what it meant. If they merely wanted to have in Ireland an institution analogous to the London Metropolitan Board of Works, or to manage their own railways, canals, gas, water, and matters of that sort, he would heartily go with them, for Irishmen themselves knew more about those things than that House generally could do. Irish Mem-

bers were surprised that they could not pass every Bill they introduced, or perhaps none of them. Now, private Members from Lancashire and other parts of England experienced just the same difficulty in getting their Bills beyond the second reading; but they did not therefore turn round and say that their Bills were "ignominiously kicked out by the House," as had been said by the last speaker. He protested against such exaggerated language and maintained that, whether they were English, Scotch, or Irish Members, they were all one brotherhood, and equally bound to do their best for every part of the United Kingdom.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he had listened very carefully to the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon), because he knew there was no man more capable of putting forward all the arguments that could be advanced in favour of the proposition he was advocating. In supporting this Amendment the hon. and learned Member had said he did not refer particularly to the question of Home Rule, because it was not raised by this Amendment. ["No, no!"]

MR. MELDON: I said it was not a question of Home Rule alone, but of disregarding all demands of the Irish people, and enumerating several of them.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that was exactly what he had understood, that this was not specifically a Home Rule Amendment, but intended to cover the general legislation for Ireland. He was sorry that the expression "ignominiously kicked out" had been used by the hon. and learned Member. There were introduced in the course of the Session a great many measures that were not palatable to the majority of the House—the Permissive Bill, for instance—which he did not support. Those measures were very carefully considered by the House, and many of them were rejected on the second reading, or, in the hon. and learned Member's words, "ignominiously kicked out." The Bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws was repeatedly rejected or "ignominiously kicked out;" but those who supported it did not go to their constituents and tell them that in consequence of its rejection they must no longer place confidence in Parliament. If that were done, the Constitutional system would not go on at all. He would briefly refer to those measures

*Mr. Hermon*

which had been mentioned, and first of all to the Borough Franchise Bill. That measure had been supported by almost the whole vote of the Opposition the Session before last, and was only defeated by a majority of about 30. Surely the Bill had been treated in no exceptional manner, though he regretted it was not possible to carry it; they had voted for it, and that was all that was in their power. What was done was done within the Constitutional action of that House. There was nothing to complain of; they would only have to wait, and no doubt many of their most cherished plans would ultimately pass into law. Let them remember how many years the English Members had waited for household suffrage. The proposal had been brought forward for 20 years by Mr. Baines, who was the hon. Member for Leeds, and it had not yet been carried. It was true that there were other measures which were proposed by Irish Members, and which did not pass the House. There was the Municipal Corporations Bill, which was supported by almost all the Members on that side of the House, and yet they were not successful, because the occupants of those benches were in a majority. The Scotch Members were frequently bringing forward a Bill on Hypothec. That was supported by Conservative Members—willingly or unwillingly—as well as Liberals, but that Bill had been lost over and over again, yet the Scotch Members did not consider that as ignominious treatment of the Scotch people. Those were two principal measures referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon). The third was the education question, which everyone knew was a very difficult question; but he did not think that the history of the Irish University Education Bill which was introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich was one of great encouragement to future Ministers to take up the subject, and he was not surprised that successive Prime Ministers had tried to evade dealing with it. The hon. and learned Member for Kildare had alluded to the treatment of the religious question in connection with Irish Education; but he (Sir William Harcourt) must confess that he had always been under the impression that no advantage was given by the State to

England which was not equally extended to religious education in Ireland. He believed, in fact, that the condition of the two countries in that respect was identical; and so far as he was concerned he had always given, and should always give, his vote in favour of making the law in Ireland on that subject similar to that of England. If the different sections in that House were to say that because they had failed in carrying the measures they had introduced they thought it necessary to bring forward an Amendment to the Address, he did not see how the Business of the Legislature was to be carried on; and, as far as he could judge, he did not think the hon. and learned Member for Kildare had made out his case. The Irish Members had not been ignominiously treated by the House; they had received the support of many who were not Irish Members, and they had not been successful; but he could not see how the hon. and learned Member for Kildare could constitute out of this a national grievance.

MR. SHAW said, he had been greatly pained by an expression used by the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) on the previous evening, namely, that the Home Rule Members were masquerading. If that had any meaning at all it meant that they were dishonest in bringing the question before the House, and that they only meant it for their constituencies. Now, they could have no possible motive for masquerading as Home Rulers. Speaking generally, there was hardly a Member of the Party who would not be returned without professing it. It was, therefore, un-Parliamentary in the highest degree to use such language with respect to the Irish Members. If he did not believe in Home Rule he should feel himself unworthy of standing up in the House and looking honest men in the face. As to the Amendment being inopportune, he contended that Irish Members had a Constitutional right to bring their grievances forward on the Address in Answer to the Queen's Speech. They were told by the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt), that they must bring forward their measures again and again, and wait patiently for the attainment of their objects. The Home Rulers, however, were in this position, that they could never become a majority in the House. There was just a possi-



bility that 15 years hence the Gentlemen on the other side might be required to change places, and there was some hope that at the end of that time the questions referred to might receive more attentive consideration. The Home Rule Party, however, could never become a majority, and they were thrown about in a shuttlecock fashion between the two great Parties, while nothing practical was done to remove the grievances of which they complained. He had never brought in a Bill, because he knew it was hopeless to pass it. It was only when either of the great Parties in the State, for their own Party purposes, hoped to arouse the country on some popular question or to meet some exigency of the moment, that they wished to legislate on Irish subjects. They were taken up by them not because Ireland wanted legislation, or that it was reasonable or in accordance with the desire of the people, but because it suited their own purposes, and then they threw it to Ireland just as a bone was thrown to a hungry dog. He had known instances where Liberal Members had voted upon the principle of "follow my leader"—they disliked the principle of the Bill, but they voted for it because they were bound as Partymen to follow their Leader, and they did so with expressions of hate and contempt for the Irish for whose benefit they were professedly legislating. It was not right for the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University or for a Member of the Government to scoff at Irish Members as if they were not in earnest, by telling them that if they brought forward measures they would be attentively considered in that House. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Hermon) had warned them against the danger of diverting by agitation English capital from Ireland. Well, he would be glad if England would leave Ireland her own capital, but the capital of Ireland tended to flow over to England; and as to England's investments in Ireland he must say that he had hardly ever known any of them succeed; while undertakings carried on by Irishmen in Ireland almost always succeeded, those carried on by Englishmen almost always failed. This arose from the fact that Englishmen when they embarked their capital in Ireland refused to take the honest advice of Irishmen who knew their country, and believed that such advice was given for the purpose of cheating them.

*Mr. Shaw*

He was therefore by no means desirous of seeing an extensive investment of English capital in Ireland. He admitted that many of the questions which had received attention would not have justified the present action; but the three great questions which formed the basis of their movement were the Land Question, the Education Question, and Home Rule; and these were of such momentous importance as to justify them, however unpleasant it might be to many hon. Members, in proposing an Amendment on the Address. With respect to the Land Laws, notwithstanding the Bill of the right hon. Member for Greenwich, evictions were still frequent. Recently in the county of Cork the agent of an absentee landlord raised the rent of a small holding on which the buildings, the roads, and the drainage had all been constructed by the tenant from £16 to £30 a-year, and when the tenant remonstrated the agent wrote—"If you do not pay the rent at once it will be raised to £40, or you will be evicted." Well, it might be said that in such a case the tenant might claim compensation and leave, but what would be the result? That he would be driven to become a labourer, and he, for one, did not think that any landowner had such a right of property in his land as to entitle him to have the power of injuring the community. Property in land differed fundamentally from other property. It was derived from society and subject to the control of the community as represented by the Legislature. They took possession of it without the consent of the landlord when they required it for any public purpose, and if the owner used it for any purpose injurious to the community they prevented him. Now, he believed that the absolute power of causeless eviction was in Ireland an enormous injury to the State. He believed that it would be very easy, without dealing unfairly with the landlord, to introduce such improvements into the law as would prevent the possibility of the occurrence of cases like that to which he had just referred, and it was, he thought, the duty of the State to make those amendments. No one, in his opinion, should be turned out of an agricultural holding without notice to quit, upon which should be set forth in plain English the reasons for turning him out, as to the validity of which reasons a Judge of the land should be em-

powered to adjudicate. In this way the tenant would have security of tenure, while, instead of losing, the landlords would find the value of their property increased. Here, then, was the Education question. This was one of an urgent kind, because at present it was difficult to find an adequate number of young men educated sufficiently for the situations open to them. He believed that this question might be settled easily enough but for the bigotry on both sides of the House. It might be settled either by the right hon. Gentlemen on the front benches, or by a meeting of Irish Members, from which Members of the Cabinet were excluded. He had quite sufficient confidence in the good sense and feeling of the Members from the North of Ireland to feel confident that this could be done. But the truth was that against any scheme which could be satisfactory to Ireland there would be such an outcry on the part of Exeter Hall that no Government dared to propose it. Then as to Home Rule. He believed it would be the wisest measure for England and Ireland, and that it was the only way in which this question could be settled and by which the difficulties between the two countries could be removed. He knew that the statesmen on both sides were pledged against it, but he did not attach much importance to that. The country, however, was now in a state of political collapse, and there were forces moving under the surface of society which would soon manifest themselves; and the people would say—"We will get rid of the great Liberal Leaders if they don't know how to lead us." It might not, and probably would not, be long before there would be another upheaval of the forces of society in Europe to which the recent extension of the franchise and the increase of democratic influence would give great power in England. Was it, then, wise for the Conservative Party to fling away 70 or 80 Irish votes which were entirely Conservative, as far as all social matters were concerned? He trusted Home Rule Members had not hitherto flung themselves into any Radical movements. He would himself like to see this grand old country work out her destinies in her old way. He would regret to touch any of her institutions, and, although a Dissenter, would not willingly vote for the Disestablishment of the Church; but the

refusal of Home Rule would drive the Irish Members to ally themselves with extreme Parties, in order to carry the question they had at heart. As sure as they kicked their Bills out and refused to remedy the grievances of which they complained, they would meddle with the English Land Laws and the English Church, and would ally themselves with the Parties from whom alone they could expect to obtain assistance in their main objects. They must respect themselves, and they must make themselves respected; and they must, therefore, take the course he had indicated if they were driven to it, in order to show not the people of England, but the ruling classes, that they were not on the right path in treating Ireland as they had done and were doing.

MR. W. JOHNSTON observed that the hon. Member who had just spoken had a perfect right to express the sentiments which prevailed in the part of the country with which he was connected. As a Representative of another section of the Irish people, he claimed an equal right to express their views. It was too much the custom to talk of the Roman Catholics as if they were the Irish people, ignoring altogether the Protestant community. He ventured to express the feeling that animated a large and loyal portion of the inhabitants of Ireland who were determined to maintain the integrity of this great Empire, and desirous of upholding the interests and the honour of England. He should have been silent on that occasion if he had consulted his own feelings, but after the views which had been enunciated and given as representing the Irish people, it would be nothing less than a crime in one holding the opinions he held if he remained passive under such a calumny. They had been accused of joining on that side of the House in a conspiracy of silence. Well, that was the only kind of conspiracy in which hon. Members coming from Ireland who sat on his side of the House joined. He might speak plainly because he was at one with many Irish Members opposite on many topics; but on this occasion, when the integrity of the Empire was threatened covertly by this Amendment of the Address, he could have neither act nor part in their proceeding. If this Motion meant anything, it meant Home Rule; and if Home Rule meant anything, it

meant the disintegration of this great country. Lord Macaulay, in one of the most memorable speeches delivered in that House upon the question of Repeal, brought before it in 1833, said—

"I defy the hon. and learned Member, therefore, to find a reason for having a Parliament at Dublin, which will not be just as good a reason for having another Parliament at Londonderry."

There was as much difference between Ulster and the other three Provinces as between the population of those three Provinces and the people of England and Scotland. He had heard the suggestion of the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. O'Clery) that they should establish a Volunteer Force in Ireland—that was, in Munster, Leinster, and Connaught; but unhappy Ulster, where the Protestant population was large and loyal, was to be exempted from the benefit.

MR. O'CLERY explained that what he said was that Ulster was the only Province that had disgraced itself by rioting through religious prejudices, and he suggested that districts where rioting might have prevailed might be deprived of the right to have a Volunteer Force.

MR. W. JOHNSTON said, he did not think he had misrepresented the hon. Member. The hon. Member would give Volunteers to Tipperary, but he would not give them to Antrim and Down—the two great counties in the only Province in Ireland which was loyal to England. The other three Provinces, which were very largely disloyal, were to be armed to attack England in the hour of emergency. They had been informed by the correspondent of the leading journal of this country, *The Times*, of a very curious sentiment entertained by the Italians as to the hon. Gentlemen opposite. They were told that the Italians believed that if England should become Roman Catholic to-morrow, the hon. Gentlemen who belonged to the Home Rule Party would turn Protestant out of spite. He was pained to hear the able and learned Members for Louth and Kildare make the declarations they had made in the House. Those hon. and learned Gentlemen had told the House that if this country was engaged in a foreign war it could not look for support and sympathy from a large portion of the people of Ireland.

MR. SULLIVAN said, he had stated that the amount of popular support which

would be given in England and Scotland would not be given by the masses of the population of Ireland in the same proportion.

MR. W. JOHNSTON said, that could not be wondered at when they heard of votes of thanks to the Czar stating that he, and not the Queen of England, deserved the thanks of the Irish people for the release of the Fenian prisoners; and he believed if to-morrow England were engaged in a war with Russia, they would find enthusiastic meetings in Ireland passing votes and expressing hopes that the arms of Russia would prevail against England. He spoke as an Orangeman; a word which had a peculiar effect on hon. Gentlemen opposite, but the body to which he belonged had been misrepresented in that House and out of it. They were bound together to maintain the Protestant religion, the Constitution, and the integrity of the Empire; they were hostile to no section of Her Majesty's subjects, and they desired to uphold no ascendancy; but they were determined to cast in their lot for weal or woe with this great Empire, and they would be loyal and true to her to the last.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN said, it was nearly 20 years since he had taken part in a debate on an Amendment to the Address to the Crown, and he should not have done so now had not the circumstances of the case appeared to him to be in the highest degree exceptional. Let the House consider for a moment the position in which they were placed. Only two days ago the country was in a state of great uneasiness, a large portion of the community being impressed with the feeling that we were likely to drift into war at a time when the opinion of the country was decidedly in favour of peace. He did not blame the Government for that, and he had never entertained the fear himself; because he knew that there were certain Members of the Cabinet whose past career gave the surest guarantee that, having once pledged themselves to a policy of neutrality, they would not have remained for one hour longer in that Cabinet if a contrary policy had found favour therein. But what had happened on the previous day? Assurances were given by the Government of an eminently satisfactory character, and there was only one feeling on the part of the great majority of that House—that an Address

should go forth to Her Majesty expressing the voice of the Parliament of England as the voice of one man. There was now an interposition from that side of the House which he viewed with the greatest regret, both from an Imperial point of view and from the view of one who was desirous of meeting the just wishes of the Irish people. From an Imperial point of view, he believed the action taken by hon. Members below the Gangway was contrary to the wishes of the great majority of the British people, and contrary, too, to the wishes of the majority of the constituents of the hon. Members who supported the Amendment to the Address, and who he was sure at such a time would wish that only one voice should go up to Her Majesty from Her Parliament. The Irish Members, by the course they had taken, had not improved their own position, by placing themselves in opposition to the people of this country and wishing to become isolated. What they (the Members of the House) wished was that Ireland should share in the prosperity of the country instead of isolating itself. We wished them to have a share and a portion in every national success we achieved, and in every national movement we undertook. Why did not the hon. Members from Ireland join them in a peaceful demonstration? Did they differ from the foreign policy of England? No, they did not. Why, then, did they not go with them to the Throne with a unanimous Address? Whatever differences might exist upon particular legislative measures, Ireland, as England, was for peace; and at the present moment, he believed, if fully ascertained, the views of the Irish people would be found to be in favour of a unanimous voice in going to Her Majesty in this grave crisis in European affairs. He regretted the Amendment from an Irish point of view, and he had a right to consider himself a friend of Ireland, for during a long career in Parliament he had constantly supported measures conceived in a spirit friendly to Ireland. Englishmen did not want to isolate Ireland, and they did not want to see Irishmen isolate her. He wanted to see Ireland share in the prosperity and the triumphs of England, and he asked the Irish Members whether there was a single Irish measure which they had proposed which would be advanced by differing from the English Parliament

on this great question? It was only right that there should be an expression of opinion from the bench on which he sat, indicating the desire of its occupants that the Address should be adopted with unanimity, and that the controversy as to whether there was a certain amount of disloyalty in parts of Ireland should cease. In spite of the bitterness engendered by Parliamentary defeat and the rejection of the Bills of Irish Members, some of which he had himself supported, he believed that no such disloyalty existed in Ireland as had been hinted. He referred with regret to the statements made as to differences of opinion in various parts of Ireland, and he firmly believed, and would continue to believe till it was proved to the contrary, that if a national crisis were to arise the sons of Tipperary would go out to fight the enemies of the country as loyally and as readily as those of Ulster, and those who said otherwise wronged themselves and their countrymen. He believed Irish Members would best advance the measures they had at heart by not forcing a division on the Amendment when the House desired to be unanimous. He remembered the moderate and wise manner in which the hon. Member for Cork County brought forward the question of Home Rule in a previous Session, and he always listened to him with respect. When, however, the hon. Member told the House that hon. Gentlemen on the Government side were as Liberal as those on that (the Opposition) side, he could only reply that this was a point open to argument, but hardly relevant to the present issue. But when the hon. Member taunted those upon the front Opposition bench with the probability of their exclusion from office for 15 years, and hinted that they were ready to support certain Irish measures with a view to regain office, he (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) would inform him in the name of every occupant of that bench that no such taunts as he had now indulged in would prevent them from voting with Irish Members when they believed them to be right and against them when they believed them to be wrong. There were many questions advocated by Irish Members for Ireland which English Liberals could cordially support as legitimate parts of a Liberal programme, and which would naturally be opposed by those on the opposite side of the House. On the

other hand, there were questions which could not be admitted to be part of the Liberal policy, and to which the Liberal Members must reserve the right of objecting when they were brought forward. One of these was Home Rule, and he had particularly guarded against announcing himself as an enemy of it because he had not been able to understand precisely what it meant. But if Home Rule was intended to signify a severance of Irish from English interests, let there be no mistake as to the intentions of the great body of English Liberals. If it did not mean that, at least in the view of some of its adherents, he did not understand the language used on the other side of the Channel, imputing to English Members enmity to Ireland, and stating that this House was full of the enemies of Ireland. He protested strongly against such language, and he declared that there was a general wish on one side of the House as well as on the other to deal justly and fairly with every proposal made by the Representatives of the Irish people. With respect to the Home Rule question, those who sat on the front Opposition bench would listen attentively to the arguments that were adduced, and of course they would be very glad to consolidate the Liberal Party, so that there should be unity upon that side of the House. It was a natural and an honourable wish to unite the different sections of a Party so that the principles might be advanced upon which that Party had been formed. But he would say emphatically for himself, for those who sat around him, and for the whole body of English and Scotch Members in that House that, however much they might desire an united Party, they would never give their consent to any course which, in order to consolidate a Party, might imperil an Empire.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN complained that the right hon. Gentleman who had last spoken taunted them with being guilty of isolation, but he denied the correctness of that statement. They were told that they were acting unconstitutionally in bringing forward an Amendment to the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne; but this Parliament was not specially summoned to consider a question of peace or war. Her Majesty had not confined herself in Her Speech to the state of matters in the East of Europe; but had referred to

questions of domestic legislation. The ordinary Constitutional course had therefore been followed. He denied that the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. W. Johnston) had any right to assume a position of peculiar loyalty. He was sure that of many sent to that House deeply attached to this present Empire under which they lived, he had never taken a position contrary to the integrity of this great Empire, for which his reverence was not exceeded by that of any hon. Gentleman; but, while he expressed that sentiment, he was equally devoted to the country the cradle of his race, and in that he saw nothing inconsistent with a devotion to Imperial interests, and he could therefore support the Amendment of the hon. Member for Galway. Were he a Revolutionist he should tell the people of Ireland there was no use in appealing to the House of Commons; but because he was loyal to the Constitution he advocated faith in Parliamentary Government as the means of obtaining the redress of Irish grievances. He would not refer to the past, to the days of Desmond and O'Neil, though if he had lived in the times of oppression of 1798 he would have been a United Irishman. But the circumstances of our own time were not the circumstances of 1798, and during the past century the course of the British Parliament had been that of slow, but he might almost say of mathematical, progress in reference to Ireland. He asked the House to let him refer to what they presented to the House, and they presented their programme without considering the propriety of dealing with Ireland as an autonomous nation. Perhaps he ought not to use the word, because there were some people who said that a dictionary did not give its correct meaning. He did not consider that inconsistent with their alliance with England, and he, for one, would not be there as a Home Ruler if he thought Home Rule meant a separation of Ireland from the Empire. In matters purely Irish they wished to be allowed to legislate for themselves. Imperialists in every other respect they were and intended to be. They were anxious to participate in all the beneficent influences connected with this great Empire, and they believed that if they got the fair play they wished they would prove themselves loyal and devoted servants of the Crown. The House of Commons had neither the time, the inclination, nor the knowledge ne-

cessary to enable it to deal properly and effectually with Irish questions. At the present moment the Education question was amongst the most important of these, and he might be allowed to say a word or two upon that question; for, although a Roman Catholic, he derived in early life his education in a Church of England school, and took degrees at Trinity College. What they proposed was, that the Roman Catholic people of Ireland should not be allowed to remain altogether uneducated unless they consented to be educated in a particular manner, and that one opposed to their religious convictions. He was perfectly sure that if it was proposed to educate either Mussulmans or the Hindoo population of our Indian Empire in a manner which was offensive to their consciences, the proposal would not be listened to for a moment. They might call the objections of the Irish Roman Catholics to the education which it was now intended to force upon them prejudices, but they were prejudices which deserved to be respected. It was the duty of Parliament to give them the opportunity of receiving education in their own way, and for the life of him he could not see what objection there could be to a Roman Catholic University being empowered to confer degrees on the assurance that they should not be conferred upon any but those who exhibited adequate scholastic attainments. With regard to the Fenian prisoners, beyond expressing his deep regret at the sad story of the unfortunate man who had died a few days after his release, he would not say more pending the inquiry which the Home Secretary had promised to institute in respect to the treatment of those incarcerated in the convict prisons. Generally, he thought, the gaolers should not be entrusted with a discretionary power of adding to the punishment specified by the Judge by whom the convicts might be sentenced. A prisoner in the 19th century should not be treated as prisoners were in the middle ages, as in the times of Louis XI., when they were hung up in cages in the Castle of Loches. He could not, however, see how the Government, having consented to release the military prisoners, could now keep in custody the other prisoners who had not committed any such offence. He trusted Her Majesty's Ministers would listen to appeals of Irish Members on behalf of those unfortunate men—appeals which

were entirely free from anything that partook of menace. Allusion had been made to the probability of Ireland being invaded and the people joining the invaders; but the fear on that score was simply ridiculous. Was the Czar the person who was to invade it? Why, the animosities which formerly existed between the Orangemen and the Roman Catholics were as nothing compared to those which existed between the latter and the members of the Greek Church. Was it Germany which was to invade Ireland? He should like to see the man in Ireland who would be bold enough to enrol a brigade to support Prince Bismarck. As to a French invasion, the fact was that only a very limited number of Frenchmen knew anything about Ireland except that it was a Catholic country; and it was idle to talk of the Americans coming across the Atlantic to invade the country. The idea of such a thing seemed too preposterous to be mentioned. In the event of this country being involved in a war there would be, as hitherto, a feeling of sympathy between the English, Scotch, and Irish people. As a devoted adherent to Her Majesty's Crown, he denied the imputation of disloyalty which had been cast upon his countrymen, and he hoped Irish Members, in the duty they had to perform to their country, had not offended British prejudices by bringing before the House the wants and wishes of the Irish people. In conclusion, he asked the House to treat this country properly, to behave in a manner which had been indicated by many hon. Gentlemen that had addressed them, and at least express some sympathy for the feelings of the Irish people.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that the House had been told for the hundredth time that its Members generally were in a state of dense ignorance as to Irish affairs. No imputation could be more unjust. The history of Ireland was no longer a closed book, either against Members of that House or the English public during the eventful period of 100 years before the Union. Mr. Froude, in his work, *The English in Ireland*, had elucidated the history of that country, and in doing so had fairly exposed the true history and origin of the Home Rule movement. The movement was simply intended to facilitate the action of the Clerical Party, and their desire for free and Constitutional institutions had been

sufficiently illustrated by their recent conduct in Ireland. Their demand was that University education, intermediate education, and even primary education should be in the keeping and direction of the priests. That was the motive of their action. The advocates of Home Rule had never drawn a clear distinction between the policy of Home Rule and Repeal. Anyone who read the reports of what had been said last night by the hon. and learned Member for Louth and others, must come to the conclusion that their object was the restoration of that unhappy state of things which existed in Ireland in the time of the "United Irishman," at the close of the last century. He regretted that this Amendment had been proposed. He did not think it in the least justifiable, because in the Speech from the Throne this House had received a distinct engagement that Her Majesty's Government would introduce measures for Ireland whenever there was the slightest prospect of the Home Rulers allowing them to pass. He considered the Amendment as a manifestation of the dictatorial spirit which influenced the action of hon. Members. It had been said by hon. Gentlemen opposite that if this country should be engaged in war they would raise an insurrectionary movement which would compel Parliament to assent to the policy which they advocated. He would tell hon. Members from Ireland that they might rouse in this country a resolve that if autonomy were granted, it should be granted to Ireland only as a colony and not as an integral part of the United Kingdom.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY rose to a point of Order, for the hon. Gentleman had just made a most extraordinary and unjustifiable statement. He had said that hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House had stated that in case of a foreign war they would rise to insurrection. No such statement had been made, in fact it would be treason. On the contrary, every hon. Member on that side of the House would endeavour to repress any insurrection, and prevent the

would no doubt be out of Order; but I did not understand the hon. Member to do so.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said the hon. Member had certainly stated that hon. Members for Ireland would excite insurrection.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he had adverted to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for Louth, which were to the effect that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity, and to those of the hon. Member for Cork, who said that evening that unless the House accepted the dictation of the Home Rule Members with respect to the government of Ireland, he would feel compelled to join with others in advocating the extreme opinions which so many in the House condemned.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that the historical references of the hon. Member for North Warwickshire, so quickly followed by the disavowal of his (Sir Joseph M'Kenna's) hon. Friends, the Home Rule Representatives, reminded him forcibly of some lines which he had recently read which applied to this sort of discussion—

"With varied lore his mind replete is  
From ancient tome and modern treatise;  
From the Enchiridion of Epictetus  
To grass manures and black potatoes.  
Whene'er he speaks his speech is freighted  
With history so well narrated,  
You'd think some question was debated,  
Whilst he refuted what no one stated!"

And now he would observe in reference to the political prisoners, whatever might be the sentiments of any section of the Irish people on the subject, he would from his place in that House express his own deep sense of gratitude to Her Gracious Majesty, who really originated the work of compassion and mercy. He was, also, not unmindful of the Government for yielding, even at so late an hour, to the influences that were brought to bear upon them. As to the rest of the prisoners, and as to the condition of the unfortunate man who had died, he was quite satisfied that in his heart the right hon. Gentlemen at the head of the Home Office deplored what had taken place quite as much as any of them.

the eyes against it. Now, he would ask in respect to political pledges against the measure, of which they had heard, what great measures could they point to which had been carried by any Government, whether now occupying the Government benches or not, which had not been carried in the face of extravagant pledges that such measures should never be entertained. In the case of this very Union there was an instance, not only of the violation of pledges, but of Treaties. The Parliament of Ireland—whether rightly or wrongly he would not then stop and argue—agreed to the Union with England on the express condition of a solemn Treaty ratified by Acts of Parliament on both sides of the Channel, and assented to by the Monarch, and that condition was that the Protestant Establishment should be respected in its integrity. He asked was that not a more solemn pledge even than the pledges the hon. and learned Gentleman referred to—to maintain what they designated the integrity of an Empire? But he denied that this was a question affecting the integrity of the Empire at all. Hon. Members had talked about Home Rule as something which had not been explained because there was no Bill before them with the details arranged; but he would like to know on what great occasion such a course had been of late adopted? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), for whose integrity, ability, and patriotism he had the highest respect, came to a conclusion in 1868 which he could scarcely have expected to arrive at a few years before in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and how did he proceed? He did not bring down a Bill with all the details, so that the hon. Member for Belfast or any other Member might make a speech in reference to the question of tithe-proctors or of chapels-at-ease, or any other matter upon which a Member might make a speech. He proceeded with statesman-like sagacity to conquer the opponents of the measure before he introduced his Bill; and so, having first established the principle, he was enabled to carry one of the greatest reforms ever peaceably effected in this country. The hon. Member who had just spoken had referred to this question as one of colonial autonomy, but it was not such an autonomy, nor was it such as would be granted to Bulgaria or any Provinces in the East.

What was meant was such an autonomy as the several States of America now enjoyed—not quite so much as the autonomy enjoyed by Hungary. Was it not easy to understand a confederation of States united in one Empire? In the event we contemplated the executive power would remain in the hands of the Crown as now; all control of the Army and Navy and the financial system would rest with the Imperial Parliament as they do now, saving only that in regard to financial exaction, Ireland should be required to contribute to the Imperial Exchequer only a sum equally proportionate to her resources, as the sum contributed from the resources of Great Britain was to the total of her means. Some hon. Members spoke as if they did not understand what Home Rule meant; but he would ask them, was there not an instance in the Union of the Swiss Cantons and in the Federal Union of Norway and Sweden? What he asked for was the establishment of a Federal State in Ireland under such restrictions and conditions as were consistent with the integrity of the Empire; and if asked to join in carrying out any other species of Home Rule, he would say to his constituents—"Count me out, for I will have nothing to do with it." Under such a system he believed the Empire would be stronger than it was now in proportion to her recognized means. These were his ideas of what was meant by Home Rule. He believed when Home Rule was dispassionately considered it must commend itself to the attention of the House. He claimed for the Home Rule Party that they were essentially, not in a Party sense, but in the true philological sense of the term, a Conservative Party. Reference had been made to a speech made by the hon. Member for Westmeath against Home Rule; but hon. Members who took that ground should remember that the hon. Member for Westmeath inveighed against Home Rule as not going far enough, but the arguments the hon. Member used could be easily met. He attempted to show the difficulty of defining the separation between external affairs and home affairs; but, of course, in passing an Act of Parliament all these matters would be discussed and arranged. He must say, speaking for himself, that he had never made any speeches in Ireland which had trenched on the privilege of speech more than he had in the House. He wished it to go forth to Ireland that



there was a freedom of speech, and he was very glad to say there had been very little, if any, desire shown on the Government benches, during the present debate, to restrain the Irish speakers.

MR. DIGBY observed that, whatever might be thought by those who were not Members of the Irish Party, of the course taken by that Party in moving an Amendment to the Address, he assured the House that those with whom he acted, representing as they did public opinion in Ireland, felt that they had no alternative but to adopt that course. He freely admitted that of late years the attention of England had been called to the condition of Ireland, and that English statesmen had made earnest and generous efforts to remedy the evils which prevailed in that country. Much had been accomplished, and the Irish people would, indeed, be most ungrateful if they did not willingly recognize and acknowledge that which had been done for Ireland by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich in establishing religious equality in that country. But the measures of the right hon. Gentleman, important as they were, did not touch the root of the evil. The feeling on the part of the people of Ireland was universal that somehow its nationality must be recognized. The hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) had prepared a scheme whereby that feeling of nationality might be recognized consistently with the integrity of, and unity with, Great Britain. He wished they could get English statesmen and philosophers to grapple with the question, for he could not doubt that if they did they could deal with it effectually. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) had several times asked that the subject might be inquired into, but as yet the question of Irish nationality had never left the domain of politics, nor had it entered into the serious and earnest attention of English statesmen. Until it did—until the question was, as it might be, settled in a manner compatible with the honour and interests of the British Empire—so long would the Irish Representatives not be exceeding their duty in stating their views for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. They did not complain of any want of courtesy on the part of English Members. What they did feel was that

the measures which from time to time they brought before the House did not receive the consideration which their importance demanded. He appealed to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland whether the national feeling to which he had referred did not exist, and whether, so far from diminishing, it was not increasing? It happily did not now take the dangerous form which it assumed a few years since; and this he confidently stated, that the English statesman who would take up the question and reconcile the existing national feeling with the integrity of the Empire would earn the lasting gratitude of the people of Ireland. In conclusion, he appealed to Her Majesty's Government to complete the measure of amnesty, and assured them that if they had the courage to release the political offenders still remaining in prison, they would assure the fact that the thanks of the Irish people would be laid at the feet of Her Majesty with the most humble and grateful respect.

MR. FAY denied the truth of the charge sometimes brought against them, that Home Rule might more properly be described as Rome Rule. The fact was that it originated among the Conservatives, who were disappointed and annoyed by the disestablishment of the Protestant Church in Ireland, and that the Roman Catholic hierarchy had to a very great extent held aloof from the movement. He repudiated the assertion that the Home Rule Members did not represent their constituents. At the present time the material resources of Ireland were at as low a point as they had ever been since 1848; and the increased taxation which would inevitably follow from any war would fall heavily upon the country. He was opposed to anything like a war policy, and he believed his countrymen largely shared that feeling. There were many Irishmen in the ranks—indeed, eliminate the Irish element from the Army, and one-third of the fighting men would be taken away. He would be glad to see in Ireland a Volunteer Force such as existed in the rest of the Kingdom. He hoped that the result of this discussion might be that the Government would agree to an inquiry into the present unsatisfactory relations between Ireland and England, and he did not see that, in order, if possible, to carry out that object, there was

anything disloyal in Irish Members supporting an Amendment to the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech.

MR. STORER said, the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Melton) had complained that the House did not give time for the discussion of measures to redress Irish grievances. It must be in the recollection of every Member of the House and of the public generally that all the sensational measures which had occupied the attention of Parliament in recent years were connected with Ireland. Those measures made concessions to the very Party which now came forward and said that nothing had been done for them. There was the measure for abolishing the Irish Church Establishment—in whose interest was that passed? The measure which revolutionized the Land Laws of Ireland—was not that brought in to suit the views of hon. Gentlemen opposite? They thought that measure did not go far enough, and they wanted to go further. If you gave them an inch they always wanted an ell. They would never be satisfied with any concessions. In fact, they had no desire to be satisfied. Their desire was to keep open a wound in Ireland which would give them an excuse for keeping up agitation in that country, which he was sorry to say was only too ready to listen to their proposals. He could, however, assure hon. Gentlemen opposite that the House felt the deepest interest in every measure which came from Ireland, and was as desirous of doing justice to her as she was of doing justice to this country. The same attention was paid to Irish measures in that House as to English measures; and if the argument of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare was carried to its logical sequence it came to this—that every measure which any Irish Member proposed should be passed by the House; and if it was not passed, that was *ipso facto* a grievance. Such an argument was untenable and absurd. The hon. and learned Member for Kildare made it a grievance that exactly similar laws were not passed for one country as the other; but those hon. Members who attended public meetings in Ireland, and who knew better, had no right to lead the ignorant population of Ireland to believe that was not now the case. They had justice administered by men of their

own race and creed; they had trial by jury—although he was sorry to say that that safeguard of liberty was often in Ireland of no avail—and it was their own fault if Ireland was not well governed. If they brought forward proof that their municipal institutions or their Parliamentary constitution could be improved, the House, he was sure, would listen to them attentively. When Irish Members went about the country propagating their peculiar doctrines, they should remember that in many particulars the taxation of Ireland was far less than that of England, although there was no reason why both countries should not in that respect be placed on an equal footing. In Ireland there was no railway duty, the stamp duties were very insignificant, there were no assessed taxes, no land tax, no inhabited house duty, and where the English farmer paid a penny in the pound of income tax, the Irish farmer paid only three farthings; although it was well known they were just as good farmers, and made as good profits as those of England. There was, however, another very cogent reason why Home Rule would be no advantage to them. They had now assistance from the Imperial Exchequer, which they would not then have, as he supposed that if they had Home Rule they would have an Exchequer of their own, unless they wished to govern England and Ireland too. The Returns for 1877 of the grants in aid of local taxation in the three countries showed that, whereas those grants for England and Wales amounted to not quite £2,500,000, and for Scotland to only £339,000, for Ireland they reached £1,868,000, the latter item including £18,000 to hospitals and infirmaries, for which England and Scotland received no corresponding sum. The result of the comparison was that one-third of the whole of the extra grants made in aid of local taxation went to Ireland, although her population in 1874 was only one-sixth of that of the United Kingdom; while, as far as Imperial revenue could be calculated, she contributed only 1-27th of the total amount of direct taxation. Who, then, could say that the interests of the Irish people were not considered by Parliament, or that they had not their fair share, and more than their fair share, of what, by every principle of right and reason, they could

claim? And yet an Irish Member, not then in his place, was reported—he trusted falsely—to have said at a meeting in Ireland that “the people of England were accursed,” and that he was going to the “accursed House of Commons.” Was that language that should be used by a Member of that House? He would remind the hon. Member, in the words of the Arab proverb, that “Curses are like chickens, they come home to roost;” but he hoped no retribution would overtake the hon. Member for his language. The unsubstantial myth of Home Rule was like the mirage of the desert, which as they approached it vanished from their view; it was as shadowy as the imaginary civilization of the ancient Kings of Ireland, of which the hon. Member for Galway had spoken. The half-clad inhabitants of that country at the remote times referred to had scarcely any civilization to boast of, being a set of tribes nearly always at war with one another—a characteristic which, he feared, had largely descended to their posterity; for they never seemed happy except when at war with someone, and even at home they could hardly forbear from the luxury of a free fight. If Home Rule ever became a reality, which Heaven forbid! he believed it would be perfectly impossible to maintain a Parliament in College Green; for, besides the certainty that they would be in conflict with the Imperial Parliament in three months, not a month would elapse before the Nationalists would be flying at the throats of the Home Rulers. When they had a meeting in Dublin to decide what was to be done with the statue of the great Liberator, whether he was to wear a cloak or not—for his own part he thought there should have been a cloak—they could not even settle that simple question without an angry disputation—the Lord Mayor of Dublin investing one Member of that House who was not now in his place with the title of a jack-in-the-box because he jumped up so often. Their recent Home Rule meetings at Limerick and elsewhere had shown that pugnacity was inherent in the national character. He thought that hon. Members for Ireland should be well satisfied to let things remain as they were. They should abandon their baseless dream of Home Rule, and give up the tactics of obstruc-

tion; and when they went home—perhaps they would do some day—they might prove themselves to be true patriots by showing the Irish people how well off they were by their connection with the British Empire. Instead of hinting, as some hon. Members had done in a way which must have created disgust in the House, that there would be disloyalty and possibly conspiracy in Ireland if certain measures were not passed, he hoped that those hon. Gentlemen would tell their countrymen what good reasons they had to be satisfied with their position; and, so far from Irishmen being a danger to England, if difficulties in the Eastern Question should unfortunately crop up, they would be found serviceable, as they ever had been, to the defence of the Empire and loyal to the Crown.

DR. WARD remarked that the admission of the last speaker that that House had never been able to satisfy the people of Ireland was the very ground upon which they demanded that Home Rule should be substituted for the existing system. Hardly any cause was dearer to them than that of education; but the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin had admitted the failure of several efforts in the matter. Could there be any more forcible impeachment of the Imperial system—any more fatal admission of incompetence? Their petition, then, was that they might settle those questions for themselves. The condemnation of the Government was that they had far less of the affection of the Irish people than of the English, and he would be false to his oath taken in the House if he did not state the fact. The circumstance was, indeed, lamentable, and no one lamented it more than himself; but the only remedy was for the Government to give over their bungling attempts at legislation, and allow the Irish people to manage—or mismanage—their own affairs. Not a jot of English power or influence would be lost; for if only they were permitted to regulate their own internal affairs, the Irish people would be loyal enough, although at the present time any rebel would be better received in an Irish town than any Prime Minister. Surely the moment chosen for these statements was not inopportune, nor was he ill-advised in urging that a combination of local and Imperial institutions might win the

*Mr. Storer*

loyalty of Irishmen. It had been said that the people of Ireland did not understand the meaning of Home Rule. Home Rule had been established in Canada, and had proved successful there. It was just such a system as existed in Canada that they asked for. No one could pretend that they did not understand that system. He was inclined to think that those who asked for a definition of Home Rule did not want to know what the Irish people asked for. So far from Home Rule being dead, as they were told by the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket), the feeling in its favour was growing stronger and stronger every day, and Irish Members sitting on the Conservative benches knew it; and at the next General Election two-thirds of the Members returned for Ireland would be pledged to the cause.

MR. M'LAREN said, that as he intended to vote for the Amendment, he wished the House to allow him a few sentences in explanation of his reasons for doing so. It was not on any technical point that he did so, but because of the practical grievances set forth in the speeches to-night—the failure of the Bills which during various Sessions had been introduced fruitlessly to the House. It was on this ground that he meant to vote for the Amendment—to mark his sense of the injustice which had been done to Ireland. It was from no idea of the Home Rule, such as was demanded by the hon. Members for Ireland. He had no doubt that the Bill to be introduced by the Government to establish County Boards would have the effect of establishing Home Rule to a certain extent, and he should like to see that kind of Home Rule extended, not only to Ireland, but to Scotland also. He thought that no greater benefit could be conferred on the people of the three Kingdoms, than giving them a large share in the management of their own local affairs, without being obliged always to come to Parliament. There

House for establishing household suffrage in England, that was no sooner done than a Bill was given Notice of to establish the same principle for Scotland, and it was carried with very little clamour or trouble as an act of justice to Scotland. But what happened with regard to Ireland? The Irish Members asked for a household Bill for Ireland. It was opposed, and not all the efforts of the Irish Members availed to establish such a system for Ireland. There were always overwhelming majorities in opposition to their views. Then about Parliamentary registration. It was now exceedingly simple in England and Scotland, more particularly in Scotland. There was no trouble whatever about it. In the constituency which he had the honour to represent (Edinburgh), containing about 27,000 electors, the Revising Barrister was not occupied more than two hours in each year in revising the list of votes. But in Ireland the trouble, expense, and chicanery that took place were beyond all calculation. Then look at the results of this. One result was not, as in England and Scotland, to try and put every eligible person on the roll, but apparently to see how many people they could keep off the roll; and looking still further at the results in all the boroughs of Ireland, including Dublin, Belfast, Cork, and in all the great and small towns put together, there were fewer voters than in the city of Glasgow. That was the outcome of this difference in the system of the Parliamentary franchise and the system of Parliamentary registration combined. Then, in regard to the municipal franchise, matters were very much in the same way. England and Scotland had household suffrage, and the only difference between the two Kingdoms was that in England women householders had votes, while in Scotland they had none. He hoped to see this difference remedied in the course of time. But Ireland had nothing of the kind. They had the merest handful of electors in many of the towns in Ireland.

franchised on account of the paucity of electors. But he would not enter into that. He preferred that they should have a greater number of electors, and that the system should be assimilated to that of the other two Kingdoms. He thought on these, and many other grounds, that the people of Ireland had great cause for complaint. The Government, from time to time, in place of giving to the people of Ireland the privileges of equality which they were anxious to obtain, had always tried to stop their mouths, as far as he could see, by creating places with salaries and emoluments, and in that way putting an end to the agitation which took place from time to time. It was quite true, as had been said by the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Storer) a few minutes ago, that Ireland contributed less to the Imperial Exchequer in proportion to its population than did either England or Scotland. The hon. Member had stated that Ireland had contributed only 1-27th part to the Imperial Exchequer, but he thought it was a mistake. She contributed 1-11th, as would be seen from a Return which he had recently obtained. Reference had been made to the system of education in Ireland. He would be delighted to see the Scotch system established in Ireland. He would vote for it with all his heart, and he believed it would be found very beneficial. The education rates in Scotland were laid upon all the owners and occupiers of lands and houses, one half on the owners the other half on the occupiers. There was not a cottager in Scotland who paid a £4 rent that had not to pay school-rates for the education of his children. What was the system in Ireland? The Treasury did everything. The Irish Members complained that higher salaries were not given to their teachers—that this, that, and the other thing was not done. Why did they not do as the Scotch did, give salaries to their teachers out of their own pockets? They ought to lay on a rate. Was not a man who had £1,000, or £100, or even £10 worth of land in Ireland as able to pay a school rate as a man in a similar position in Scotland? The rates for schools in Scotland ranged from 3d. to 1s. 6d. in the pound of rental, and it was a sad fact that the poorer the parish the greater the rate of assessment. Let

their Irish friends who asked for equal privileges be content to bear equal burdens also. Then he, with all his heart, would vote for every privilege Ireland desired, which it could be shown that England or Scotland enjoyed.

MR. MARTEN said, that since he had been a Member of that House Irish questions had occupied a large share of its attention, and when Irish Members complained of their inattention they must remember that every part of the United Kingdom had from time to time complained that, owing to the pressure of Public Business, their grievances did not receive due attention. So far as purely local Irish affairs were concerned, he felt sure every English Member would be disposed to facilitate discussion with respect to those of a local character, provided the principle of any change proposed was previously sanctioned by the Imperial Parliament, as in the case of the Artizans Dwellings Act in this country. But the Amendment only went to establish Home Rule for Ireland. It was said that Parliament refused to entertain many questions of importance to Ireland; and the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) had referred to the three questions of Parliamentary and municipal suffrage and of registration as matters on which Ireland suffered by its connection with England. But the House must remember that the subject of registration had engaged the attention of the House for several Sessions. Only last Session a Committee of Inquiry would have been appointed on the subject without difficulty had it not been prevented by the disputes of Irish Members amongst themselves as to was the proper man to be placed upon it as the representative of Irish interests. The delay which had arisen was, therefore, due not to the action of English, but of Irish Members. The hon. Member for Edinburgh complained that places in Ireland were given, not to the best man, but those who agitated most. But he would remind the House that the Government had introduced measures last Session which would have the effect of largely reducing the numbers of judicial offices in Ireland, so that so far as they went there was no disposition on their part to retain their patronage. The present was a most momentous crisis. At this moment momentous questions were

*Mr. M'Laren*

pending which might affect for a long time to come the fortunes of the Empire. This if at any time was the one at which the Government might be excused for not proposing a large number of domestic measures in Her Majesty's Speech. A paragraph of that Speech was devoted to legislation in England, a second to legislation in Scotland, and a third to legislation in Ireland. ["No, no!"] A measure had been promised with regard to intermediate education. Therefore, the Irish Members could not complain that their country was passed over as neglected in the Royal Speech. As far as the language of that Document was concerned Ireland was treated in a most favourable manner. He appealed to Irish Members whether they were entirely agreed amongst themselves as to the principles on which education should be conducted on any grade in Ireland. The priests and the laity opposed each other on the subject with a vigour and eloquence unequalled in other parts of the Kingdom. He was certain that the majority of the Members of that House were disposed to treat Irish subjects in the most conciliatory manner; but it must be recollected that the questions raised as Irish questions were problems affecting in the highest degree the condition of the people, and raising in the sharpest manner the most important matters of principle. It was not, therefore, possible to deal with them in that way of quiet compromise which it was possible to bring to bear upon English and Scotch questions. While the House were willing to give their attention to Irish affairs, it must be admitted that their Amendment was full of difficulty. He trusted the House would be of opinion that there was no occasion for the Amendment which had been brought forward on the Address, and that it would be decisively rejected.

MR. O'SULLIVAN, in supporting the Amendment, said, he would not refer to the centuries of oppression to which Ireland had been subject, but to the question of pounds, shillings, and pence, which would address itself to the conscience of every Englishman. He believed that if Ireland had enjoyed a Parliament of its own at the time of the Irish Famine, that Famine would soon have been stayed. At that time more food was exported from Ireland to make rents for absent landlords than would

have fed every man, woman, and child in the country; but England thought more of the interests of absentee landlords than of saving the lives of hundreds and thousands of the people. They had been told by the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket), in his romancing speech, that Ireland was one of the freest countries in Europe. He would show the value of that romance. He was returned for his native county by nearly three-fourths of the constituency; but if he were caught in that county with a gun in his hands, though he had never committed a crime in his life, he would be liable to two years' imprisonment. That was the freedom they enjoyed. What had Irishmen to be grateful for? He would take one case. The amount of duty derived from spirits in Ireland in 1841 was £964,000, while that raised from the same source in 1871 was £3,469,000, or nearly four times the amount raised in 1841. Nor was that higher sum due to increased consumption, because the consumption in 1841 had been more than it was in 1871. It was because the Government of this country had increased the duty nearly fourfold—from 2s. 8d. to 10s. per gallon, whilst in wealthy England they only increased the duty from 7s. 8d. to 10s. the gallon. What had Ireland got for that increased duty? Poor Ireland, deprived of her manufactures, deserted by her local landlords, had to pay that amount every year to this country in undue taxation. If every Bill brought into this House by the Irish Members were passed, they would never be satisfied until Ireland had the right of making her own laws and disposing of her own taxes. They did not object to Imperial questions being decided in the Imperial Parliament. He asked for nothing more but what every country was entitled to. Ireland was clearly marked out as a distinct nation, and would never consent to have Irish laws made by Englishmen or anybody else but Irishmen in an Irish Parliament.

MR. PARNELL said, he had hoped to have the presence of the Home Secretary while he made one or two observations on the case of Sergeant M'Carthy. The right hon. Gentleman had expressed the opinion that it would have been better if the evidence of the prison officials from Chatham had been given at the

inquest. He (Mr. Parnell) was present at the inquest, and took the liberty to suggest to the Coroner that the inquiry might be adjourned to obtain evidence from the prison medical officer, but it appeared that the Coroner had no jurisdiction to take the evidence of witnesses out of the country. The Crown was represented on the occasion by Mr. Anderson, the Crown solicitor, but he did not seem to think it necessary that evidence should be obtained from the prison. Perhaps he had good reasons for that; but, at any rate, it was not the fault of the friends of the deceased present at the inquest that the prison officials were not examined, for they did all they could do to give a wider scope to the inquiry. The Home Secretary had fairly intimated that the inquiry was of such a partial character that it could not be satisfactory to the Irish people, and he had further intimated that the Commission upon the working of the Penal Servitude Acts would have full power to inquire into this particular case; but it was desirable that such a horrible event should be made the subject of investigation speedily and immediately. This Commission of Inquiry would have very wide and general functions, and it would be unable to give this case that attention which it demanded, and it might not be able to report for a year. He submitted that, under the circumstances, the Home Secretary would be very well justified in appointing a Commission of Inquiry into this case. The sooner all the facts of M'Carthy's prison life were known, whether they were in accordance with their view of the case or not, the better for everyone connected with the matter. It was stated in evidence that M'Carthy had complained of symptoms of heart disease in 1872, and that up to 1876 a portion of his work was to carry heavy bundles, containing 300 pairs of hose, and weighing 2 cwt., from the stores to the tailor's shop; that he complained to the officers in charge that the work affected his heart; that in 1875 he was admitted to the infirmary, and discharged by the chief medical officer before being cured; that he was disturbed in his sleep by the half-hourly visits of the warders; that when he had lost his teeth he was denied tea or cocoa in which to soak the dry bread he was unable to eat otherwise; that he had but 15 ounces of meat a-week besides bread and gruel; that he

*Mr. Parnell*

was kept in a cell seven feet by four, and that the only air he could get was from a closed hall, where 260 other prisoners were confined. Dr. O'Leary, M.P., gave evidence that the symptoms of heart disease must have been manifest long ago to a medical man; and the jury, to their credit be it said, although consisting of Conservative gentlemen in Dublin, returned a unanimous verdict to the effect that "Charles M'Carthy died on the 10th January, and that the cause of his death was heart disease. We further find that the treatment which Charles M'Carthy received in prison hastened his death." With regard to the general question of these resolutions, it was true that it might seem a very inconvenient process that the Irish Members had adopted of coming between the House of Commons and the consideration of the Eastern Question; but if every Englishman in that House thoroughly understood their position in Ireland, and the importance of the questions they had from time to time brought under the consideration of the House—if they thoroughly understood the vital importance of having the Land Question settled in such a way as to enable the soil of Ireland to produce the proper amount of food that it was capable of producing—if they could realize the position of a people without any University education that they could accept conscientiously—they would see that after all they were not so unreasonable in preferring the interests of their own countrymen to the interests of the people of England in regard to the Eastern Question. He did not wish to implicate the rest of the Irish Members in what might be the peculiar opinions he held on the subject; but it might be said that in the Home Rule programme they had undertaken to go hand-in-hand with England as regarded her Imperial and foreign relations; that they had undertaken to assist England in her foreign difficulties, and to stand by her on such a question as this Eastern Question—they had undertaken to stand by England to the best of their power, but on one condition—that England should allow them the right of self-government. Certainly the man who would pledge the Irish people to assist England in a difficulty if these grievances remained undressed would undertake a very serious responsibility, and would certainly de-

ceive the English people. There was an old maxim that England's difficulty was Ireland's opportunity, and it had been verified in times past. They had never been able to get the attention of England to their claims unless public opinion was acted upon by some pressing danger. It had been said that the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Land Act were passed in consequence of the Fenian outbreak. If the Irish Republic had been established these two measures would have been passed; but the immediate object was the independence of Ireland from the sovereign control of England, but undoubtedly the indirect effect of their action was to direct the attention of the people of England to these grievances. A very noble attempt was made by the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) to redress those grievances, and the disestablishment of the Irish Church and the Land Act would remain as lasting memorials of a noble and generous mind which had never been equalled by any statesman. While they acknowledged the desire of the right hon. Gentleman to do what lay in his power to redress their grievances, it was not reasonable to expect them to refrain from pointing out where the Land Act had failed and where it might be made more satisfactory. Although the Party to which the hon. and learned Member for the City of Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) belonged had been in power for a quarter of a century, these grievances were still in existence. Fortunately the Home Rulers had got a programme, and probably the hon. and learned Member was a little jealous of them in that respect. They had a wide and varied platform. Their Leader did not require to go to Scotland in search of a programme. He did not require to be persuaded that the time had now arrived for the disestablishment of a Church. They were in possession of these pressing questions, and they felt themselves entitled to bring them before the notice of the House at any and every convenient opportunity. Of course, it might be said—"You might have waited for your Wednesdays, and taken your chance of the ballot, and so secured an opportunity for discussing your Bills." But the chances of the ballot were very limited indeed, and as they were summoned to go there in the middle of

January and leave their occupations, they felt they were entitled to take a small slice of the extra few weeks. They felt that if they asked that two days should be spared out of these extra three weeks for Irish grievances, they would not be making a very exorbitant claim. He had been blamed by his friends for taking part in English legislation. He only did that in despair for want of something better to do. He should infinitely prefer to devote the whole of his Parliamentary time to the consideration and discussion of Irish questions, but coming over to London he found there were none to discuss, owing to the great block of Business. The number of Home Rule measures that could be brought forward during the Session did not exceed five or six. Therefore, he could not employ himself better in the intervals between these Wednesdays than in helping the English Members to make their Bills a little better. He defied anyone to prove that his action last Session had been un-Parliamentary. He might not have English notions as to the mode in which things should be done; but the House should not be surprised if occasionally Irish Members interfered in their Business, and in a way they might not precisely like; but when at the end of the Session they found that their interference had done good, they ought to balance their disapproval of the method in which the good was accomplished with the results which had been obtained. He hoped the Irish people would be encouraged by the result of the discussion to-night. He also hoped that when they had asked the House of Commons to say that it was the duty of Parliament at the earliest opportunity in the present condition of public affairs to consider in a wise and conciliatory spirit the national demands which the Irish people had repeatedly raised, that the House would not spurn this proffered conciliation—that the Government would not say to the Irish people—"We will not consider in a wise and conciliatory spirit your demands, but we shall pass on to the consideration of what we consider of more pressing importance—whether England has a right to prevent the Russian Navy from sailing in and out of the Black Sea into the Mediterranean."

MR. MACARTNEY said, that hon. Members on his (the Ministerial) side of



the House were last night accused of receiving the speeches of Members on the other side with contemptuous silence, and it was said that the people of Ireland would not sympathise with England in her difficulties; but that was not the feeling in all parts of Ireland, for if this country should be engaged in defending her just rights there would be no difficulty in obtaining soldiers from the part of Ireland with which he was connected to fight for their Sovereign and for the cause of Great Britain and Ireland. Complaint had been made that education had not been dealt with; but it must be remembered that this subject was a bone of contention in France, Germany, Italy, Spain—he did not know whether he could say Russia—in short, in all European countries, and in America, and in many of these countries there were greater differences of opinion on the education question than in this country; and it was rather unreasonable on the part of hon. Members opposite to expect those on his side of the House to give up their own opinions for the purpose of satisfying the demands of hon. Members on the other side of the House. The hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. Sullivan) complained last evening of the opinions expressed by the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket) in his brilliant speech, and said that they were not those of his grandfather; but if all Members who had sat in that House since the Union had continued to entertain the same opinions as their grandfathers, hon. Members opposite would not at that time be sitting where they were—and it was hardly fair to attack the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University because his opinions were not those of his ancestor—the great Lord Plunket. He altogether denied that the discussion had been unduly discountenanced. The speeches of the Home Rulers who had taken part in it had been listened to with attention. Indeed, he might say during the four years he had been in that House quite as much time and attention had been given to Irish as to English or Scotch legislation; and the complaint now made came rather ungracefully from those Irish Members who, if not always listened to with pleasure, were at least heard with exemplary patience. Whenever they brought forward measures having

a fair claim for consideration they were duly considered by Parliament, and they not unfrequently passed into law. It was because they so frequently brought forward measures which they knew would be rejected that they were so often unsuccessful. He hoped that hon. Members opposite would adhere to their disclaimer that they did not wish to embarrass the Government in the event of war.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that the bearers of names illustrious in Irish history might lead a nobler and worthier part in an Assembly like that than in condescending to ridicule the noblest aspirations which their countrymen, in common with all freedom-loving peoples entertained. One of them, the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Plunket)—and he (Mr. O'Donnell) deeply regretted the fact—had become distinguished to the people of his country by his having made last evening one of the most damaging statements which could have been brought against the Irish Party—namely, that that Party had determined to move an Amendment to the Address no matter what the Speech from the Throne might be. That was not the fact, as the Resolution come to was, that the Home Rule Party should move an Amendment only in the event of no reference being made to the affairs of Ireland which should be satisfactory to the people of that country and recognize their demands. Well, after hearing Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, the Home Rule Members adjourned for consultation, and most properly, legitimately, and necessarily came to the conclusion that the character of that Speech did not meet the just claims of the people of Ireland. The charge of ingratitude against the Irish people had repeatedly fallen from the hon. and learned Gentleman. For what had they to be grateful? What crying grievance had been remedied? The disestablishment of a Church—it was not the people's Church—had to be effected in a way that should meet the peculiar sentiment of the English people on the question. It had been purely nominal, and so far as disendowment was concerned the vast bulk of Irish people had not derived the slightest benefit. The evictions on the Michelstown estate, and the recent disclosures in Dublin, showed that the land question had not been settled. Scenes had been

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witnessed on several Irish estates which would equal, if not surpass, some of the most distressing features that had been described in Bulgaria. They had been told that they were especially ungrateful on the question of education, and the hon. and learned Gentleman had enumerated the various attempts which had been made to settle the question, and had always ended by saying that those attempts also did not give satisfaction. But if those attempts did not satisfy the parties interested, it was because they were not of a nature that ought to satisfy them. To the minds of the Irish people the education question was probably the most important of all questions, save the general question of the national demand for self-legislation. He did not choose to go in detail into the various measures which had been brought into the House on the question; but he would say in reference to the question of the establishment of what was called a "mixed education" in Ireland—the question of the establishment of the Queen's Colleges and Queen's University in Ireland, that whatever engagements were held out to the Irish people as to the establishment of that system of education, whatever promises were made, whatever hopes were excited, these promises had long since been broken, and these hopes deliberately deceived. At present there was hardly a single professor of the Catholic faith in the Department of Arts in the three Queen's Colleges; while in the case of the Belfast College, special measures had been taken to make it agreeable to the Presbyterian Body in Ulster. He did not complain of the Ulster Presbyterians, for he thought the Presbyterian Body had as full a right to education in conformity with their religious views as he and his Colleagues. As to the filling of the Chairs of that College, an arrangement had been come to between the Government and the Presbyterian Synod. They were to be filled under such conditions and by such persons that no conscientious objections could be raised by the Presbyterian Body. But such concessions, though honourable to the steadfastness of those sturdy Ulstermen, were most dishonourable to Her Majesty's Government when they refused equal concessions to the vast majority of the people. He had given Notice of a Bill on the subject of the

Queen's Colleges, and he should be glad if the Government would give him facilities for proving the charges which he brought against those Colleges. They had often been told during the last two days that the Government and the House were already prepared to give every consideration to Irish questions. Honestly speaking, they were sick of their mere consideration for Irish questions—they were sick of being listened to. The very exclamations of impatience on the other side were a relief to that continual stagnation—that continual listening to Irish Members, to that continual respectful consideration for Irish grievances which never ended in the removal of those grievances. Irish Members would be very happy to cut short their demands to occupy the time of the House, if there was anything to be gained by it. Of the particular Amendment before the House perhaps enough had been said; but some of the general considerations raised by Her Majesty's Speech gave much justification for the action of Irish Members last year, which excited so much animadversion. If he were disposed, he could at that moment, when we were preaching humanity to the Turks and the Russians, enter upon a discussion of the cruelty with which we were making war upon defenceless tribes, not only in South Africa, but also on the Northern Frontiers of India. He claimed his right to speak with as much loyalty as any hon. Member on the other side, and with as much pride in the past history, and hope for the development in the future, of this great Anglo-Irish Empire. He expressed his honest opinion, and denied emphatically that there was anything improper or inopportune in putting forward this question at the present time. Let Her Majesty's Government take the lead in scouting the just claims of the Irish people, and when the Representatives of the Government had to take their seats at the council board of Europe, with what consistency could they advise autonomy for Bulgaria, and denounce the mal-administration of Turk or Russian, while the wrong of the so-called Act of Union remained unredressed? How could they plead for mercy to the Gessoiffs or any political prisoners in face of the amnestied corpse of murdered M'Carthy. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not wish to speak those words in anger,

or as a taunt, but in an earnest desire that they might be taken in a kindly spirit. Let Her Majesty's Government grant the most simple fundamental demands embodied in their own recommendations made in the Constantinople Conference, and there would be no more loyal or devoted members of the Anglo-Irish Empire than the Irish people.

Mr. GRAY said, he did not wish to occupy the time of the House above a few minutes, nor, indeed, would he have spoken at all but for a personal attack which had been made upon him by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket). The hon. and learned Member had been good enough last night to make an attack upon him (Mr. Gray) and the journal with which he had the honour to be connected. Hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House had been constantly impressing on them during last Session the necessity of adhering to the unwritten law which governed Members of that House. He was unaware that it was in accordance with the unwritten law of Parliament to attack individual Members because of the opinions expressed by the journals with which they were connected. He was not aware that the hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter), or the hon. Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne (Mr. J. Cowen), or the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), who had been longer in that House than he had been, had been so honoured. So far as he was concerned, it appeared that it was an exceptional and a very especial compliment paid to himself and *The Freeman's Journal*, and he thanked the hon. and learned Member. But what was the nature of this exceptional attack? It was this—that *The Freeman's Journal* declared its conviction that the political prisoners were liberated because of the apprehensions of the Government with reference to the war in the East. Now, in the first place, as a matter of fact, that was and that is still the belief of the great majority of the Irish people. That belief may or may not be well founded. It may be thoroughly without foundation; but they were now at the close of a two days' debate, and they had not heard a word from any Member of the Government to dissipate that belief. What did the Home Secretary say, and what did the Secretary of

State for War say?—for their observations would be in the recollection of the House. The Home Secretary said he had last year given the House to understand that the prisoner, Davitt, would be liberated, and he went on to say—"therefore, as far as Davitt is concerned, it was a foregone arrangement, unconnected with the Eastern Question." Then the Home Secretary went on to say further—"As regards the other prisoners, they were military prisoners, and the Secretary of State for War is wholly responsible for them." Now he (Mr. Gray) remembered the debate in relation to this matter last year, and he remembered the very excited speech which the Secretary of State for War made on that occasion. The right hon. Gentleman had accused the Irish Members who had ventured to lift up their voices for amnesty of taking an unconstitutional course in daring to suggest that the prisoners should be liberated. Why were these other three men liberated now? The Home Secretary said the Secretary of State for War was responsible. Now, if the right hon. Gentleman wanted to dissipate the belief which he (Mr. Gray) told him—and he was sure the Chief Secretary for Ireland knew that he had some facilities for ascertaining what public opinion in Ireland was—prevailed in Ireland, let the Government explain and show that that belief was not well-founded. He declared that this was the belief in Ireland—that the prisoners were liberated because of the complications in the East, and that that was the influence which caused the Secretary of State for War to change his mind with regard to the prisoners. If the Home Secretary or the Secretary of State for War wished to dissipate that erroneous impression—if such it be—let them say something more than they had already said. But he would submit to the better judgment of the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University that his accusation in his (Mr. Gray's) regard was utterly unjustifiable. They were aware of complications arising in the East of such a nature that Parliament was called together three weeks before the usual time, and these men were liberated a few days before the meeting of Parliament without the slightest notice—liberated after appeal upon appeal had been made and rejected, and after the Irish people had

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given up in despair all hope that they would be shown any mercy. He was perfectly prepared to be responsible for everything that appeared in *The Freeman's Journal*; but it was open to opinion whether discussions of that kind could be usefully pursued with regard to every hon. Gentleman connected with the Press in that House. Now, he knew that the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was very practical, and he should put to him a few questions which he hoped he would answer. He should like to know if there was any meaning in the difference in wording in the Speech from the Throne regarding the measures for England and Scotland and those for Ireland? With regard to the Public Health Bill, in which the right hon. Gentleman took a deep interest, it was said that a Bill would be brought in. With regard to the Scotch measures, they were informed that Bills would be introduced; but with regard to the Irish measures they were told that "attention would be called to them." Was it the intention of the Government to introduce Irish Bills, to give them a good place on the Orders, so that there might be a chance of their being carried? They wanted something more than what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been good enough to promise them—"every consideration." The Irish Members wanted more than "consideration." Perhaps hon. Members would be astonished to hear that they were not over delighted with the promise of intermediate education—a scheme which would result merely in creating feeders for the Queen's Colleges. He did not know that this would be satisfactory as long as they left the University Education Question undealt with. The next point to which he would refer was one which would commend itself to hon. Gentlemen opposite who called themselves the Constitutional Party. He should like to ascertain from the right hon. Gentleman whether the Government intended to perpetuate the utterly unconstitutional position of having Members of the House elected by constituencies differing in their qualifications. This Parliament could not last at the utmost beyond autumn twelvemonths. Did the Government intend to perpetuate the inequality of the Borough Franchise in Ireland for another Parliament? Did the Government intend to shunt the question so that

another election might take place under restrictive conditions favourable to the Party opposite? Hon. Gentlemen might differ on the questions of Education, Land, and Home Rule; but they could scarcely advance the untenable proposition of not having a uniform Borough Franchise for the three Kingdoms. These were practical questions, and he hoped they would be dealt with in a practical way by the right hon. Gentleman.

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH:** Sir, after listening very attentively to the debate which has been raised on the Amendment of the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), I must confess I have not arrived at any conclusion satisfactory to myself upon two points. These points are—first, why the debate was originated at all; and, secondly, why, having been originated, it was thought necessary to extend it over two nights. During the discussion this evening, I think we have been surrounded with considerable difficulties. We have not only been puzzled with the vague and misty character of the Amendment itself, but the debate has been carried on in this House under atmospheric influences which almost induce me to wish for once that it had been transferred to the purer air of College Green. There have been, moreover, difficulties of another kind. If hon. Members on this side of the House have maintained a dignified silence, and listened patiently to the arguments adduced, they have been accused of a conspiracy of silence, and have been told that hon. Members who spoke were sick of being listened to.

**MR. O'DONNELL** explained that he did not refer in his remarks to anything which had occurred in that debate, but to the "general system of the government of Ireland."

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH:** If hon. Members representing English or Scotch constituencies have in former debates, or in this, attempted to discuss Irish affairs, they have been met with the reproach that, living on this side of the Channel, they can know nothing whatever about them, and if hon. Gentlemen sitting on this side of the House for Irish constituencies have intervened in the debate, they have been told—"Oh, you are the remnant of an expiring faction; your grandfathers would have entertained

entirely different views"—just as if the great Lord Plunket would ever have joined the Home Rule League! And because we heard with pleasure the play of wit and fancy in the speech of my hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Plunket) last evening, we are rebuked by the solemn warning that it is a terrible thing for an Irishman to make a jest of his countrymen. It has been, in short, impossible for us to conduct this debate so as to meet the wants and wishes of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and if now I venture to trespass for a few minutes upon their attention, I can assure them that in the remarks I am about to make I shall endeavour to avoid everything of a personal or unconciliatory character, as I think I have always done in times past. I make this observation, because I notice that in the Amendment of the hon. Member for Galway we are asked—and the request has been repeated in the course of the debate—to treat Irish Members who sit on the opposite side of the House with conciliation. The conciliation, let me say, ought not to be on one side alone. We ought not to hear or read in or out of this House, as we do—though I am thankful to say only from a few hon. Members of the Party opposite—speeches which exceed anything which is right or reasonable in the violence of their language and in the grossness of their references to those who differ from them in politics. We know the difficulties of these questions. Let us all approach them in a spirit of conciliation. If we are unable to agree, at any rate, it will make our differences easy, and enable us to conduct our Business in a manner befitting this great Assembly. Now, I have no fault to find with the first sentence of the Amendment of the hon. Member for Galway. It is, to my mind, an expression of satisfaction with, if not of confidence in, Her Majesty's Government. It is certainly an expression of satisfaction that two questions which hon. Members opposite, and I think Irishmen generally, have long admitted to be of great and pressing importance, should be about to be dealt with by the Government. And, very naturally and very properly, the hon. Member for Galway defers expressing any opinion as to the character of the proposed measures till he has seen them. I have no complaint whatever to

make of this; but, under the circumstances, I have to express my astonishment that he should have thought it worth while to move his Amendment at all. I may also say that I have been astonished to hear from the hon. Members for Cork (Mr. M'Carthy Downing) and Tipperary (Mr. Gray) a doubt as to the intentions of the Government upon these two questions. Those hon. Members appear to have thought that the Government, in advising Her Majesty to state that these subjects will be considered by Parliament, have no intention of making any proposals of their own upon them. The Statement in the Speech from the Throne means, as a matter of course, that we intend to introduce Bills on those questions, and I cannot understand how it can seriously be supposed to mean anything else. Well, the hon. Member for Galway, in his Amendment, goes on to say—

"We shall regard it as the duty of Parliament on the earliest opportunity in the present condition of public affairs, to consider in a wise and conciliatory spirit, the national demands which the Irish people have repeatedly raised."

Now, I have endeavoured to ascertain, as far as I could from this debate, what these national demands are, and I find that there is scarcely a question connected with Ireland, small or large, which has not been mentioned by one or other of the speakers; but surely even they can hardly suppose that all those demands, great and small, can at once be considered by Parliament. I must, therefore, endeavour to pick out, so far as I can, from the speeches of those who have supported the Amendment, what seem to be in the minds of those hon. Gentlemen, the special national demands which should first be attended to. And, first, as to the establishment of Volunteers. Is that one of them? That is the view of the hon. Member for the county of Wexford (Mr. O'Clery). Well, I do not think that that is a national demand of the Irish people. It was, to a very considerable extent, contradicted, or at least refuted, by the speech of the hon. and learned Member for the county of Louth (Mr. Sullivan). He drew last night a terrible picture of the condition of Ireland—a picture utterly unwarranted by any facts within my own knowledge—a picture which, as being drawn by him, I would, in any circumstances, accept with very consider-

able reservation. Hon. Members opposite will, I think, at least agree with me in this; for they are always telling us that no one who lives at this side of the Channel knows anything of Ireland, and I believe the hon. and learned Member has resided for some time in this metropolis. Then, again, is it the release of the political prisoners? As far as I understand the grievance alleged is not so much that any persons are still detained in prison, as that certain political prisoners have been released at an inopportune moment; and the occasion of their release has been seized, I regret to say, by some as an occasion for making the most absurd and ridiculous assertions as to the motives which have dictated it, and thus doing their very best to turn the key upon the unfortunate men who are still in prison. Now, the hon. Member for Tipperary has told us he knows something of the opinion of Ireland upon this question, and that it is the general opinion of Ireland that those prisoners were released on account of the present progress of the Russian arms in the East, and from English fear of the Czar. All I can say in reply is this, that I have the best reason for knowing—as good as the hon. Member can have—that that opinion is not uppermost in the minds of the population of Dublin, for the great mass of the people who welcomed the released prisoners on their arrival in that city did so by no means as sympathizing with the crimes they had committed, or as entertaining any treasonable views of disloyalty to the Crown, or the connection with England, but as simply rejoicing in the release of their countrymen from prison. On that occasion emblems and words of disloyalty alike were absent—a new experience, but a happy one, on such an occasion in Ireland. And when it was said, as I believe it was said by some of the foolish men to whom I have alluded, that the release of those prisoners was due to motives such as I have stated, those views were promptly repudiated the next day in the public journals by the secretary and some of the members of the Reception Committee. Well, Sir, no one can regret more than those who sit on this bench or on this side of the House the untoward and lamentable fate of one of those prisoners; and I think it was scarcely generous or fair on the part of

the hon. Member for the county of Meath (Mr. Parnell), after the statement of my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary, made in this House the previous evening, of his own deep regret for the circumstances and of his intention that the manner of the treatment of those convicts should receive full and searching inquiry, to occupy the time of the House with quoting extracts culled for his own purpose from the evidence given at the coroner's inquest alluding to what he called the fate of a "murdered man," and to throw doubt upon the feelings of regret and sorrow for M'Carthy's death which are entertained by Conservatives as well as by Home Rulers. I can only say that the depositions taken at the inquest will to-morrow or next day be laid before my right hon. Friend, and anyone who knows the character of my right hon. Friend will also know that the case will be fully and searchingly inquired into by him, and that justice will be done. I have alluded to the absurd statements as to the motives for the release of these prisoners; I would but supplement the statement of my right hon. Friend by saying, speaking with knowledge and authority, that the release of Davitt and of the military prisoners was determined upon by Her Majesty's Government at one and the same time. Now, this question of the political prisoners has been carried further by the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power). He has told us that our action in this respect did so much good, in spite of the motives which he was good enough to attribute to us, that we ought to complete our good work by the release of all the others. [MR. O'CONNOR POWER: I did not attribute any motives to the Government.] That was not the interpretation I gathered from the hon. Member's speech; but I readily accept his denial. Well, according to the hon. Member, there are eight so-called political prisoners still in prison. "Release them too," says the hon. Member, "and you will earn the gratitude of the Irish people." I do not wish to say a word upon the case of those who were concerned in the murder of Serjeant Brett at Manchester. That has been already sufficiently dealt with in this House; but the hon. Member named six others who, in his mind, are political prisoners. Well,

Sir, I have investigated the circumstances, since the hon. Member spoke, of every one of these cases, and I find that in each and all there was this crime—a deliberate attempt to take the life of someone or other, who may have been a policeman, a detective, or an informer, and in some of them, I am sorry to say, I believe the attempt was successful. Now, I really fail to see how crimes of that kind can in any sense be designated as political offences. I remember a case which a few years ago was tried at the Cork Assizes, in which a serious highway robbery was committed by two men, who were sentenced to certain terms of penal servitude. They were known Fenian sympathisers, if not members of the Fenian Society, and there was good reason to suspect that the robbery was committed in order to obtain funds for the purposes of the Society, which I am glad to say only to a slight extent exists—but still I fear exists—in Cork. Now, would the hon. Member say that the men who committed that highway robbery for the purposes of the Fenian Society were political prisoners? [Mr. O'CONNOR POWER: No!] Very well. But if a highway robbery for the sake of the Fenian Society was not a political proceeding, how could an attempt to commit murder for the sake of the Society be so? Sir, the cases of the men to whom the hon. Member referred will, of course, be considered on their merits and at a proper time; but I am bound to say that, in my opinion and in the opinion of the Government, they cannot be viewed in the same light for a moment as the cases of the men who have recently been released. But to pass on. I think the *gravamen* of the complaint of the hon. Member for Galway and those who supported him was, after all, that we had not equal laws in Ireland and in England. Very well; but if that is the complaint, why do we find prominently among the alterations of the law they desire such Bills as you would never hear of in England? Everyone knows that the land laws of Ireland are infinitely more favourable to the tenant than are those of England. But the Irish tenant for all that is not contented with his position. Why does he not assimilate his own law on the subject to that of England? That is not what he wants; and, therefore, hon. Members

opposite propose to make the land laws for England and Ireland still more unequal than at present. In this they admit that you must have regard in legislation to the different circumstances of different portions of the United Kingdom. "Oh, but," we are asked, "what are the questions of the borough and municipal franchise, and of the coercion laws?" Well, I should like to recall the attention of hon. Members for Ireland to the debate which occurred on the first meeting of the present Parliament, in which an Amendment to the Address was moved by the Leader to whom they have lately paid such high honour—the hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt)—whose eloquence and ability we all admire. The hon. and learned Gentleman, in moving that Amendment, asked for equal laws for England and Ireland. He wanted the repeal of the coercion laws; the same privileges in the election of sheriffs conferred upon Irish municipalities as were enjoyed by English; the reform of the Grand Jury laws and the extension of the Irish municipal franchise. What has happened with respect to the first of these subjects? The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Limerick himself very recently said to hon. Members opposite and to those who agree with him in political opinion, that

"while five years ago there was a Coercion Bill which left the Press enslaved, which gave to the policeman power to visit any house at any hour, and the Lord Lieutenant authority to arrest any person day or night, all this has now vanished."

The fact is that Parliament has dealt, and the different branches of the Administration have dealt, each in their own way, as hon. Members opposite have themselves desired, in regard to this matter of the coercion laws. And I am bound to say that nothing in the course of my duties, as connected with the Irish Administration, has given me greater pleasure than that we have, consistently with the preservation of law and order in Ireland, been able to relax the severity of those exceptional laws which the circumstances of the time rendered necessary. In 1874, when the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Limerick moved his Amendment, there was but one county in Ireland free from the provisions of the Coercion Act—there are now 16. In three Irish

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counties there was a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—at the present moment every part of Ireland is as free as any other part of the United Kingdom. I venture to think that is a change of no slight importance—not only to the Government, but to all those who are most interested in the preservation of law and order—namely, the inhabitants of Ireland themselves. And I think it is most unfair that what has been done in this respect has not, so far as I remember, been once recognized in this debate by the speakers on the Opposition side of the House. Again, it is known that a Bill has been passed conferring the right upon the municipalities to elect persons for appointment to the office of sheriff in Ireland.

**MR. MITCHELL HENRY:** I desire to correct the right hon. Gentleman. We introduced the Bill as it used to be in Ireland before 1832, and as it is now in England; but you spoil it.

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH:** I can only say as a matter of fact that the sheriffs are now returned by the municipalities, just as they are by the counties; and only a few weeks ago the Leader of the Party opposite (Mr. Butt), when the freedom of the City of Dublin was presented to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, expressed his complete contentment with the provisions of the measure to which I refer. As to the extension of the municipal franchise, it is true that two years ago a proposal of the kind was rejected.

[Major O'GORMAN: Hear, hear!] The hon. and gallant Member for Waterford seems to have an accurate recollection of the fact. [Major O'GORMAN: I have.] Well, it is true I opposed the Bill on the part of the Government, not because I considered the municipal franchise was now on a satisfactory basis, or was incapable of extension, but because I believed there were other matters relating to Irish municipalities equally deserving of attention, and I therefore wished the whole question to be inquired into. A Committee was appointed for the purpose, and the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Limerick took an active part in its deliberations, and moved that the evidence should at the close of its first Session be reported to the House, with a view to its re-appointment. That course was adopted, and the Committee resumed its

labours last year, and it must be admitted that though the proceedings have been somewhat protracted, they have not been without advantage to the country. The Committee will shortly, I hope, meet to consider its Report, and I believe the result will be a really valuable reform, including an extension of the municipal franchise and other beneficial changes. The next question raised by the hon. and learned Member for Limerick in 1874 was the reform of the Grand Jury laws, and that, I would remind the House, is one of the subjects with which, if you will give us time, we propose to deal in the present Session. On the subject of Education, it could scarcely be contended for a moment that an equality of laws as between England and Ireland could be produced by passing the University Bill which was introduced by the hon. and learned Member for Limerick last year. But we have undertaken this year to attempt to deal with that branch of education in Ireland which must be settled before a satisfactory University system could be possible. I allude to intermediate or secondary education which is necessary to enable students to become fitted to enter upon a University course. Further, it is impossible we can reap the best results of the system of primary education we have established, unless we hold out some stimulus to the best students in primary schools to pursue their studies into higher paths. It is admitted on all hands, Protestant and Roman Catholic, Conservative and Liberal, alike, that the deficiency in intermediate education is a crying want in the Irish system of education; and if that is satisfactorily met, we will endeavour to see whether there are any other gaps in the general educational system of the country which can be filled up in the interests of the people of Ireland. But, after all, I have heard from one or two speakers in the course of this debate, and especially from the hon. Member for the county of Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan), that these questions of ordinary legislation are really not what this Motion is intended to cover. The hon. Member distinctly said that the Irish people whom he represented would not be satisfied without the right to make their own laws and dispose of their own taxes—in other words, what is meant by the national demands of the people of



Ireland, in his view and that of other speakers; is Home Rule. If that be so, I shall not be guilty of unnecessary repetition if I once more remind hon. Members that they have never formulated their ideas of Home Rule before either the House or the country. Every other Irish subject during the last four Sessions has been before the House in the shape of a Bill; but Home Rule, whatever it be—the one question on which all are united—is the single question on which no Bill or scheme has been presented. I do not know, after all, whether Home Rule in their belief is a matter of primary importance. [“Hear, hear!”] I hear but a single cheer in reply. I think I have some ground for the doubt, in the fact that the hon. Member for Cork county (Mr. Shaw), who never speaks without affording a valuable and sensible contribution to debate, said—

“Our seats are perfectly secure without Home Rule; and, speaking generally, there is hardly a Member of us who would not be returned without professing it.”

I attach some importance to that expression of opinion on the part of one who was chosen as spokesman of the Party, to propose a Home Rule Motion in a judicious speech last Session, and who presided at what, I suppose, must be considered an important meeting of the Party recently in Dublin. I do not know whether it was important, because I am told that thousands of invitations were issued and but a few hundreds accepted. I have heard that no conclusion was arrived at, but that everybody agreed no differences ought to exist. I have heard that the meeting excited so little interest that, although galleries were set apart for ladies—that all the irresistible influence of Irish beauty and wit might not be wanting to the occasion—there were present but 16 representatives of the fair sex of Ireland. I do not want to discuss the question of the importance of this meeting; I will take it at whatever value is put upon it by hon. Members opposite; but let us see what was said by the hon. Member for the county of Cork in his opening speech. Referring to the difficulty of impressing the House of Commons with the merits of Home Rule, he said—

“Have we got all sections of our countrymen converted to our cause? Is there not an im-

mense mass of the nation, Protestant and Conservative, standing yet outside our movement? Is there not a mass of persons, Catholic and Liberal, that is still standing outside our ranks, looking to see what we mean, and what we are?”

I should be the last to deny the justice of the views expressed by the hon. Member; but if that can be said of the popular feeling in Ireland on the subject, is it such a proof of our unfairness to Ireland, that we in this Imperial House of Commons are unable immediately to give assent to a vague, indefinite, undefinable thing that is not understood or accepted even by the people of Ireland themselves? If the national demands pressed upon us by the Amendment signify Home Rule and nothing else, I do find great difficulty in understanding why this peculiar occasion has been chosen for this discussion. Why has the hon. Member interfered with the unanimous acceptance of the Address on such an important Imperial occasion as the present? Why has he now introduced a subject which surely he and those who act with him can take good means to provide shall be fully discussed during the present Session? It seems to me he has been singularly unfortunate in his opportunity. My right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) was right when he said nothing could be more detrimental to our national and Imperial welfare, and most of all to the welfare of Ireland, than the introduction of a question of this kind at such a time. Hon. Members who last Session took what many felt to be a somewhat peculiar and unprecedented course in our debates have stated publicly, at this assembly to which I have alluded, that their only wish was to be occupied—[“No, no!”]—why the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Parnell) said so—and, further, that they were anxious for active and earnest participation in Imperial and English as well as Irish affairs. No one will welcome that participation more than English and Scotch Members, provided that it be conducted in a fair and honest and Parliamentary manner; provided that those who join in such debates do so for the purpose of promoting the Business of this House and of our whole country, and not of impeding or delaying the legitimate action of Parliament. At the Home

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Rule Assembly which has lately been held in Dublin, much surprise was expressed by the few gentlemen who were fortunate enough to participate in the proceedings at the extreme unanimity with which they had decided upon nothing at all. But it struck me that their unanimity was due to one particular reason which appeared to impress itself more forcibly than any other on their minds, namely, this—that they must be unanimous—never mind their conclusions, because their enemies in and out of the Press in England and Scotland had prophesied that they were about to quarrel. Now, I cannot but hope that the prophecies which we have heard of very extraordinary interruptions and un-Parliamentary proceedings during the Session have proceeded not from the Friends, but from the enemies of hon. Gentlemen opposite; and that, taking the cue which they took so ably and so satisfactorily to themselves at their recent meeting, they will prove their good sense by showing a determination to falsify those prophecies, and will endeavour, by promoting English and Scotch Business really to promote their own; and that they will recognize that occasions may arise when the domestic interests of England and Scotland and even of Ireland must for a time be neglected, in order that we may devote our whole and undivided attention to the greater interests of our common Empire.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY complained that the right hon. Baronet who had just down had not held out any hope that the Land Act, or any of the reforms which were so greatly needed in Ireland, would be conceded by the Government. They had heard a speech of some force and of some inaccuracy from the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket), and they had heard a faint echo of it from their old Orange Friend the Member for Belfast (Mr. W. Johnston). The Chief Secretary had also spoken, and he had told them that it was scarcely likely that they could expect the subject of Home Rule mentioned in the Queen's Speech, although it was legitimate enough to discuss it. English Members spoke with courtesy, at any rate, to Irish Members; but he found in the speech of the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin an asperity and recklessness

in the use of personalities which was never indulged in by English Members; and speeches like that defeated their object, and would serve to arouse the people to combine still more for Home Rule. While the Home Rule Members had promised unanimity, they stipulated that individual liberty should be maintained. He contended that the question of Home Rule was only in its infancy, but the Party of politicians to which the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University belonged was dying, and it would owe its extinction to the bitter and acrimonious sentiments breathed in such speeches as that of the hon. and learned Gentleman. The right hon. Baronet told them that in a crisis like the present they ought not to interfere; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the right hon. Member for Greenwich had both agreed last night that there was now no crisis at all, that no immediate occasion for action had arisen, and that they had only to express to Her Majesty their hope that peace would be restored. Therefore, it could not be urged with any force that the Irish Party had intervened at an inopportune moment in pressing forward national demands. At the same time Irish Members came there instructed by their constituents, though not as delegates—"Oh, oh!"—and not after the style of the licensed victuallers, but by the common sense of the country, to insist that on great and important questions Irish Business under any circumstances should receive proper attention, and that they should be told what were the intentions of the Government. Having been the first person to move in the subject of intermediate education, he had heard with pleasure the statement that the Government contemplated actual legislation on two Irish subjects which had been mentioned, although after the taunts which had been thrown out about Irish Members suing, as it were, *in forma pauperis* for measures, and on the few occasions when they got them showing no gratitude, he would not say that that was a case for gratitude. He would warn the Government that as long as the question of Irish University education remained untouched, legislation on intermediate education would not be regarded with much satisfaction by the people of Ireland. Indeed, he doubted whether the feeling in that

country would allow them to accept legislation on the latter subject, unless they held out to them in regard to University education something more definite than the very faint intimations which had been given by the Chief Secretary. They had not expected the right hon. Baronet to define what the Government intended to do, but they had hoped that he would propose a scheme at the proper time. If noble Lords and English Gentlemen who went to Ireland showed a disposition to work out in a practical way questions of that kind in the manner which the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, the son of the Lord Lieutenant (Lord Randolph Churchill), had done in his recent contribution towards the solution of that problem, he could only say that the feelings of Ireland towards England would be very different from what they now were. Whether the suggestion of that noble Lord could be carried out or not was, however, a serious matter. Then, again, the Land Question could not afford to wait, because the subsistence of hundreds and thousands of people who might be driven from their holdings depended upon its being dealt with. He also regretted that the Manchester prisoners had not been liberated, because, although technically murderers, those persons were in a very different position from that of men who had been committed of murder in the ordinary sense, as the right hon. Member for Greenwich had last year acknowledged. It was believed in Ireland that the prisoners who had just been released owed their liberation to the fact that the Government would be anxious to get recruits in that country if a war should break out, and that they would find great difficulty in doing so, owing to the way in which these men had been treated. If they wished to remove the idea that political motives had been at work in the release of the prisoners, they ought to set free the Manchester men. It had been said that there was only one loyal Province of Ireland—namely, Ulster; and he had there heard the sentiment applauded that no man worthy of the name of Irishman should take the Queen's shilling while the men remained unreleased. That was a bad state of things; but Parliament was deaf to grievances, and if the same course was to be persisted in, of what use was it that

they should come over from Ireland and take part in the deliberations of that House? Even now, at the eleventh hour, he hoped the House would be induced to grant the legitimate demands of the Irish people before all hope had departed from them. Perhaps it would listen to them when their numbers were increased from 60 to 80, and when public opinion in this country was more favourable. They had been deliberately refused any redress on the University question, the question of the franchise, and other questions; and, from the events of that evening, many men in Ireland would say that it was of no use agitating constitutionally on these or any other subjects. And what answer could they give? He asked the House, during the coming Session, to disabuse the people of Ireland that Constitutional action was useless; and that nothing could be gained for the country except through sedition. He hoped that the legislation during the next few months would do something to remove that spirit of anarchy and antagonism which the Almighty had made the necessary consequence of mismanagement all over the world.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 48; Noes 301: Majority 253.

#### AYES.

|                            |                   |
|----------------------------|-------------------|
| Biggar, J. G.              | Meldon, C. H.     |
| Blennerhassett, R. P.      | Moore, A.         |
| Bowyer, Sir G.             | Morris, G.        |
| Brady, J.                  | O'Beirne, Captain |
| Brooks, M.                 | O'Brien, Sir P.   |
| Browne, G. E.              | O'Byrne, W. R.    |
| Collins, E.                | O'Clery, K.       |
| Conyngham, Lord F.         | O'Connor, D. M.   |
| Cowen, J.                  | O'Connor Don, The |
| Delahunty, J.              | O'Donnell, F. H.  |
| Digby, K. T.               | O'Gorman, P.      |
| Downing, M <sup>c</sup> C. | O'Reilly, M.      |
| Dunbar, J.                 | O'Shaughnessy, R. |
| Ennis, N.                  | O'Sullivan, W. H. |
| Errington, G.              | Parnell, C. S.    |
| Eyton, P. E.               | Power, J. O'C.    |
| Fay, C. J.                 | Redmond, W. A.    |
| French, hon. C.            | Shaw, W.          |
| Gray, E. D.                | Sheil, E.         |
| Henry, M.                  | Stacpoole, W.     |
| Lewis, O.                  | Sullivan, A. M.   |
| MacCarthy, J. G.           | Ward, M. F.       |
| Macdonald, A.              |                   |
| M'Kenna, Sir J. N.         |                   |
| M'Laren, D.                |                   |
| Martin, P.                 |                   |

#### TELLERS.

Nolan, Major  
Power, B.

*Mr. O'Shaughnessy*

## NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.  
 Adderley, rt. hon. Sir C.  
 Agnew, R. V.  
 Allen, Major  
 Anderson, G.  
 Archdale, W. H.  
 Arkwright, A. P.  
 Arkwright, F.  
 Ashley, hon. E. M.  
 Asheton, R.  
 Atley, Sir J. D.  
 Bailey, Sir J. R.  
 Balfour, A. J.  
 Balfour, Sir G.  
 Barclay, A. C.  
 Barclay, J. W.  
 Barrington, Viscount  
 Bartelot, Sir W. B.  
 Bass, M. T.  
 Bates, E.  
 Bateson, Sir T.  
 Bathurst, A. A.  
 Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.  
 Beaumont, Major F.  
 Beehive, Earl of  
 Bell, I. L.  
 Bennett-Stanford, V. F.  
 Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.  
 Bentinck, G. W. P.  
 Beresford, Colonel M.  
 Birley, H.  
 Blackburne, Col. J. I.  
 Blake, T.  
 Board, T. W.  
 Bourke, hon. R.  
 Bownfield, Colonel  
 Bright, R.  
 Broadley, W. H. H.  
 Brocklehurst, W. C.  
 Brogden, A.  
 Brooks, W. C.  
 Brown, A. H.  
 Bruce, hon. T.  
 Bruen, H.  
 Bulwer, J. R.  
 Burghley, Lord  
 Buxton, Sir R. J.  
 Cameron, C.  
 Cameron, S.  
 Campbell, C.  
 Carington, Col. hon. W.  
 Cartwright, F.  
 Cavendish, Lord F. C.  
 Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.  
 Chaine, J.  
 Chambers, Sir T.  
 Chaplin, Colonel E.  
 Chaplin, H.  
 Cholmeley, Sir H.  
 Clarke, J. C.  
 Clifford, C. C.  
 Clive, Col. hon. G. W.  
 Close, M. C.  
 Cobbold, T. C.  
 Cole, H. T.  
 Cole, Col. hon. H. A.  
 Corbett, J.  
 Cordes, T.  
 Corry, J. P.  
 Cotes, C. C.  
 Cotton, W. J. R.

Courtney, L. H.  
 Cowan, J.  
 Crawford, J. S.  
 Crichton, Viscount  
 Cross, rt. hon. R. A.  
 Dalrymple, C.  
 Davenport, W. B.  
 Davies, D.  
 Davies, R.  
 Denison, W. E.  
 Dickson, T. A.  
 Digby, Col. hon. E.  
 Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.  
 Douglas, Sir G.  
 Duff, J.  
 Duff, R. W.  
 Eaton, H. W.  
 Edmonstone, Admiral  
 Sir W.  
 Egerton, hon. A. F.  
 Egerton, Admiral hn. F.  
 Egerton, Sir P. G.  
 Egerton, hon. W.  
 Elliot, G. W.  
 Elphinstone, Sir J. D. H.  
 Emlyn, Viscount  
 Exlington, Lord  
 Fellowes, E.  
 Ferguson, R.  
 Fletcher, J.  
 Floyer, J.  
 Forester, C. T. W.  
 Forster, Sir C.  
 Forsyth, W.  
 Fremantle, hon. T. F.  
 Freshfield, C. K.  
 Gallwey, Sir W. P.  
 Gairner, J. C.  
 Gibson, rt. hon. E.  
 Giffard, Sir H. S.  
 Gilpin, Sir R. T.  
 Goldney, G.  
 Gordon, Sir A.  
 Gordon, Lord D.  
 Gordon, W.  
 Goulding, W.  
 Gower, hon. E. F. L.  
 Grantham, W.  
 Greene, E.  
 Gregory, G. B.  
 Grey, Earl de  
 Grosvenor, Lord R.  
 Hall, A. W.  
 Halsey, T. F.  
 Hamilton, Lord G.  
 Hamilton, Marquess of  
 Hamilton, hon. R. B.  
 Harcourt, Sir W. V.  
 Hardcastle, E.  
 Hardy, J. S.  
 Harrison, C.  
 Hartington, Marq. of  
 Harvey, Sir R. B.  
 Hay, rt. hn. Sir J. C. D.  
 Heath, R.  
 Hermon, E.  
 Hervey, Lord F.  
 Hick, J.  
 Hildyard, T. B. T.  
 Hill, A. S.  
 Hill, T. R.

## Hinchingsbrook, Visct.

Holford, J. P. G.  
 Holker, Sir J.  
 Holland, Sir H. T.  
 Holmesdale, Viscount  
 Holt, J. M.  
 Home, Captain  
 Hood, Capt. hn. A. W.  
 A. N.  
 Hope, A. J. B. B.  
 Hubbard, rt. hon. J.  
 Isaac, S.  
 Jenkins, D. J.  
 Jenkinson, Sir G. S.  
 Johnson, J. G.  
 Johnston, W.  
 Johnstone, Sir H.  
 Kavanagh, A. MacM.  
 Kay - Shuttleworth,  
 Sir U.  
 Kennard, Colonel  
 Kensington, Lord  
 Knatchbull-Hugessen,  
 rt. hon. E.  
 Knight, F. W.  
 Knightley, Sir R.  
 Knowles, T.  
 Lawrence, Sir T.  
 Lawson, Sir W.  
 Learmonth, A.  
 Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.  
 Lee, Major V.  
 Leeman, G.  
 Lefevre, G. J. S.  
 Legard, Sir C.  
 Legh, W. J.  
 Leighton, S.  
 Lewis, C. E.  
 Lindsay, Col. R. L.  
 Lloyd, T. E.  
 Lopes, Sir M.  
 Lowther, hon. W.  
 Lowther, J.  
 Lubbock, Sir J.  
 Lush, Dr.  
 Macartney, J. W. E.  
 M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.  
 Maitland, J.  
 Majendie, L. A.  
 Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.  
 Marling, S. H.  
 Marten, A. G.  
 Mellor, T. W.  
 Merewether, C. G.  
 Mills, Sir C. H.  
 Monk, C. J.  
 Montgomery, Sir G. G.  
 Morgan, hon. F.  
 Mulholland, J.  
 Muncaster, Lord  
 Mure, Colonel  
 Naghten, Lt.-Col.  
 Newdegate, C. N.  
 Newport, Viscount  
 Noel, E.  
 Noel, rt. hon. G. J.  
 Northcote, rt. hon. Sir  
 S. H.  
 Onslow, D.  
 Paget, R. H.  
 Palk, Sir L.  
 Parker, Lt.-Col. W.  
 Pease, J. W.

Peel, A. W.  
 Pemberton, E. L.  
 Pender, J.  
 Pennant, hon. G.  
 Pepploe, Major  
 Percy, Earl  
 Perkins, Sir F.  
 Phipps, P.  
 Pim, Captain B.  
 Playfair, rt. hon. L.  
 Plunket, hon. D. R.  
 Powell, W.  
 Praed, H. B.  
 Price, W. E.  
 Raikes, H. C.  
 Ramsay, J.  
 Raashleigh, Sir C.  
 Read, C. S.  
 Rendlesham, Lord  
 Repton, G. W.  
 Richard, H.  
 Ridley, M. W.  
 Ripley, H. W.  
 Ritchie, C. T.  
 Robertson, H.  
 Rodwell, B. B. H.  
 Russell, Sir C.  
 Ryder, G. R.  
 Salt, T.  
 Samuda, J. D'A.  
 Sanderson, T. K.  
 Sandon, Viscount  
 Solater-Booth, rt. hn. G.  
 Scott, M. D.  
 Selwin - Ibbetson, Sir  
 H. J.  
 Severne, J. E.  
 Sidebottom, T. H.  
 Simonds, W. B.  
 Smith, E.  
 Smith, S. G.  
 Smith, rt. hon. W. H.  
 Smollett, P. B.  
 Somerset, Lord H. R. C.  
 Spinks, Mr. Serjeant  
 Stafford, Marquess of  
 Stanhope, hon. E.  
 Stanhope, W. T. W. S.  
 Stanley, hon. F.  
 Stanton, A. J.  
 Starkey, L. R.  
 Stevenson, J. C.  
 Stewart, M. J.  
 Storer, G.  
 Talbot, J. G.  
 Taylor, D.  
 Taylor, rt. hon. Col.  
 Tennant, R.  
 Thornhill, T.  
 Thwaites, D.  
 Thynne, Lord H. F.  
 Tollemache, hon. W. F.  
 Torr, J.  
 Tracy, hon. F. S. A.  
 Hanbury-  
 Tremayne, J.  
 Trevor, Lord A. E. Hill-  
 Verner, E. W.  
 Walker, O. O.  
 Walker, T. E.  
 Wallace, Sir R.  
 Walter, J.  
 Warburton, P. E.

Waterlow, Sir S. H.  
Watkin, A. M.  
Watkin, Sir E. W.  
Watney, J.  
Wellesley, Colonel  
Wheelhouse, W. S. J.  
Whitbread, S.  
Whitworth, W.  
Wilmot, Sir H.  
Wilson, C.  
Wilson, Sir M.  
Wilson, W.

Wolf, Sir H. D.  
Woodd, B. T.  
Wyndham, hon. P.  
Wynn, C. W. W.  
Yeaman, J.  
Yorke, J. R.  
Young, A. W.

TELLERS.  
Dyke, Sir W. H.  
Winn, R.

### Main Question put, and agreed to.

Committee appointed, to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution:—Mr. WILBRAHAM EGBERTON, Mr. TENNANT, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, Mr. Secretary CROSS, Mr. Secretary HARDY, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY, Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON, Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL, Mr. BOURKE, Mr. STANLEY, Sir WILLIAM HART DYKE, and Mr. WINN, or any Three of them:—To withdraw immediately:—Queen's Speech referred.

### PUBLIC HEALTH (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, Bill to consolidate and amend the Acts relating to Public Health in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 1.]

### LINEN AND YARN HALLS (DUBLIN) BILL.

On Motion of Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH, Bill to amend an Act passed in the ninth year of the reign of His late Majesty King George the Fourth, chapter sixty-two, so far as the same relates to the Linen and Yarn Halls in the city of Dublin, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL for IRELAND.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 2.]

### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Secretary CROSS, Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Factories and Workshops, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Secretary CROSS and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 3.]

### ROADS AND BRIDGES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of The LORD ADVOCATE, Bill to alter and amend the Law in regard to the maintenance and management of Roads and Bridges in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by The LORD ADVOCATE and Sir HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 4.]

### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHARLES WILSON, Bill to prohibit the sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CHARLES WILSON, Mr. BIRLEY, Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Mr. M'ARTHUR, and Mr. JAMES.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 5.]

### VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BIGGAR, Bill to amend the Law for the Registration of Voters in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BIGGAR, Mr. PATRICK MARTIN, Mr. PARNELL, and Mr. FAY.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 6.]

### COUNTY INFIRMARIES, &C. (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MELDON, Bill to amend the Law relating to County Infirmarys and to the Relief of the Poor in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MELDON, Mr. SHAW, and Mr. ERRINGTON.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 7.]

### RATING OF TOWNS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY, Bill to amend the Law with regard to the Rating of Towns in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY, Mr. BUTT, and Mr. COLLINS.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 8.]

### GLEBE LOANS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MULHOLLAND, Bill to amend the Glebe Loans (Ireland) Amendment Act, 1875, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MULHOLLAND and Mr. KAVANAGH.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 9.]

### COUNTY COURTS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOSEPH COWEN, Bill to amend the Law relating to the jurisdiction of County Courts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JOSEPH COWEN, Mr. RIPLEY, and Mr. ROWLEY HILL.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 10.]

### EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY FOR INJURIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MACDONALD, Bill to amend the Law relating to the liability of employers for injuries negligently caused to persons in their employment, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MACDONALD, Dr. CAMERON, Mr. MELDON, and Mr. BAAS.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 11.]

### WOMEN'S DISABILITIES REMOVAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. COURTNEY, Bill to remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COURTNEY, Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY, Mr. STANSFELD, and Mr. JACOB BRIGHT.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 12.]

**TENANTS' IMPROVEMENTS (IRELAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. PATRICK MARTIN, Bill to amend the Laws relating to small tenements and fixtures in towns in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PATRICK MARTIN, Major NOLAN, Mr. O'CLEERY, and Mr. FAY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 18.]

**PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (METROPOLIS) BILL.**

On Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Bill to extend the Hours of Polling at Parliamentary Elections in the Metropolis, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Mr. FORSYTH, Mr. RITCHIE, Mr. GORDON, Colonel BERSFORD, and Mr. WILLIAM EDWARD FORSTER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 14.]

**QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. BASS, Bill to transfer the administration of the Queen Anne's Bounty Fund to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BASS, Mr. MONK, and Mr. ARTHUR BASS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 16.]

**COLONIAL MARRIAGES BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGHESSEN, Bill to Legalise certain Colonial Marriages, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. KNATCHBULL-HUGHESSEN, Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY, and Sir THOMAS CHAMBERS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 16.]

**POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) ELECTION BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. GRAY, Bill to provide for the Election of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland by Ballot, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GRAY, Mr. DOWNING, and Mr. REDMOND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 17.]

**WASTE LANDS (IRELAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. MACCARTHY, Bill for the Reclamation of Waste Lands in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MACCARTHY, Mr. HERBERT, Mr. DOWNING, and Mr. SHAW.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 18.]

**CAPITAL PUNISHMENT ABOLITION BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. PHASE, Bill to abolish Punishment by Death, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PHASE, Mr. LEXMAN, and Mr. M'LAREN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 19.]

**MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Major O'GORMAN, Bill to assimilate the Municipal Franchise of Ireland to that of England, *ordered* to be brought in by Major O'GORMAN, Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA, and Mr. RICHARD POWER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 20.]

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**HOSPITALS, &C. (SCOTLAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. M'LAREN, Bill to provide for enlarging the powers of Governors of Hospitals and other Endowed Institutions in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. M'LAREN, Mr. MAITLAND, and Dr. CAMERON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 21.]

**TOWN COUNCILS, LOCAL BOARDS, AND OTHER LOCAL GOVERNING BODIES BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. MUNDELLA, Bill to amend the Law relating to the qualification for Members of Town Councils and Local Boards, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MUNDELLA, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, Mr. BURT, and Mr. MORLEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 22.]

**CRIMINAL LAW EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. ASHLEY, Bill to amend the Law of Evidence in Criminal Cases, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY, and Mr. CLIVE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 23.]

**PERMISSIVE PROHIBITORY LIQUOR BILL.**

*Considered* in Committee.  
(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to enable Owners and Occupiers of Property in certain districts to prevent the common sale of Intoxicating Liquors within such districts.

Resolution *reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Sir WILFRID LAWSON, Sir THOMAS BAZLEY, Mr. JOHNSTON, Mr. RICHARD MR. DALWAY, Dr. CAMERON, and Mr. DOWNING.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 24.]

**ENTAILS AND SETTLEMENTS LIMITATION BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Bill to restrict the power of entailing and settling land and other property, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, Mr. BEAUMONT, Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, and Mr. HERSHELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 25.]

**QUEEN'S COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITY (IRELAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. O'DONNELL, Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Queen's Colleges and Queen's University in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'DONNELL, Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY, Mr. GRAY, Mr. BIGGAR, and Mr. O'CONNOR POWER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 26.]

**HABITUAL DRUNKARDS BILL.**

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to facilitate the control and cure of Habitual Drunkards, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. CLARE READ, Mr. ASHLEY, Sir HENRY JACKSON, Mr. EDWARD JENKINS, Mr. WILLIAM HOLMS, and Mr. RICHARD SMYTH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 27.]

## REAL ESTATE INTESTACY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. POTTER, Bill for the better settling the Real Estates of Intestates, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. POTTER, Mr. LEATHAM, Mr. HOPWOOD, Mr. PRICE, Sir WILFRED LAWSON, and Mr. ANDERSON.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 28.]

## HYPOTHEC (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. AGNEW, Bill to abolish the landlord's right of Hypothec in Scotland so far as relates to agricultural subjects, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. AGNEW, Mr. BAILLIE HAMILTON, and Sir GEORGE DOUGLAS.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 29.]

## MEDICAL ACT (1858) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Dr. LUSH, Bill to amend "The Medical Act, 1858," *ordered to be brought in by Dr. LUSH, Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE, Mr. SAMUDA, and Mr. RITCHIE.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 30.]

## TENANT RIGHT (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Lord HILL-TREVOR, Bill to make further provision in respect of Tenant Right in Ireland at the expiration of leases, *ordered to be brought in by Lord HILL-TREVOR, The Marquess of HAMILTON, Mr. MULHOLLAND, Captain CORRY, and Mr. CHAINE.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 31.]

## MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ANDERSON, Bill for the further protection of the Property of Married Women in Scotland, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. ANDERSON, Sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER, Mr. ORR EWING, Mr. M'LAREN, and Mr. PLAYFAIR.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 32.]

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTORS REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BOORD, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Registration of Parliamentary Electors, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. BOORD, Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, and Mr. GRANTHAM.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 33.]

## PUBLIC PARKS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. FORTESCUE HARRISON, Bill to enable the Local Authorities to acquire and lay out Land for Public Parks and Pleasure Grounds in Scotland, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. FORTESCUE HARRISON, Dr. CAMERON, Mr. WILLIAM HOLMS, Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, and Sir WINDHAM ANSTRUTHER.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 34.]

## VALUATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. RAMSAY, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Valuation of Lands and Hereditaments in England, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. RAMSAY, Sir GRAHAM MONTGOMERY, Mr. BAXTER, Mr. RODWELL, and Mr. JOSEPH COWEN.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 35.]

## CRUELTY TO ANIMALS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HOLT, Bill to make provision for the more effectual prevention of Cruelty to Animals, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. HOLT and Mr. CHARLES WILSON.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 36.]

## PUBLIC BATHS AND WASHHOUSES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. FORSYTH, Bill to amend the Law relating to Public Baths and Wash-houses, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. FORSYTH, Sir THOMAS CHAMBERS, Mr. RITCHIE, and Colonel BERESFORD.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 37.]

## INTOXICATING LIQUORS (IRELAND) BILL.

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Laws relating to the common sale of Intoxicating Liquors in Ireland.

Resolution reported:—Bill *ordered to be brought in by Mr. SULLIVAN, Mr. BENJAMIN WHITWORTH, and Mr. DEASE.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 38.]

## AGRICULTURAL TENANTS (SECURITY FOR IMPROVEMENTS) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JAMES BARCLAY, Bill to provide security to Agricultural Tenants for certain Improvements effected by them on their Holdings, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. JAMES BARCLAY, Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, and Mr. EARP.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 39.]

## SEA FISHERIES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. WARD, Bill dealing with Sea Fisheries in Ireland, *ordered to be brought in by Dr. WARD, Mr. BUTT, Mr. COLLINS, and Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 40.]

## UNION OFFICERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. REDMOND, Bill to amend the Laws for the Relief of the Poor in Ireland in respect to the election of Union Officers, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. REDMOND, Mr. GRAY, Dr. WARD, and Mr. FAY.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 41.]

## UNION JUSTICES (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'SULLIVAN, Bill for the better administration of Justice in Ireland, *ordered to be brought in by Mr. O'SULLIVAN, Major NOLAN, and Mr. RICHARD POWER.*

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 42.]

**LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND) LAW AMENDMENT BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. CRAWFORD, Bill to amend the Law relating to Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. CRAWFORD, Mr. RICHARD SMYTH, Mr. DICKSON, and Mr. DANIEL TAYLOR.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 43.]

**SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.**

On Motion of The O'CONOR DON, Bill to prohibit the sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sundays in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by The O'CONOR DON, Mr. RICHARD SMYTH, Mr. CHARLES LEWIS, Mr. JAMES CORRY, Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSTON, Mr. DEASE, Mr. DICKSON, and Mr. REDMOND.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 44.]

**HOUSE OCCUPIERS DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.**

On Motion of Sir HENRY WOLFF, Bill to relieve certain Occupiers of Dwelling Houses from being Disqualified from the right of Voting in the election of Members to serve in Parliament by reason of their underletting such Dwelling Houses for short terms, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir HENRY WOLFF, Sir CHARLES RUSSELL, Sir CHARLES LEGARD, Mr. ONSLOW, and Mr. RYDER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 45.]

**DIVINE WORSHIP FACILITIES BILL.**

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide further facilities for the performance of Divine Worship according to the Rites of the Church of England.

Resolution *reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WILBRAHAM EGBERTON, Mr. WRIGHTWELL, Mr. BIRLEY, and Mr. RODWELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 46.]

**TRAMWAYS (IRELAND) ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. COLLINS, Bill to amend the Tramways (Ireland) Acts, 1860, 1861, and 1871, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. COLLINS, The Marquess of HAMILTON, Mr. SHAW, and Mr. WILLIAM WILSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 47.]

**TRAINING SCHOOLS AND SHIPS BILL.**

On Motion of Captain PIM, Bill to afford facilities for establishing Training Schools in each county, with Training Ships attached, for training boys as sailors, *ordered* to be brought in by Captain PIM and Mr. WHEELHOUSE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 48.]

**HYPOTHEC (SCOTLAND) (NO. 2) BILL.**

On Motion of Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, Bill to abolish the Landlord's Hypothec for rent and for privileged or preferable debts, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, Mr. LAING, and Mr. BARCLAY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 49.]

**LAND TENURE (IRELAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. DOWNING, Bill to amend the Laws relating to the Tenure of Land in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DOWNING, Mr. BUTT, Lord FRANCIS CONINGHAM, and Mr. SHAW.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 50.]

**ASSISTANT COUNTY SURVEYORS (IRELAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSTON, Bill to enable Grand Juries in Ireland to increase the remuneration of Assistant County Surveyors, and for other purposes relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WILLIAM JOHNSTON, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. CHAINE, Mr. MACARTNEY, and Mr. KING-HARMAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 51.]

**MARRIAGE WITH A DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER BILL.**

On Motion of Sir THOMAS CHAMBERS, Bill to legalise Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir THOMAS CHAMBERS, Mr. MORLEY, Mr. MACDONALD, and Dr. CAMERON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 52.]

**GUN LICENCE ACT (1870) AMENDMENT BILL.**

On Motion of Sir ALEXANDER GORDON, Bill to amend the Gun Licence Act, 1870, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir ALEXANDER GORDON, Mr. CLARE READ, Mr. M'LAGAN, and Mr. MARK STEWART.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 53.]

**TENANT RIGHT (ULSTER) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. MACARTNEY, Bill to secure more effectually the Tenant Right custom in the province of Ulster, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MACARTNEY, Mr. WILLIAM WILSON, and Mr. CHARLES LEWIS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 54.]

**MARRIED WOMEN'S PROPERTY ACT (1870) AMENDMENT BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. HIBBERT, Bill to amend the Married Women's Property Act, 1870, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HIBBERT, Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, Mr. GOLDNEY, and Sir CHARLES W. DILKE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 55.]



## MONEY LAWS (IRELAND) BILL.

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Money Laws of Ireland.

*Resolution reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DELAHUNTY and Mr. POWER. Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 56.]

## CLERICAL DISABILITIES BILL.

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to extend the provisions of "The Clerical Disabilities Removal Act, 1870."

*Resolution reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GOLDNEY, Mr. HIBBERT, and Mr. WALTER POWELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 57.]

## METROPOLIS WATERWORKS (PURCHASE) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGO, Bill to make provision for the purchase by the Metropolitan Board of Works of the undertakings of the several Water Companies supplying Water to the Metropolis and to certain places in the neighbourhood thereof, and for the supply of Water by the said Board to the Metropolis and to such places; and for other purposes relating thereto, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGO, Sir ANDREW LUSH, Mr. GRANTHAM, and Mr. RODWELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 58.]

## CONTAGIOUS DISEASES ACTS REPEAL BILL.

On Motion of Sir HARCOURT JOHNSTONE, Bill for the repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir HARCOURT JOHNSTONE, Mr. STANSFELD, Mr. WHITBREAD, and Mr. MUNDELLA.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 59.]

## DESTITUTE CHILDREN (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR MOORE, Bill to make better provision for orphans and destitute Children in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR MOORE, Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY, and Mr. MELDON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 60.]

## INHABITED HOUSE DUTY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HUBBARD, Bill to amend the Law regulating the levy of the Inhabited House Duty, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HUBBARD, Mr. GOSCHEN, Mr. TORR, and Mr. ALEXANDER BROWN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 61.]

## MEDICAL OFFICERS' QUALIFICATIONS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ERRINGTON, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Qualifications required for holding certain Medical Appointments, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ERRINGTON, Mr. JOHN MAITLAND, and Mr. BLENNERHASSETT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 62.]

## ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bill to provide for the better protection of Ancient Monuments, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Mr. BERRSFORD HOPE, Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, and Mr. RUSSELL GURNEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 63.]

## COUNTY BOARDS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Major NOLAN, Bill to provide Elective County Boards in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Major NOLAN, Mr. FAY, Mr. O'CLERY, and Mr. O'SULLIVAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 64.]

## VOTERS (IRELAND) (NO. 2) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA, Bill to prevent the disfranchisement of Voters in Ireland by defaults or defects in the preparation of the rate books, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA, Mr. BUTT, Mr. BROOKS, and Mr. SULLIVAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 65.]

## PUBLIC HEALTH ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ALEXANDER BROWN, Bill to amend the Public Health Act, 1875, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ALEXANDER BROWN, Mr. PLAYFAIR, Mr. RYDER, and Mr. JOSEPH COWEN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 66.]

## METROPOLIS MANAGEMENT AND BUILDING ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGO, Bill to amend "The Metropolis Management Act, 1875," "The Metropolis Building Act, 1855," and the Acts amending the same respectively, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGO, Sir CHARLES RUSSELL, and Mr. RODWELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 67.]

## BOROUGH VOTERS BILL.

On Motion of Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Bill to amend the Law with respect to the Qualification and Registration of Borough Voters in England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, Mr. HIBBERT, Mr. RATHBONE, and Mr. BOORD.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 68.]

**CRIMINAL LAW PRACTICE AMENDMENT BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. Serjeant SIMON, Bill to amend the practice of the Criminal Law in certain particulars, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Serjeant SIMON, Mr. GREGORY, Mr. HERSCHELL, and Mr. COLE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 69.]

**INTOXICATING LIQUORS (LICENCES) (IRELAND) BILL.**

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the granting of Licences for the sale of Spirits and other intoxicating Liquors in Ireland.

*Resolution reported*: — Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MELDON and Mr. WHITWORTH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 70.]

**ELECTION OF ALDERMEN (CUMULATIVE VOTE) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. WHEELHOUSE, Bill for the Election of Aldermen by the Cumulative Vote, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WHEELHOUSE, Mr. ISAAC, and Mr. TENNANT.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 71.]

**BLIND AND DEAF-MUTE CHILDREN (EDUCATION) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. WHEELHOUSE, Bill for the Education of Blind and Deaf-Mute Children, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WHEELHOUSE, Sir ANDREW LUSH, and Mr. ISAAC.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 72.]

**PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL REGISTRATION BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. ALFRED MARTEN, Bill to amend the Law relating to Parliamentary and Municipal Registration in certain Boroughs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ALFRED MARTEN, Mr. TORR, and Mr. DODDS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 73.]

**VACCINATION LAW (PENALTIES) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. PRASE, Bill to amend the Law relating to Vaccination so far as accumulating penalties are concerned, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PRASE, Mr. WALTER JAMES, Mr. MUNDELLA, and Mr. LEEMAN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 74.]

**CHURCH RATES (SCOTLAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. M'LAREN, Bill to abolish Church Rates in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. M'LAREN, Dr. CAMERON, Mr. BAXTER, Mr. TREVELYAN, Mr. LAING, and Sir GEORGE BALFOUR.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 75.]

**RACECOURSES (LICENSING) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. ANDERSON, Bill for the Licensing of Racecourses round the Metropolis, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ANDERSON, Sir THOMAS CHAMBERS, and Sir JAMES LAWRENCE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 76.]

**PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. MELDON, Bill to amend the Law so as to facilitate the acquisition of the Parliamentary and Municipal Franchise by persons entitled thereto in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MELDON and Mr. HENRY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 77.]

**IRISH PEERAGE BILL.**

On Motion of Mr. PLUNKET, Bill to amend the Law concerning the Peerage of Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PLUNKET, Mr. HERBERT, and Mr. MACARTNEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 78.]

**HOURS OF POLLING (METROPOLIS).**

Select Committee *appointed*, "to consider the question whether any and what alteration can, without inconvenience, be made in the Hours of Polling at Parliamentary and Municipal Elections in Boroughs other than the Metropolitan Boroughs, so as to afford greater facilities to Electors desiring to record their votes."—(Sir Charles W. Dilke.)

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock, till Monday next.

**HOUSE OF LORDS,**

*Monday, 21st January, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Intemperance, *nominated*.

**ROLL OF THE LORDS.**

THE LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table: The same was *ordered* to be *printed*. (No. 5.)

CONSERVANCY NAVIGATION, &c. BOARDS—THE SELECT COMMITTEE, 1877—LEGISLATION.—OBSERVATIONS—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON rose to call the attention of their Lordships to the Report of the Select Committee of last

Session on Conservancy Boards, &c., and to ask the Lord President, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce in the present Session a Bill founded upon the recommendations contained in that Report? The noble Lord said that the Blue Book which had been laid upon the Table containing the Report of the Committee was full of evidence collected from many parts of the country of the evils which resulted from the present state of things, and the magnitude of the distress which had followed recent floods would justify him in calling their Lordships' attention to the subject. He did not propose to read many extracts from the Blue Book, but there were two cases which stood so prominently forward in the evidence taken by the Committee that he could not refrain from referring to them. The first case was that of Lincolnshire. Mr. Tweed, the Town Clerk of Lincoln, stated that last year between Lincoln and Boston there were 25,000 acres of land flooded and 15,000 more above the City of Lincoln. This was, of course, very injurious to the owners of property, to say nothing of its effect upon the health of the inhabitants. Some of the streets of Lincoln were like canals, with the water running through them. So serious were these floods that he (the Marquess of Ripon) and his tenants had had to pay in respect of them between October 1876 and October 1877 no less than 14 per cent upon the gross rental of the whole property; and, indeed, 30 per cent upon the lands on which the rates were actually levied. To go from Lincolnshire, which was mainly agricultural, he would take the case of Nottingham. The engineer to the Corporation of Nottingham was examined as to the state of that town during the prevalence of floods, and he said "they were drowned out completely," and immense damage was done although it would be impossible to estimate its amount. The evidence went to show that the evils which he had referred to had not passed away; but that they might be expected to occur again from time to time unless some effectual measure should prevent them. The prevalence of floods appeared to be greater at the present day than formerly, and, without entering into the scientific question, he might mention to their Lordships that, with one exception, the

*The Marquess of Ripon*

witnesses were unanimous in declaring it to be their opinion that the recent rapid floods were due to the great improvements which had been made in subsoil drainage, and also, to some extent, even to surface drainage. Every year that effectual legislation was postponed would increase the danger to the districts which were afflicted with these floods. He would now shortly explain to their Lordships what the state of the law was upon this subject. The first Statute passed to regulate this question of drainage was the 23 *Henry VIII.* c. 5, under which Commissioners of Sewers were appointed, not universally, but upon applications from particular localities. These boards, however, had no representative character either derived from property holders or from ratepayers, the Commissioners being appointed simply at the will of the Crown. The mode of appointment in the time of Henry VIII. was scarcely suitable to these more modern times. The powers of the Commissioners were very vague, and from their haziness were of little or no use. The next general Act was the Act of 1861; which was intended to facilitate the appointment of Conservancy Boards for rivers, and which gave to these Boards a more representative character; but the restrictions which that Act imposed had been found such as to prevent its operation. The owners of one-third of the land where a Board was to be set up possessed an absolute veto upon the adoption of the Act, and with respect to the carrying out any improvement works, there was also an absolute veto possessed by the owners of one-half of the land in the district. The mode of rating, also, was unsatisfactory, and the Act of 1861 was found to a very great extent to be inoperative. Whilst there were, however, only these two general Acts, there was a very large mass of private legislation, there being between 2,000 and 3,000 private Acts upon the subject. Their Lordships could easily conceive what must be the result of this enormous amount of private legislation applied at all sorts of times, under all sorts of circumstances, and setting up bodies whose jurisdictions overlapped. One great difficulty in the way was—the jurisdiction of the same river was often vested in several different bodies. For instance, of the rivers with which he was more par-

ticularly acquainted, the River Witham was under the management of the general commissioners, of whom he himself was one; but, besides these commissioners, there were all along the banks other bodies of parochial commissioners who were not under the control of the river commissioners. The City of Lincoln was not under the control of the river commissioners at all, and above that city there existed at least two sets of commissioners of sewers having independent jurisdiction. The Nene also was under the jurisdiction of six or seven different bodies, and it was impossible for Parliament to deal with the subject until those parties were agreed as to what should be done. Last year an hon. Gentleman the Member for Warwick (Mr. Arthur Peel), called the attention of the House of Commons to the subject, and on that occasion the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary stated that he thought that as a preliminary proceeding the best course that could be adopted was to appoint a Select Committee to investigate the matter, and that as the time of the branch of the Legislature to which the right hon. Gentleman belonged was very much occupied, he thought the Committee should be composed of Members of the House of Lords. In consequence of that suggestion, the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) moved for and obtained a Select Committee of their Lordships' House, over which he himself (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) presided, and in due time a Report was laid on the Table of the House. That Committee made several important recommendations. In the first place, it recommended that a single Board of Conservancy should be appointed for each river, and that, with a view to carrying out that suggestion, the powers possessed at present by various and conflicting jurisdictions in regard to the same river should be merged in one single body; that on the application of any district a local inquiry should be granted, and that the officers by whom the inquiry must be held should prepare a provisional scheme, which would be laid before Parliament in the usual way, and which, if approved, would have the effect of an Act of Parliament—the intention being to have a local inquiry for the purpose of re-

conciling contending interests, and to decrease the expense of legislation. The Committee also recommended that extended powers should be conferred upon the new Conservancy Boards, and that general provisions such as those contained in the Lands Clauses Act should be embodied in a public Act of Parliament; and its last, but by no means its least, recommendation was, that the area of taxation should be extended to the whole watershed, and that towns and houses, and not land alone, should be liable to contribute to the assessment. This last recommendation was one of an extensive and important character, for unless the area of rating could be extended there could be no hope that works of the requisite magnitude would be carried out; but he was confident it would be impossible to deal with the matter except by means of a general Act of Parliament. He did not mean a general Act laying down iron rules for all parts of the country, but a Statute based upon certain distinct principles upon which each local scheme should be founded, and providing machinery by which those principles might be applied according to the requirements of each locality. It was quite impossible that individual localities should be able to deal with questions of this magnitude; nor was it desirable that such questions should be left to be settled by Select Committees on Private Bills. He had already stated that the noble Duke the Lord President of the Council had presided over the Committee of last year. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for India (the Marquess of Salisbury) also sat upon it. The Report, he might also mention, had been drawn up by the noble Duke. Under those circumstances, although there was no mention in the Gracious Speech from the Throne of any Bill on this question, he should be indeed surprised should it appear that Government had no intention of bringing in a measure to carry out the recommendations of the Committee. There were, no doubt, many points of difficulty connected with it; but if it should not be the intention of the Government to bring in a Bill upon it, their determination was, he thought, one which was very much to be regretted. He wished to impress upon the Government this, that if they intended to bring in a Bill,

they should do so at the earliest possible date, because the action of localities would be arrested while they were waiting to see what would be done by the Government and by Parliament, and if no measure was passed this Session, the present state of things would continue for another year at the possible cost of thousands of pounds, and of very much suffering. The question was one of vital importance, and therefore he confidently trusted that the Government would take it up.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY, who was indistinctly heard, was understood to say that he agreed with the noble Marquess who had just sat down upon the danger of dealing with this question on account of the difficulties which attended it. He, however, wished to add to what had fallen from his noble Friend a few observations on the question of rating. Although it seemed very equitable that land should be rated for any benefit which might be expected to accrue from any new drainage scheme, yet it was clearly proved by the evidence given before the Select Committee that this would not be always the case. He said that although it sounded very well that they should tax the lands for the benefit to be derived from a new scheme, yet if the assumption failed, and the land was not improved, it would be an injustice. He called attention to this point because it was an extremely important one. It appeared, for instance, from the evidence of Mr. Percival, Mayor of Peterborough, that in the valley of the Nene, the lowlands, instead of being drained, were flooded by the present system of drainage, under which they became the catchment basin of the drainage of the higher grounds, which the river, at the time of the floods, was unable to draw off, and yet they were rated at 15s. an acre; whereas the rate of the high-lying grounds was only 1s. per acre. As the uplands, therefore, gave the river more to do, it seemed only fair that those lands ought to bear the cost of its being rendered capable of drawing off these floods. Formerly the dues derived from the navigation kept the main channel of the river free and deep; but since the railways had absorbed the whole of the goods traffic of the country, the navigation works had been neglected, and the locks allowed to get out of repair, and hence

the main channel of the river had become choked up, so that the waters were thrown back upon the low-lying lands. In his opinion, the Conservancy Boards should have their jurisdiction increased, so that they might be enabled during the summer months to store water for irrigation purposes. They should also be the authorities to carry out the provisions of the Act for the prevention of pollution. Sir John Hawkshaw in his evidence considered that every river should be treated upon its own particular merits, because the case of one river might materially differ from that of another. What he would advise the Government to do in dealing with this matter would be this—that they should not require that the opinion of the district should necessarily be unanimous; but that if a movement for a scheme was got up, the Government should be able to move on the opinion of the majority, and send down Inspectors to inquire into the case. It would be very difficult, however, for any Inspector to frame a measure to suit the district, and therefore he thought they ought to have a general Act of Parliament passed, and when the district decided to adopt the Act, Commissioners should be appointed to hear, and adjudicate upon, all conflicting claims. The interests concerned were so important that he trusted the Government would without delay take the matter up. He would give one strong additional reason for their doing so. Since the Committee of last year made its Report, the subject had been agitated in the country, and the various Boards who managed these affairs in each district had been put on the *qui vive*. The question having been thus mooted, the sooner something was done the better. Parliament having been called together at an earlier date than usual, there would be ample time to discuss any Bill the Government might think fit to bring forward, and he hoped the noble Duke the Lord President of the Council would be able to give them such assurances in regard to this matter that they might trust to see a measure passed into law during the present Session.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, he hoped that in any legislation which might be attempted, their Lordships would not overlook the fact that there were rivers in Ireland which did great damage in wet seasons to the low-lying grounds,

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and which required, though it might be on a smaller scale, similar treatment to that which had been recommended in the case of England. There would not be any such difficulties in the way of carrying out such a measure in Ireland as existed in England, as the watersheds had been all accurately surveyed, and there was a central authority—the Board of Works—which might control the different Conservancy Boards formed under the new Act. There were not in that country any of those competing jurisdictions referred to by the noble Marquess.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH said, he hoped that prompt action would be taken by the Government on the important subject. The damage done by the Ouse was daily on the increase, and that meant an increase in expenditure on remedial works. It was high time something should be done in the matter, and he thought that, considering the Select Committee concluded its labours last July, a measure founded upon their Report might have been prepared in the meantime. He hoped there would not be any further delay in the matter, but that there would be speedily a wide and comprehensive scheme introduced dealing with the whole subject, otherwise the result must be further damage, suffering, and complaint.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that he had nothing to complain of in the course which the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Ripon) had taken in calling attention to this matter, and still less fault to find with him in regard to his propositions, as since the appointment of the Select Committee the noble Marquess had rendered very able assistance in eliciting much of the valuable information which was contained in the Blue Book laid upon the Table last Session. His noble Friend had, from his great local experience, and from his knowledge of the damage done by floods in Lincolnshire, been able to obtain that information, and he had pointed out the state of the law upon this subject—the first Statute having been passed in the reign of Henry VIII.—and which had been brought down to the change that took place in it in 1861, which change had certainly, according to the evidence obtained—notably that of the hon. Member for Warwick (Mr. Arthur Peel)—not worked satisfactorily; on the contrary,

it had in many instances been entirely unworkable. It was not necessary for him (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) to admit that this subject was one of very considerable importance, as if it had not been thought to be one by the Government he should not on the part of the Government have asked for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into it. Nor would he deny that it was a subject of great magnitude, there having been, as his noble Friend reminded their Lordships, between 2,000 and 3,000 private Acts of Parliament passed which dealt with drainage throughout the country; and in addition to that he might point out that some parts of the Report showed that many interests would be affected, and that great care must be taken in dealing with them, and how difficult it would be to find a remedy for all cases. There would be questions of rating, and the removal of obstructions without serious interference with the interests of millowners and others. The noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Huntly) had pointed their attention to the evidence of Sir John Hawkshaw and the conclusions at which he had arrived, and from which he differed—

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY: No; I said that I agreed with him.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: The noble Marquess agreed, then, that any scheme would be a very large undertaking, and that it could not be carried out without great care and consideration, however urgent the remedy might be, and any remedy proposed ought to be effectual. One important part of the remedy to which allusion had been made was the rating of lands and houses in towns, and that certainly could not be entered upon lightly, or without great consideration. His noble Relative (the Earl of Sandwich) had expressed an opinion that a great and comprehensive scheme ought to be brought forward, and that there had been plenty of time since the Prorogation for the Government to prepare and undertake to pass such a scheme. He (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) wished that his noble Friend would have tried his hand at framing such a comprehensive scheme, and he would have found that it was not so easy as he seemed to think. He would remind their Lordships that, be-

sides having had to devote considerable attention to a number of domestic measures since last Session, Her Majesty's Government had been much engaged with that great question which had occupied the mind of the country. His noble Friend behind him (the Earl of Longford) considered that it would be an easy matter to deal with the drainage of the country—

THE EARL OF LONGFORD: In Ireland.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON: It might be an easy matter to pass an Act, but the difficulty would be in applying its provisions. However, he preferred that any legislation should be made as applicable to England first. He could assure his noble Friends that the Report and the evidence given before the Committee had been under the consideration of the Government, though they had not yet been able to frame any measure upon a subject which affected such vast interests—namely, those of rating; setting up a central authority; dealing with the prescriptive rights of owners of property, fixing the areas of ratability, and distinguishing between uplands and lowlands. These matters the Government had not yet been able to put into a satisfactory shape, so that a Bill could be framed for discussion in Parliament. The subject was still under the consideration of the Government, and he hoped that they might be able to deal, if not with the whole, with a part of it this Session. He did not despair of being able to do so. The noble Marquess opposite thought that the subject was one which ought to have been mentioned in the Speech from the Throne.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON said, he had not made any complaint on that point.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he thought it was not always necessary that there should be an extensive bill of fare presented to Parliament at the commencement of the Session; on the contrary, the Government thought it was more satisfactory to promise little in the Speech from the Throne and do a great deal, rather than to promise much and do little. However, he would repeat that the subject was under the serious consideration of the Government; and that he did not give up the hope that they would be in a position to bring in a measure in suffi-

cient time to enable both Houses to consider it before the close of the present Session which would carry out some of the proposals of the Select Committee. In conclusion, he would thank the noble Marquess for having brought the question before their Lordships.

THE DUKE OF BEDFORD expressed his great regret at the announcement which had been made by the Lord President of the Council on the part of the Government, as he had hoped that the Government would have been prepared with a Bill dealing with this important subject; but he was very glad to hear that something was being done, and hoped a measure would be brought forward during the present Session.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE pointed out that the question of rating would be a serious one, as the subject affected so many separate interests and different Conservancy Boards throughout the country. He thought it would be found impossible to deal with the question as a general one in this country, even if that were possible in Ireland. Let them look at the case of Nottingham, and the distance of that town from the outfall. How far was that town from the sea, and how many districts would the drainage pass through, and how numerous were the conflicting interests? Would the Board at Nottingham have power to deal with the other Boards throughout the districts to the sea? If not, how could they frame a general measure which should deal with all cases?

EARL FORTESCUE said, the natural design for a line of demarcation was the drainage area, as indicated by watersheds; but the fact that many private Bills had been presented from different parties in the same district, some taking an enlightened view and others looking at their interests from an entirely different standpoint, had caused a great deal of confusion, and showed the necessity of some general legislation. A general Act could not, of course, deal with a great variety of interests in detail; but at any rate it might ensure something like unity of principle in the measures taken for carrying off the water in the area between Nottingham and the sea, within which there were many Conservancy Boards.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON said, he would exceedingly regret it if the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Redes-

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dale) thought he supposed that any general Act of Parliament could be passed which would deal with all the details connected with this subject. He was the most strenuous opponent in Committee of such a scheme. All he wished was, that having laid down general principles in a Public Act, they should leave them to be carried out by the local Conservancy Boards. He had heard with much regret that the Government held out very small encouragement to them to expect that the subject would be dealt with this year. He trusted that the Government would do something at the earliest opportunity. If the matter was not now considered, a repetition of floods, with consequent loss and damage, might be looked for; and therefore he begged to urge upon the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) the necessity of prompt legislation in order that the fears of those interested in the matter might be allayed, for while the idea that a general Bill would be introduced existed, all persons would feel that it would be useless to bring in private Bills; and, therefore, it might be that if the Government did nothing this Session another winter would pass by before any legislation was undertaken.

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock,  
till To-morrow, a quarter before  
Five o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 21st January, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Perth, v. Honble. Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaird, now Baron Kinnaird.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Standing Orders, nominated; Selection, nominated.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolutions in Committee—Ordered—First Reading—*Merchant Seamen [79]; Licensing Laws Amendment\* [82].

*Ordered—First Reading—*Breach of Promise of Marriage\* [80]; Libel Law Amendment\* [81]; Landed Estates Court (Ireland) Leases\* [83]; Political Prisoners\* [84]; Volunteer (Ireland)\* [85].

## QUESTIONS.

### INDIA—THE WEST FRONTIER POLICY.

#### QUESTION.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he will lay upon the Table of the House a series of Papers which will show the general principles of our military, political, commercial, and financial policy towards the tribes on our north-west frontier since our occupation of the Punjab; also Documents and Minutes of Members of the Councils in England and India, relating to the proposed formation of our frontier under a separate administration, and also the Documents detailing the tribes, their numbers, and the operations undertaken, and with what results?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, Papers giving my hon. and gallant Friend all the information he seeks as to the policy pursued by the Indian Government towards the tribes on the north-west frontier ought to be in the hands of hon. Members this evening or to-morrow. They conclude with a despatch from the Secretary of State upon the proposed formation of our frontier under one administrative head. There is no dissent of Members of Council to this despatch. As soon as the Papers relating to the Expedition against the Jowakis are complete they will be laid on the Table of the House.

### IRELAND—CRIMINAL LAW—CASE OF EDMOND M'GRATH.—QUESTION.

MR. O'REILLY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland a question relative to the case of Edmond M'Grath, convicted at Kilkenny, on the 14th December last, before Mr. Justice Keogh, of manslaughter, "a case of which," the Judge in his charge stated, "he had never tried a case which came so close to the crime of murder as this one did;" and on the trial of which Mr. M'Carthy, resident magistrate, deposed

"that he reported to the Government the



magistrate) had subsequently given the prisoner a licence to carry a gun, having been directed to do so by superior authority, that is, by the Government; ”

and, whether he can state who is the person who gave such directions to Mr. M'Carthy?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, I should wish to make two corrections in the statement which is contained in the Question of the hon. and gallant Member for County Longford. The “assault with a pistol” of which it is stated that the prisoner had been previously convicted was an assault by striking a man with a pistol and not by firing it at him.

MR. O'REILLY: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. I never said it was by firing.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: No, Sir, but I am endeavouring to give an accurate statement to the House. Mr. M'Carthy was not directed by the Government to give the man a licence to carry a gun. In reply to a report from Mr. M'Carthy, a minute was sent to him informing him that he “might” grant such a licence if he thought fit to do so. He interpreted this into a direction to do so; but I cannot understand how he arrived at such a conclusion, having regard to the provisions of the law on the subject and the mode in which it is administered, for it is well known that certain magistrates throughout Ireland are appointed by the Lord Lieutenant as licensing officers for those districts proclaimed under the Peace Preservation Act, and that it is left to their discretion to decide whether or not licences to carry arms should be granted in particular cases, the Government exercising merely a general supervision over the administration of the law. I do not, however, think that Mr. M'Carthy was open to serious blame in this case, as the man was recommended to him for a licence by his employer, a magistrate of position and property in the district.

MR. O'REILLY: The right hon. Baronet has not stated who gave the information, and when he will lay the Papers on the subject on the Table.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I can only say that the minute I have quoted was a minute of Government and I cannot lay it on the Table, and that I am responsible in this House for the acts of the Irish Government.

*Mr. O'Reilly*

## CHINA—THE CHEEFOO CONVENTION. QUESTION.

MR. STEWART asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the remaining portion of the report of Sir Thomas Wade will be laid upon the Table of the House; and, whether it is the intention of the Government to ratify the Cheefoo Convention?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, the consideration of the Cheefoo Convention was suspended until the views of the Indian Government had been ascertained with regard to certain commercial questions. A telegram has been received from the Government of India stating that a despatch reporting on the Convention is on its way to England. When it arrives it will immediately receive the attention and consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and the Papers will be presented as soon as a decision has been arrived at.

## INDIA—ECCLESIASTICAL SALARIES. QUESTION.

MR. BAXTER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, When the Return regarding ecclesiastical salaries in India, ordered last Session, will be laid upon the Table of the House?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, we have not yet received from India the Return demanded by the right hon. Gentleman. It was a Return requiring minute information concerning ecclesiastical establishments and the attendance at church, the compilation of which would necessarily take some time.

## RAILWAY BRAKE POWER. QUESTION.

MR. BAXTER asked the President of the Board of Trade, If the representatives of the Railway Companies have intimated to him that they have failed in making a voluntary arrangement for adopting a continuous brake, complying with the conditions laid down by the Board of Trade; and, whether, in these circumstances, he means to introduce a Bill to compel them to do so?

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY: Sir, I am expecting to receive an answer in the course of a few days from the Railway Companies, which I hope may ob-

viate the necessity of legislation on the subject of brakes. I have already laid on the Table the Correspondence on the subject up to the present time.

**INDIA—THE MAHARAJAH SCINDIA.**  
QUESTION.

**MR. ONSLOW** asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that, on a recent visit to Calcutta, the Maharajah Scindia omitted the usual courtesy visit to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal; and, if so, what steps, if any, have been taken by His Excellency the Viceroy to mark his displeasure at such a want of respect; whether it is true that the Maharajah Scindia is evading the spirit of the Treaty which entitles him to keep a certain number of men under arms by enlisting for short periods of service, and thus converting his whole people into trained soldiers; and, whether, if such is the case, it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to allow such a state of things to continue?

**LORD GEORGE HAMILTON:** Sir, the two Questions of my hon. Friend are, no doubt, based upon statements contained in a telegram from India in *The Times*. We have not received from India any information confirming these statements, and until we do receive such information, I must decline to assume that the Maharajah Scindia has been wilfully discourteous to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal or is in any way evading the spirit of any Treaty regulating the number of soldiers which he is entitled to maintain.

**ISLAND REVENUE—INHABITED HOUSE DUTY.—QUESTION.**

**MR. HANKEY** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If his attention has been directed to a decision, on the 7th December 1877, of the Court of Exchequer respecting Inhabited House Duty; and, whether, after such decision, he is prepared to withdraw any further appeals against the decision of the Commissioners of Income Tax of the City of London as to the definition of a "trader?"

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER**, in reply, said, that his attention had been drawn to the decision to which the hon. Member referred, and he was

informed that the Commissioners of Inland Revenue had already withdrawn all the appeals which were covered by that judgment. There were, however, certain other appeals which were not covered by the decision, and they were still pending.

**THE RAILWAY COMMISSIONERS—CONTINUANCE OF POWERS.**

QUESTION.

**MR. A. MILLS** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of the Government to take steps for continuing the powers of the Railway Commissioners, created by Stat. 36 and 37 Vict. c. 48, which powers will, unless renewed, expire at the conclusion of the present Session?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER**, in reply, said, that the hon. Member was under a misapprehension in assuming that the powers of the Railway Commissioners would expire at the conclusion of the present Session, inasmuch as they would not expire—except in the event of an Autumn Session—until the end of next Session. The Government had the question under consideration, and due Notice would be given before any legislation took place upon it.

**COAL MINES—HIGH BLANTYRE COLLIERY EXPLOSION.—QUESTION.**

**MR. MACDONALD** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he can state when the Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the cause of the High Blantyre Colliery explosion, and to report thereon, will be laid upon the Table of the House or circulated among Members?

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS**, in reply, said, the Report referred to by the hon. Gentleman would be laid upon the Table of the House in the course of a few days.

**CEYLON—ECCLESIASTICAL VOTES.**  
QUESTION.

**MR. ALDERMAN M'ARTHUR** asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any reply has been sent to the Memorial to the Queen from inhabitants of Ceylon, and transmitted by Sir W. H. Gregory on the 9th Janu-

ary 1877, praying that all Votes for Ecclesiastical purposes from the revenues of the island might cease; and, whether Lord Carnarvon has, in conformity with the statements in his Despatch of the 10th March 1877, communicated on the subject with Sir William Gregory since his arrival in this country?

MR. J. LOWTHER, in reply, said: Lord Carnarvon has communicated personally with Sir William Gregory on this and other subjects connected with Ceylon since his arrival in this country. Her Majesty's Government, however, are unable to advise the Queen to sanction any discontinuance of the extremely moderate sums now paid for the maintenance of religion in Ceylon.

MR. ALDERMAN M'ARTHUR gave Notice that on an early day he would call the attention of the House to the subject.

#### ARMY—BRIGADE DEPOTS—CAVALRY OFFICERS.—QUESTION.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would explain why the brigade depôts of Canterbury, Winchester, and York have been placed under the command of Officers whose entire service has been passed in the Cavalry, taking into consideration the fact that these are Infantry brigade depôts, and that the duty of drilling, inspecting, and reporting upon the efficiency of an Infantry brigade cannot be performed by Officers who have served exclusively in the Cavalry; and, whether these commands are to be retained for the usual period, and are the Lieutenant Colonels of Infantry on half-pay ineligible for the same?

MR. GATHORNE HARDY, in reply, said, this Question had very naturally been referred to the Commander-in-Chief, who was perfectly satisfied with the competency of the officers appointed. There was no intention to curtail their tenure of office, nor was it intended to exclude lieutenant-colonels of infantry on half-pay from obtaining the brevet rank of colonel for such commands.

#### GIBRALTAR—THE TRADE ORDINANCE. QUESTION.

MR. WHITWELL asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Ordinance projected last

year for superseding the freedom of the Port of Gibraltar by the introduction of certain Customs regulations, has been overruled?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, among other considerations, it having been found that beneficial results have followed a stricter enforcement of the existing port regulations, Her Majesty's Government have decided not to proceed further at present with the Draft Ordinance to which the hon. Gentleman refers.

#### THE MERCHANT SHIPPING ACT, 1854—CERTIFICATES OF MASTERS AND MATES.—QUESTION.

MR. WHEELHOUSE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware that in consequence of section 27 of "The Mercantile Marine Act, 1850," (13 and 14 Vic.), not having been re-enacted by "The Merchant Shipping Act, 1854," those master mariners and mates who, having by voluntary examination received certificates of competency from the Trinity House, and who, either from absence abroad or from other circumstances, had not, prior to the passing of the Act of 1854, exchanged their Trinity House certificates for the Board of Trade certificate of competency under that statute, are not, although they may still possess their antecedent "certificates of competency," any longer permitted, as they previously were, to command vessels chartered by the Crown for the conveyance of troops, prisoners, mails, Government stores, &c.; and, if he finds such to be the case, he will endeavour to replace such "certificated masters" in the position they formerly held in reference to such command?

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY: Sir, by the Mercantile Marine Act of 1850 the Board of Trade granted certificates of competency to masters and mates who had certificates under the previous voluntary system. The Merchant Shipping Act, 1854, did not continue this power, and certificates of competency could thereafter only be granted on examinations by local Marine Boards, 2,610 persons had the old certificates, of whom 540 did not get them exchanged for Board of Trade certificates before the power to do so expired in 1855. If any of these survive and want certificates

*Mr. Alderman M'Arthur*

now, they can get certificates of service which are equally valid at law for merchant ships; and if not accepted for vessels conveying mails or troops, that is a matter of regulation or arrangement between the departments and the charterers, and has nothing to do with the law as to certificates.

#### MERCANTILE MARINE—AMERICAN OFFICERS.—QUESTION.

MR. WHEELHOUSE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he be aware that the Government of the United States taxes the owners of American merchant ships who employ aliens as masters and mates of such ships, while American subjects (in common with all other aliens who can obtain the Board of Trade certificate of competency as master or mate) are now permitted to command and serve on board British ships either in the Foreign or Coasting trade without any payment whatever; and, whether some remedy cannot be devised and put into operation for a more equitable arrangement between the two countries in this matter?

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY: Sir, by our English law anyone, irrespective of nationality, can be master or mate on board a British ship who obtains a certificate of competency; but by the United States law only citizens of the United States can act as master or chief mate of American vessels leaving American ports, and in case of a vacancy occurring while abroad aliens can only be appointed temporarily for the voyage, subject to report on arrival. I am not aware of any tax or fine on owners of American ships employing aliens, but they cannot do it legally.

#### MERCANTILE MARINE—DECK PASSENGERS—ENGLISH AND IRISH STEAMERS.—QUESTION.

MR. MACCARTHY asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to the insufficiency of the shelter provided for deck passengers in steamers plying between Ireland and Great Britain, and the fact that even women and children are sometimes exposed during long winter nights to the inclemency of the weather; and, if so, what steps he proposes to take in order to remedy this evil?

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY: Sir, my attention has been called to this subject and Papers will be immediately laid upon the Table containing the Report I have received and the instructions I have issued in consequence, which instructions, meet, I hope, the case both as to the necessity of increased accommodation and to the separation in these steamers.

#### INDIA—CASE OF PRIVATE CORBETT. QUESTION.

MR. O'REILLY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether any answer has been received at the India Office to Lord Salisbury's inquiry, sent to India on the 9th September 1877, for information as to the case of private Corbett of the 48th Regiment; the authorised monthly subsistence allowance for whose four children was stopped by Colonel Travers, the officer commanding the regiment, in consequence of their father having declined to send them to the Lawrence Asylum, and sent them to the Catholic Orphan Asylum at Bellary?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, Lord Salisbury's inquiry was sent on the 4th of October. No reply having been received, on the 28th of December a telegram was sent to the Viceroy, who replied that a report upon Private Corbett's statement from the Madras Government had been already twice called for.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—TURKEY AND GREECE.—QUESTION.

MR. W. CARTWRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the intention to lay before Parliament any Correspondence which may have been exchanged with the Greek Government in reference to its attitude towards Turkey, and especially the text of a remonstrance addressed to it on the subject by Lord Derby in 1877 at the request of the Porte?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, in answer to the Question of the hon. Member, I have to state that, considering the state of affairs in the East, it is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government at present to lay before Parliament any Papers with respect to the relations between Turkey and Greece.

MALTA—REVENUE AND TAXATION—  
THE MALTESE NOBILITY.

## QUESTION.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether and when the Report of Mr. Rowsell on the Revenue and Finance is to be presented to Parliament; and, whether the Report of the Commission of Judges on the Maltese Nobility and their Claims has been received by the Colonial Office, and when it will be laid upon the Table of the House?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, Mr. Rowsell's Report upon the taxation of Malta will be presented to Parliament before long; but it is not in my power to name a precise date, as the subject is a large and difficult one, and Her Majesty's Government desire to consider it fully before publishing any Papers. The Report from the Commission on the claims of the Maltese nobility was received on December 29; but as it did not appear to deal with all the points requiring decision, we have requested the Commissioners to furnish a supplementary Report. It is, therefore, impossible to say when the Reports can be presented to Parliament; but no great delay is anticipated.

SOUTH AFRICA—OUTBREAK OF THE  
NATIVE TRIBES.—QUESTION.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can give any information with regard to a statement they were all sorry to see in the papers as to a further outbreak of insurrection at the Cape?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, perhaps the best manner in which I can answer the right hon. Gentleman's Question is, with the permission of the House, to read an extract from a despatch which was received on Saturday from Sir Bartle Frere—

"January 1.—Kreli's overtures to surrender came to nothing. Columns under Colonel Glyn sweeping Galeka Land have met little opposition. Great difficulty in keeping open communications with General at Ibeka, as Gaika rebellion is spreading consequent on tardy arrival of sufficient Colonial reinforcements. Martial law proclaimed in Gaika location."

I may add that the House is aware that a regiment of Infantry and a battery of Artillery were despatched some days

ago, and Her Majesty's Government, with a view of obviating any cause of further alarm, have determined to send out another regiment.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE  
HOUSE—ARRANGEMENT OF BUSINESS.

## QUESTION.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked the Home Secretary, Whether the Business of Thursday would allow of their taking the second reading of the Factories and Workshops Bill? It would, he further said, be a great convenience if the right hon. Gentleman would inform the House if it was substantially the same Bill as was brought in last year?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, on Thursday it is, I believe, intended to take the second reading of the Scotch Roads and Bridges Bill first. That, I hope, will not take very long, and after that, if we can do so at a reasonable hour, we shall take the Factories and Workshops Bill. The Bill this year is substantially the same as that of last year. The right hon. Gentleman will find that some few of the Amendments placed upon the Paper have been adopted and incorporated into the Bill; and as to the definition clause, it will be made clearer than it was, but for all practical purposes it is the same Bill.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, it may be convenient that I should ask a Question of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to the Motion standing in his name for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the best means of promoting the Despatch of Public Business in this House. I see there are three Orders of the Day, two of which are opposed, and may possibly take some time. I observe that the right hon. Gentleman has not given Notice that he will move the postponement of the Orders of the Day until after his Motion has been disposed of, and it is possible, therefore, that the Motion may come on rather late. I will ask the right hon. Gentleman if he intends to move for the Committee at a late hour in the evening, or if he will name after what hour he will not take it?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I may say that I had not contemplated that this Motion need lead to any considerable debate, as I had

intended to state to the House very briefly my desire for the appointment of a Committee, before which, in redemption of the pledge I gave last Session, I shall be prepared to make certain proposals on behalf of the Government; and these proposals, with any others that might be suggested in Committee, might be put in a shape in which they can conveniently come before the House for discussion. I hope, therefore, it may not involve any very prolonged discussion on the present occasion. If it is likely there will be any very long discussion, it might not be convenient to take it at a late hour, and I would not take it after 11 o'clock. I hope we shall be able to reach it before that time.

**MR. SULLIVAN:** Sir, I beg to give Notice that I shall move the addition of the following words as an Amendment of the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

“And to consider whether the endeavour of the Imperial Parliament to deal with the legislative requirements of the three Kingdoms as to local affairs has not been a serious obstacle to the due and expeditious discharge of the general Business of the House.”

#### THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

*Report of Address brought up, and read.*

**MR. BENTINCK** observed that having, in common probably with many other hon. Members, anticipated at the commencement of the Session that there would be a prolonged debate on the Eastern Question, he had been prepared to take an opportunity of expressing his opinion on that subject. But it had been so evident that it was not the wish of the House that that question should lead to a lengthened discussion that he, with many others, had deferred to that wish; neither did he now intend to depart from that resolution. Indeed, he should not now have risen had it not been for a passage in the speech of the right hon. Member for Greenwich (**Mr. Gladstone**)—whose absence he regretted—at the earlier stage of that debate, which he thought, if allowed to pass without comment, might, in the present critical state of affairs, be misconstrued and lead to serious consequences. Referring to the speech of the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer, the right hon. Member for Greenwich said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had laid down a doctrine which, perhaps, he had not meant broadly to affirm; for, speaking of the demands which Russia had made at the commencement of the war, he had said that it was material for us to know whether any further demands were to be made. The right hon. Member for Greenwich went on to remark that he hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not wish them to infer that he intended to lay down the doctrine that Russia was bound, having obtained great success in warlike operations, to limit her demands to the terms by which she originally bound herself to keep the peace. The right hon. Member characterized that doctrine as totally untenable, and argued that Russia would be justified, after her successes in war, in greatly extending the terms of her demand, on the ground that on former occasions other countries which had been successful in war had increased their demands. Now, that appeared to him to be a new and somewhat strange doctrine, and if that reasoning was to hold good, and if it was to be sufficient to justify an act that a precedent could be found for it, it seemed to him that there was no breach of faith, no violation of any law, no crime in the calendar which could not be justified on that principle. In the absence of the right hon. Member he would not enter into the question whether the remarks he had made were those of a statesman or of a patriot. He would leave that point to the judgment of the House. But other Powers as well as England were interested in the terms on which Russia might insist as conditions of peace; and it was not too much to assert that on the moderation of the terms on which Russia might insist depended solely the question of peace or war in Europe. Was this, then, he asked, the moment at which to suggest that Russia would be justified in extending her terms without limit because of her great success in war? And was it to go forth to the world that the English House of Commons was indifferent as to the point to which those terms might be extended? He would ask the House to remember the part which the right hon. Member had taken in this question. Every word which fell from him was very carefully weighed by Russia, and

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much more importance was attached by that country to his words and opinions on that occasion than to those of any other Member of the House. He could not think, however, that the suggestion—he would not call it assertion—put forward by the right hon. Member, that Russia would be justified in extending the limits of the terms on which she was prepared to insist, was one that ought to be listened to in that House without comment, and, he would say, condemnation. He trusted that the suggestion would not be endorsed by the great majority of the House or by the great body of the people of the country. He concurred, however, with the right hon. Member in the horror he entertained for war, and he also cordially endorsed the saying of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (the Earl of Derby) that the first interest of England was peace. He went further, and contended that a country which embarked in an unjust war was guilty of a great crime. But cases had occurred, and cases might occur again, when war ceased to be a crime and became a duty. He did not wish in any way to impugn the good faith of the Russian Government. He was willing to believe that it would fairly and honourably redeem those pledges which it volunteered before the commencement of the war; but he could not shut his eyes to the fact that the issues of peace and war depended very much on the nature of the terms that might be demanded at the forthcoming negotiations, and he felt that the House of Commons ought not to seem indifferent to them. Everyone hoped that the negotiations might succeed and that peace might be the result. If, unfortunately, those terms should be such as would disturb the peace of Europe, he was sure that if the Government of this country came to Parliament for assistance in redemption of the pledges they had given to uphold the honour and rights of England, they would meet not only with the cheerful support of the great majority of that House, but with the cordial and manly support of the great mass of the people.

MR. W. CARTWRIGHT, while agreeing that it was not desirable that there should be any angry discussion in the House at that moment, said, there was one point of great importance which

should be urged in this country, and that was that the language, attitude; actions, and words of the British Government should be free from ambiguity. The opinion was held abroad by many who occupied themselves with the conduct of affairs that throughout the whole of these difficulties the action, language, and attitude of the British Government in regard to the definition of the interests for which they meant to stand up had never been free from ambiguity. He could not refrain from saying that in some respects the information presented in recent Parliamentary Papers was partial and garbled. It had been promised that a Blue Book should contain some of the late Diplomatic Correspondence; but any Correspondence which might have been exchanged with the Greek Government, in reference to her attitude towards Turkey, had been entirely omitted. It would have been better in any case to have laid those despatches on the Table, and then there would have been no doubt of the language employed, and any possible misapprehension would have been dispelled. Matters had arrived at that critical state when a word said in an angry tone might injure delicate negotiations and do a great deal of mischief, and at no moment was it of more paramount importance that the attitude of the British Government should be an attitude of impartiality, and should not be supposed to be coloured with the complexion of a partizanship.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER said, there was no doubt the moderation of Russia was a matter of the utmost importance to Europe. If she acted up to her professions before she began the war, and if her demands were not excessive, then a speedy and solid solution of the Eastern Question might be found. But if she gave way to ideas of conquest, then she would be deserving of the greatest condemnation, and would justly be held to be the enemy of Europe. Such unwisdom was more than he anticipated, for he believed the Emperor of Russia to be sufficiently wise to see the tremendous importance of the terms he was willing to grant to Turkey. He could not, however, concur in the view that had been taken, that it was incumbent on her to gain no other advantages than those for which war had been ostensibly made; for during the progress of the campaign

contingencies developed themselves which could not be foreseen. No authoritative book on international law sanctioned that doctrine.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I will not detain the House more than two or three minutes. I quite agree with the general feeling of the House that this is not the time to carry on a debate on this question. I am also content to leave it as it was left last Thursday. But with regard to the answer of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bourke) to the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Cartwright), I was very sorry to hear that reply. Of course if, as has been stated, the Government cannot, with a due regard for the public service, give information, it is very difficult to move for it. I am, however, sorry that they cannot give us the Correspondence between the Foreign Office and the Greek Government or with Turkey with regard to anything which has passed between England and Greece. I regret it partly on the ground mentioned by my hon. Friend, that there is some ambiguity connected with the matter; still more because it seems to me very necessary that the House should know any obligations which the Government may have incurred to any Powers. What we have gained by reading the common sources of information is that the Greeks, invited by what was passing around them, were—or at any rate some of them were—ready to take advantage of the war between Russia and Turkey to see how they could assert what they considered to be their rights. And what we also observe has been stated is that it was very much owing to the influence of our Government that they did not do so. It is impossible, to speak plainly, to conceal from ourselves the conviction that if they had been free to act they might have been in a different and better position for obtaining whatever they think they ought to obtain than if not hindered. And therefore, if it is in consequence of anything done by our Government that they have not acted, I think the House and the Government will admit that we may have incurred some obligation towards Greece, and that in consequence of the action we have taken Greece may not be in so good a position as she might have been. I do not mean to

blame the Government in respect of this, but I think we ought not to be called upon to deliberate on the terms that Russia may propose, and on the possible phases the Eastern Question may enter upon, without knowing exactly the position to which the Government has pledged itself or committed the country with regard to any of the Powers that are interested. I do not press the Government on this matter, but I do hope they will take into consideration the grounds on which my remarks are based and that they will give us all the information in their power.

MR. DILLWYN: Sir, I do not wish to prolong this discussion, but I desire to ask the Government a Question on a matter relating to affairs in the East. I wish to ask whether it is true or not, as stated in a telegram which appears in this morning's *Times*, that a communication has been addressed by Her Majesty to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Russia interceding for Turkey, and suggesting that the Emperor of Russia should stay his victorious armies? The telegram goes on to say that this news has produced a most unfavourable impression in the Russian capital. I hope the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer will inform the House whether there is any foundation for the statement?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: In answer to the last Question put by the hon. Member for Swansea, I have to say that I had seen the statement he refers to in the newspapers, but was not aware that any Question was intended to be put to the House on the subject, and I think it is a Question which should not be put without Notice. I think the feeling of the House is that which was expressed by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. W. E. Forster), that it is not desirable at the present moment, which is certainly a moment of considerable importance, that we should enter into a general discussion on the present position of this question. We have not yet heard what the Russian terms are. We have reason to know that those which were stated in some of the journals this morning are not correct; but we have not yet received the information which must come, I suppose, very soon. We know that the delegates are in communication now with the Russian commanders, and I have no



doubt we shall very shortly be in possession of fuller knowledge. I think it is the opinion of both sides of the House that it is better we should abstain from any hypothetical discussion on a matter of this kind; and I hope, therefore, that the House will be content for the present with what has already been said. I am sure there is no desire on the part of the Government to hold anything like an ambiguous position. I endeavoured the other day to make our position as clear as I could, and I do not think we are open to that charge; but it is necessary that there should be a certain amount of reserve, especially when such delicate negotiations are proceeding.

Address agreed to:—To be presented by Privy Councillors.

#### SUPPLY.

*Resolved*, That this House will, upon Wednesday, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

*Resolved*, That this House will, upon Wednesday, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.



#### UNION JUSTICES (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. O'Sullivan, Major Nolan, Mr. Richard Power.*)

#### [BILL 42.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. O'SULLIVAN, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was substantially the same as the one before the House last Session, saving that he had, in some few particulars, endeavoured to meet the objections which had then been made to it, and consequent alterations had ensued. It simply proposed to give power to each electoral district of Ireland to elect one magistrate, and to confer that power upon the Guardians instead of the ratepayers of the Unions. He proposed that the election should be by ballot, the cost being only about £5, and that the magistrates should be elected for life, and not, as he had formerly suggested, for five years. He thought such a mea-

sure was required in order to give the ratepayers of the counties the same representation on the Bench which was enjoyed by the ratepayers of the towns and cities. As the principle of the measure was much desired in Ireland, he trusted the Government would allow the Bill to be read a second time, and then, if they had any objections to its provisions, Amendments could be moved in Committee of the Whole House. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. O'Sullivan.*)

MR. CHARLES LEWIS, in moving that the debate be now adjourned, said, it would be in the knowledge of the House that the Bill was not delivered with the Papers in the morning, and in accordance with the precedent laid down last Session, he thought they ought not to discuss a Bill which they had not seen. The case he referred to was that of a Bill for removing the disqualification of certain householders introduced by the hon. Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), and the debate upon which was adjourned for the same reason.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Charles Lewis.*)

MAJOR NOLAN hoped that the House would proceed with the measure. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Limerick County (Mr. O'Sullivan) had taken every trouble to have the Bill in the hands of hon. Members that morning; but, by some mischance, the printer had not delivered it in time, although other Bills which followed it on the Order Paper had been duly distributed. The Bill having been discussed last year, its provisions were well known, and, in the circumstances, he thought it would be ungracious of the House to refuse to discuss it.

MR. M'CARTHY DOWNING opposed the Motion for the Adjournment of the Debate, thinking it unfair that the hon. Member for Limerick County, who had obtained the first place in the list of Orders of the Day by ballot, should be deprived of that advantage in this way. He could see a principle involved.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

He trusted the hon. Gentleman would test the question by a division.

MR. MACARTNEY, in supporting the Motion, maintained that it was impossible satisfactorily to discuss a Bill which had just been put into their hands. If the rule were violated in one case, it would be in another. How were hon. Members to tell in what particulars it differed from that of last year?

MR. FAY said, he was glad to find that the first instance of obstruction that Session had come from the other side of the House, and from an Englishman representing an Irish constituency. He was the more surprised at this, as when Gentlemen of the English denomination went over to Ireland they were always well received. It was to be further observed that the opposition was directed against a Bill framed for the preservation of popular rights.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he wished it to be understood that Her Majesty's Government had no objection, in principle, to the Bill proceeding, although Monday was a Government night and the Bill was that of a private Member, and not a Government measure. That that was the view of the Government was, he thought, evident from the fact that he had refrained from exercising his right to put upon the Paper for an early period of the Sitting a Motion in reference to the Business of the House, which would, of course, have taken precedence of the hon. Gentleman's Bill. His objection to proceeding rested on the fact that the Bill was not in the hands of hon. Members, and could not, therefore, be discussed with propriety or profit. In a case similar to the present, which took place on the 12th of February last year, an objection of the same kind as that raised by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) was taken by the hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), and the debate was adjourned. Under those circumstances he was sorry to say that, without expressing any opinion as to the Bill, and without any desire on the part of the Government to burke discussion, it would be necessary for him to follow the course adopted last year, and support the Motion for Adjournment.

MR. O'SULLIVAN said, he had done all in his power to get the Bill delivered

in time, but could not obtain it from the printer, although other Bills which stood after his on the list of Orders of the Day, and some which were down on the lists for subsequent days, had been delivered. He strongly protested against the unfairness of being made to suffer in that way from neglect on the part of officials for whom the Government and the House were responsible, and thought the Government ought to give him a day for it. The opposition had visibly come from the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis); but a Member of the Government had told him that the Bill would be opposed, because it had not been printed. The real opponents of the Bill were the Government.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: After the statement of the hon. Member, I feel compelled to address a few words to the House. The hon. Member has suggested that the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) has been requested, either directly or indirectly, by the Government to oppose the Bill. I wish to state that several hon. Members sitting on this side of the House have come to me during the evening, asking me what course I intended to pursue on the part of the Government. More than one hinted that as the Bill had not been delivered, it ought not to be proceeded with. I have said that I would far sooner that it should go on, and I have asked more than one hon. Member not to oppose it on that ground.

MR. P. MARTIN urged that the Bill should be allowed to proceed, since the principle had already been debated in the House, and there would be a great waste of time if the debate were now adjourned. If the Government intended to oppose the Bill, let them do so at once, or let them respect what were their intentions with respect to it.

MR. WHITBREAD thought the hon. Member for Limerick was placed in a position of some hardship in being deprived of his chance of proceeding with the Bill through miscarriage at the printer's. The hon. Member having obtained the first place, was entitled to have his Bill delivered first. He presumed the Government were responsible for any accidental miscarriage that might happen. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: No, no!] Then the House was responsible, and he thought the hon. Member had a right to claim that

ho should be put in as good a position, either now or at some future time, as if the Bill had been in due course delivered to hon. Members.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF confirmed what the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said as to his (Sir H. Drummond Wolff's) being in the same position last year, and expressed a hope that these instances of miscarriage would lead to some change in the arrangements for the printing of Bills. He sympathized with the hon. Member opposite (Mr. O'Sullivan), and should be glad if the present hardship could be remedied, seeing that the arrangements for printing in the House were excessively "slipshod." He thought it would be well if Bills which had been read the second time in one Session were re-introduced in the next. They should be then read a second time, *pro forma*, and the Government could afterwards oppose their further progress, if necessary, on the Motion to go into Committee. In this case, why not agree to pass all the Orders in favour of the Committee on Public Business? Why not read them all a second time, and take the discussions on going into Committee?

MR. SHAW supported the suggestion of the hon. Member opposite (Sir H. Drummond Wolff). It was quite competent for the House to discuss the Bill on its merits on going into Committee.

MR. BIGGAR thought that the question should be decided on the second reading, and should be discussed at once. That was the course pursued last Session on the Lodgers' Removal Bill. He recollected also that the House allowed the Government to read the Mutiny Bill a second time before it was printed last year, and he trusted that they would grant the same privilege to a private Member. He did not think the Government should avail themselves of a technical objection to defeat this measure, in which a question of principle was involved.

MR. BRUEN said, he had intended to object to the Bill being now discussed; but at the suggestion of the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland he had determined not to do so. He wished to point out that the three Bills did not stand by any means on an equality. In the last Session the one now before the House had been rejected by a large majority, while two of them

had been affirmed on the second reading, and he could not consent, therefore, to regard the Bills as standing on a level. He hoped that they would be allowed to express their opinion on the second reading of the measure now before the House at the present stage.

MR. O'CLERY thought it would be well if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would appeal to the large majority at his back, over which he exercised so large an influence, to allow the discussion to proceed. If the right hon. Gentleman would do so, that majority would give its consent, and the Bill would go on.

MR. O'SULLIVAN denied that he had asserted that the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) had been put up by the Government to raise this objection to the Bill.

MR. GATHORNE HARDY thought that there was some little misapprehension in the minds of certain hon. Members with regard to this Bill. He entirely agreed that the hon. Member bringing forward the measure had suffered from no fault of his own. There appeared, however, to be an impression that this was the first Bill that was placed upon the list under the ballot. That was not so, however, inasmuch as there were some 30 or 40 Bills before it; 41 he believed. The Government had no desire to prevent the fullest discussion of the Bill. In pursuance of their rules it should not now be considered; but that was by no fault of the hon. Gentleman who introduced it; and he therefore appealed to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) to withdraw his Motion. In that case, the Government would be prepared to proceed with its discussion.

THE O'CONOR DON joined in the appeal of the right hon. Gentleman to the hon. Member for Londonderry to withdraw his Motion.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS regretted that he was unable to accede to the request of the right hon. Gentleman. He wished to know whether the Business of the House was to be conducted according to general rules, or whether, with the consent of the House and of the Leaders on both sides, a reign of confusion was to prevail. Last year the hon. Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) was treated with extreme severity both by the Government and by the front Opposition Bench, and his Bill,

*Mr. Whitbread*

in consequence of what happened on the Motion for its second reading, was snuffed out for the Session. The present Bill came before the House under the same circumstances, and he felt obliged to proceed to a division.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON expressed his regret that the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gathorne Hardy) had not been assented to. He trusted that, under the circumstances, this discussion would not be needlessly prolonged, and that the House would at once come to a division upon the issue raised by the hon. Member for Londonderry. He did not see why the House should fetter its action by any new rule of practice as to whether Bills should be received or not before they were printed. The principle involved in the measure was a very simple one, being contained in the 1st clause, and any hon. Member could make himself acquainted with its nature in a few minutes. For his own part, he should feel bound to oppose the measure when it came on for discussion, but he thought the technical objection now raised ought not to be upheld. In this case it had been pointed out that it was no fault of the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan) that his Bill had not been printed in time; and, considering the view expressed by the Government, he hoped the House would allow the discussion to go on.

MR. SULLIVAN warned hon. Members of the danger of establishing a precedent for the discussion of measures which were not printed, which might be used on future occasions to the prejudice of minorities. His hon. Friend the Member for Limerick was not answerable for the fault of an officer of the House, and he therefore thought the true solution would be to adjourn the debate now, the Government giving his hon. Friend a night for the discussion of his Bill when it was printed.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 62; Noes 223: Majority 161.—(Div. List, No. 2.)

Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. W. JOHNSTON congratulated the House on the decision it had come to, because it was much better that the Bill should be discussed and disposed of. He

objected to the Bill that, instead of conforming to the time-honoured custom that the fount of honour should be the Crown, it proposed to constitute Boards of Guardians the fount of honour. He begged to move that the Bill be read a second time that day seven months.

MR. VERNER seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day seven months."—(Mr. William Johnston.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. M'CARTHY DOWNING, in supporting the second reading of the Bill, said, that if the magistrates in Ireland were wisely or fairly appointed there would be no necessity for the Bill; but the fact was, as they all knew perfectly well, that they were at present appointed on the nomination of the Lords Lieutenant of counties on account of their politics and religion, and not by reason of their fitness for the position. He knew a Lord Lieutenant who refused to recommend a gentleman—a Deputy Lieutenant who was heir to a good estate—because he was a Catholic. The Bill that was before the House was, he thought, a very small matter indeed. He thought, however, it would give very great satisfaction to the ratepayers of the Union if, after they had elected a certain number of men in whom they had confidence to serve as Guardians, they should have the power to select a certain person to represent them on the commission of the peace. He knew that there were most intelligent men in Boards of Guardians who might well be trusted to discharge the duties of a magistrate. Again, he pointed out that the Lord Chancellor would never approve of the appointment of a person unless he were qualified to perform those duties. The Bill was, however, as he had said, a matter of very small consequence. It would do no very great harm, and he hoped the Government would see their way to letting it pass.

MAJOR NOLAN said, he wished to state that he gave a general support to that class of Bills. They all agreed in this one strong point—that they had a tendency to associate the poorer classes

of the people in the government of the country, and he considered that a point of very great importance, and calculated to strengthen the framework of the country. The more they did so the more they could rely on the people in time of war. If the people were left outside the pale of their institutions, he was afraid that to a certain extent they might be looked at as internal enemies. The magistrates had half the management of the Poor Law, and to a considerable extent the administration of the sanitary laws. In these they were associated with other persons, but there were certain cases where they had the exclusive control, and in which they ought to be reinforced by magistrates elected by the people. Besides that, the Bill only proposed a magistrate for the approval of the Lord Chancellor, and consequently did not force him upon the country. In fact, it only gave power to the Guardians to recommend one magistrate for about 14 or 15 who were appointed in the usual way by the Lords Lieutenant of the counties, and these Lords Lieutenant did not invariably represent the wishes of the people of their counties. The appeal to this House against Lords Lieutenant was not as effective in the case of Ireland as it was in the case of England. In the county of Carlow he understood that out of 60 or 70 justices of the peace there were only two Roman Catholics, although five-sixths of the population professed that faith, and in Donegal and other counties a similar state of things existed. The Bill before the House would to a certain extent provide a remedy for such an anomalous and unjust state of things.

Mr. COGAN said, he had voted in favour of having the measure discussed, but he regretted that his support could not extend any further. Although there were certain evils at present in the elections of magistrates in Ireland, he believed that the remedy proposed would be worse than the disease. He considered that nothing could be more mischievous than that the qualification for the magistrate's office should depend upon the personal popularity of the candidate nominated. The popular election of judicial officers in the United States had not been attended with results which should encourage us to follow their example; and further, he did not believe that

there was any evidence that the measure had received any support in Ireland. Had there ever been a public meeting in favour of it, or a petition presented praying that it might pass? He believed that no section of the Irish people had ever asked for it, and he thought the House would do well not to favour any such revolutionary change in the appointment of those who discharged judicial duties.

Mr. O'CLERY supported the Bill, pointing out that mayors of boroughs in Ireland elected by the ratepayers discharged magisterial duties during their year of office, and no complaint had ever been made of the manner in which they administered justice. But he considered with the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), that one of the great recommendations of the measure was that it would encourage the people of Ireland to consider, and to feel that they had some voice in the local government of the affairs of Ireland; that they had some hold on the administration of justice in their own country; and that they were really regarded as citizens of Her Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland. At present, those matters were too much in the hands of men and families whose religious views were not those of the majority of the people. He hoped the Government would support the second reading of the Bill, and if any serious objections were entertained to its provisions they could be corrected in Committee.

Mr. D. TAYLOR opposed the Bill on the ground that it would place too much power in the hands of the ratepayers. It would practically amount to an appointment for life, whereas the justice so appointed might cease to be a Guardian for the Union in six months or less.

Mr. BIGGAR hoped the House would read the Bill a second time. As to its being revolutionary, he could not see upon what grounds hon. Gentlemen calling themselves Liberal could oppose so very mild a measure as the Bill under consideration. It simply conferred upon Poor Law Guardians the power of nominating to the Lord Chancellor.

Mr. VERNER opposed the Bill, as tending to cast a slur upon and lowering the character of the magistracy. Further, he did not see how, consistently with the 4th clause of the Bill, powers

*Major Nolan*

of justices appointed under it could be confined to the county in which they resided. He could not support the Bill, because it was one of a class of democratic measures which were about to be introduced.

MR. P. MARTIN supported the Bill, and denied that it cast any slur upon the existing magistracy. He thought it would be well to adopt the present proposal for these, amongst other reasons, that it would remove from the minds of the people any suspicion of partiality in the selection of magistrates, and extinguish a strong prejudice which prevailed, to a great extent, against the present practice of referring all important cases to the Castle adviser. The Bill was not of the revolutionary character that was supposed, and in case of its passing it would probably be found that the Guardians would, in the majority of cases, nominate the same gentlemen who would, under ordinary cases, be selected by the Lord Chancellor.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH opposed the second reading on the ground that the Bill would introduce a mode of appointing magistrates which was novel and objectionable. It had been contended that the Bill was only an extension to the rural districts of Ireland of a power now enjoyed in the urban districts; but the present proposal bore no analogy whatever to the appointment of borough justices, who were approved by the Crown; nor to the magisterial powers enjoyed by the mayor of a town, as such, during his year of office. Neither was it at all a copy of the system under which certain town commissioners in Ireland were appointed justices by the Lord Chancellor. No hon. Member had referred to the 17 & 18 *Vict.*, by which it would be found that all the commissioners could do was to forward to the Lord Chancellor a return stating the ages, position, and other particulars of the persons elected to be commissioners, and from that list the Lord Chancellor might select a properly-qualified person to act as justice of the peace within the town during his term of office. The proposals of this Bill were that the elected Guardians of every Union might elect any person they chose—not necessarily one of their own body, but who might be living in England, in America, or elsewhere—to act during his life, with the sanction of the Lord Chancellor, as a magistrate of any

county or counties, perhaps as many as three, in some cases, into which the Union might extend. This proposal was not made, as far as he could discover, from any want of confidence in the way in which Government now exercised their power in the appointment of magistrates, since the Bill would extend the veto which the Lord Chancellor at present possessed to magistrates selected by the Board of Guardians. The hon. Member who spoke last (Mr. P. Martin) said something about a want of confidence on the part of the people of Ireland in the Bench, owing to their referring cases, for legal opinions alone, to the legal advisers of the Castle. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) thought this a great advantage which the magistrates of Ireland had over their brethren in England, as they obtained in that way really good advice upon points of law. Was the proposal introduced to procure a better administration of justice? He had heard nothing to warrant the opinion that justice would be better administered by magistrates appointed under the new system than under the present. It was said that some change of this kind was wanted because the Lords Lieutenant of counties did not exercise their power of recommendation in a fair and impartial manner. The Lords Lieutenant of counties were of various political opinions, and one or two, such as Colonel White, the Lord Lieutenant of Clare, of the same opinions as hon. Gentlemen opposite; but from all he had heard, they exercised their power as fairly in Ireland as it was exercised in England or Wales. If there were any complaints in particular cases, they ought to be brought under the notice of the House. He believed the fact that that could be done, as well as the desire of those gentlemen themselves to discharge their duties properly, formed quite sufficient securities against abuse. He had often heard it suggested that a sweeping change should be made in England by the substitution of stipendiary for unpaid magistrates. But that system to some extent already prevailed in Ireland, where stipendiary magistrates were acting in their respective districts nearly all over the country. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, however, were not satisfied with the system, which the most advanced reformers in England advocated, and argued that the stipendiary magistrates in Ireland re-

presented not the people, but the Crown. It had been alleged that the principle of this Bill was a very small matter. In his judgment, it was one of the most important matters that could possibly come under the consideration of that House. The question at issue was, whether justice should be administered by persons elected by the people, or by persons appointed, according to the existing system, by the Crown. It might be true that in past times, or in foreign countries, persons were elected by the people to perform judicial functions; but the system had proved to be a bad one wherever it had been tried, for it did not tend to the purer administration of justice, but was likely to make the Judicial Bench dependent on popular favour. The adoption of this Bill would be, he believed, the adoption of a principle that must be disastrous in any country, but nowhere more disastrous than in Ireland.

MR. PARNELL hoped that in voting for the second reading he should not be understood to approve the principle of the measure, because, in fact, he thought there were many reasons which rendered the election of magistrates inadvisable. Magistrates ought to be independent of local considerations; but considering what was the present mode of appointing magistrates in Ireland, it became necessary for those who desired to protest against that system to seize every opportunity of doing so. For that reason he should support the present measure. There was an unfair proportion of Protestants among the magistrates in Ireland, and he should have been glad if the right hon. Gentleman had announced that it was the intention of the Government to follow in the footsteps of their Predecessors in Office, who had appointed a considerable number of Catholic magistrates. The only fair way of making such appointments would be to dispose of them in equal proportions between Protestants and Roman Catholics.

MR. GRAY said, that the hon. Member for Meath (Mr. Parnell) was wrong in throwing the entire blame of the present system of appointments upon Lords Lieutenant. He held that the Government in Ireland were the chief offenders, because in the appointments of magistrates of the City of Dublin, which were made directly from the Castle, they showed the worst example.

*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*

There was an abundance of Catholics of property, and in every way eligible, who were passed over in favour of the Protestants in the majority of ten to one. The Government habitually selected Protestants and Conservatives. In the North Dublin Union, where a majority of the elected Guardians were Liberal, an attempt, which was very nearly successful, was made to swamp that majority by the appointment of *ex-officio* magistrates of the proper political type. A great many of the magistrates appointed were qualified neither by wealth, nor social position, nor education; but were appointed simply because they were of the true blue colour in politics.

MR. SULLIVAN entertained a most decided objection to the office or position of the administrators of justice being in any way dependent upon the caprice and favour of the people. He had heard the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland say, however, that the adoption of the elective principle would be importing into Ireland something unknown in England or Scotland; and he (Mr. Sullivan) must remark that in England aldermen and in Scotland baillies were elected, and that they acted as magistrates. It would, he admitted, be a doubtful experiment in Ireland; for were there not in that country complaints as to the Party nomination of the magistracy? He granted that the sharp edge of that complaint belonged to a past time; but the evil was not quite gone, for Liberals appointed none but Liberals, and Tories none but Tories. [“No, no!”] Well, they appointed very few others. What they wanted in Ireland was a Government which would have the courage to break with the old traditions on that matter, and which would make appointments from men of a different Party to its own. In that way a Liberal Government might make Conservative appointments and a Conservative Government might make Liberal appointments, until an equitable arrangement, as between different Parties and creeds, was obtained, and such a body of men secured for the magisterial office as would give confidence both to the people and to the Crown in the administration of justice. A greater attempt was never made to throw dust in the eyes of the people than to say that in these appointments no notice was taken of religion. Sir Robert Peel

shrewdly said that it was one thing to declare Catholics qualified, and another thing to appoint them, and he (Mr. Sullivan) would remark that the fulness of Catholic emancipation had never yet been reached in Ireland, because successive Governments had not chosen to appoint Catholics. He could not join in any wholesale indictment against the Irish magistracy, as it was only on very rare occasions that they exhibited partisanship on the Bench; but still the evil of the unequal appointment of Roman Catholics and Protestants did exist.

MR. O'SULLIVAN briefly replied to the objections which had been raised against the Bill, and hoped that the House would not refuse it a second reading.

Question put.

The House *divided*: —Ayes 38; Noes 138: Majority 100.—(Div. List, No. 3.)

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Second Reading *put off* for seven months.

#### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL—[BILL 44.]

(*The O'Connor Don, Mr. Richard Smyth, Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. James Corry, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Dease, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Redmond.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

THE O'CONNOR DON, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he could not refrain from expressing his regret at the absence through ill-health of his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry (Mr. R. Smyth). It was considered important that the Bill should be introduced at the very earliest opportunity, seeing that last year it failed to become law, not by the will of the House, but by want of time to carry it. He was actuated by two reasons in undertaking the charge of the Bill this Session—the one being that his hon. Friend had conducted it to such a point that the carrying of it to what he trusted would be its final success would be comparatively an easy task; and in the next place he hoped his hon. Friend would be very shortly amongst them and able to assist him in promoting this mea-

sure by his counsel and advice. The Bill had been so often before the House, its principles had been so often discussed, and everything which could be said for or against it had been so eloquently urged, that it was not necessary for him on this occasion to deal at any length with its general principles; and in the few remarks he intended to make he would confine himself to a statement of the proceedings which had taken place with regard to it since the Bill was introduced last Session. It was then introduced under circumstances almost exactly similar to those now existing. Notice was given for the introduction on the first night of the Session; it was introduced on the next day, and on the following Monday the second reading was taken. But when the Bill came up for the second reading it was opposed by the hon. Member for Limerick County (Mr. O'Sullivan). There was some discussion with regard to it, and the second reading was carried by an overwhelming majority, the Government at that stage supporting it. But subsequently to that the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) proposed that it should be referred to a Select Committee for a certain particular purpose—namely, to ascertain whether certain cities and towns should not be exempted from its operations. The promoters of the Bill consented to its being so sent up, and the majority of the Members of the Committee were selected by the Government. The Committee, nevertheless, came to a vote against the proposals of the Chief Secretary for exempting those particular cities and towns, and they supported the Bill in its entirety. Under those circumstances the Bill came back to the House. It was not necessary for him to go in detail into the subsequent proceedings of the Session; suffice it for him to say that it was through sheer want of time the Bill was lost last year. He wished to call the attention of the House and of the Government to what had taken place since then, and what they were told at the time by the opponents of the Bill. They were told that it would be very necessary to wait and see what effect the evidence given before that Committee would have on the country. They were told, especially by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Murphy), who had been the most indefatigable opponent of the Bill, that if they waited for



another six months—for another Session of Parliament—that a complete change would take place over the expressed opinion of the Irish people, that it would be seen that Irishmen realized the fact that the Bill was a reality and not a sham, and they would see a complete revulsion of feeling in Ireland. The expressed opinion at that time was undoubtedly in favour of the Bill; but the opponents of the measure asserted that there were hundreds of thousands of people who had never expressed any opinion upon it, and who, if they only had time and opportunity and studied the evidence, would come forward and give expression to such opinion as would render it impossible for the promoters of the Bill to come again before the House under the same circumstances as they had come last Session. How had those predictions been verified? Early in the autumn the campaign against the Bill was commenced by a conference in Dublin, and curiously enough this conference, he was informed, was composed very largely of representatives, not from Irish cities and towns, but from English cities and towns. A conference of delegates, largely composed of delegates from English cities and towns, who were opposed to this Bill, was held in Dublin, and a resolution was passed in pursuance of which meetings were held in various parts of Ireland. The first of these meetings was held at Limerick. It was an open meeting held at a time when the working men could attend. [“No, no!”] Then why was it not held at a time when the working men could attend? The choice of the hour for holding this meeting was at the discretion of its promoters. The Mayor who presided was one of their friends, and if the meeting was not held at a time when the working men could attend, that was their fault. At all events, what was the result? Why, the resolution, which was carried, accepted and approved of the measure which they were called upon to condemn. The next meeting was held in Dublin; but, warned by the experience obtained in Limerick, the means of admission was by tickets, many of which were obtained at public-houses. The meeting was held in a small room in the Rotunda, and it took place at a time when the working classes could attend. A meeting was next held in the city of Cork. It was

not a close meeting, but it was called for an hour—namely 12 o'clock at noon, when for working men to attend would be to forfeit a day's wages. It could not for a moment be contended that these meetings showed that public opinion in Ireland was opposed to the Bill. A similar meeting was held in Belfast under similar circumstances, and he understood the proceedings were of a most disorderly character, and anything but unanimity against the Bill prevailed. In addition, however, to the holding of meetings, a deputation of working men waited on the Chief Secretary to urge on the right hon. Baronet the necessity of opposing the Bill, in the interest of the labouring classes in Ireland. The right hon. Baronet inquired of them whether they represented societies; but it appeared from their replies that they represented themselves only. Such was the result of the agitation against the Bill, and these were the only expressions of public opinion in Ireland in that direction. It would have been quite legitimate for the promoters of the Bill, so far as expressions of public opinion went, to have allowed matters to rest where they were last year, and to have maintained that unless there was a change of opinion against it it ought to be carried. Public opinion, however, so far from going against the Bill, was still growing in its favour, for over 60 public meetings had been held in all parts of the country in favour of the Bill. All these were open meetings, held at times when the working men could attend, and yet, in spite of that, at all these meetings resolutions were carried enthusiastically in favour of the measure, and with one exception there was no disturbance or diversity of opinion at any of them. Would it have been possible to have held those meetings, and that they would have passed off as they did, if the working classes of Ireland had believed that this Bill was one of a coercive character, or one which would injuriously affect their liberty? It would have been perfectly impossible. But that was not all. A deputation waited on the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland—not to express their own opinions merely as supporters of the Bill, but also those of 2,000 working men who had deputed them. Further than that, a memorial was presented to the right hon. Baronet signed by nearly 10,000

persons, including magistrates, professional men, clergymen of all denominations, Poor Law Guardians, and members of Town Councils, all in favour of this Bill, and asking the Government to press it forward. No doubt these gentlemen would not be individually affected if the measure became law, but they would not have come and misrepresented the feeling of the people of Ireland. It had been asserted by the hon. Member for Cork that the great bulk of the Roman Catholic clergy were opposed to the Bill; but what proof had he given of this assertion? Why, it was a singular fact that the number of parochial Roman Catholic clergymen in Ireland being about 2,500, the signatures of 1,200 Roman Catholic priests were to be found attached to the memorial. He would ask any hon. Gentleman who was acquainted with Ireland whether this could have been the case had this been a coercive measure intended to interfere with the wishes of the people of Ireland. If it had been of such a character, there would not have been found such a number of Roman Catholic clergymen signing the memorial in favour of the measure. But if there were Roman Catholic clergymen of Ireland opposed to this Bill, why did they not appear, and where were their declarations? Such had been the expression of public opinion outside the House. Then there was the expression of opinion on the part of the Irish Representatives in that House. How did that stand? There had been, or was about to be, presented to the Chief Secretary in favour of the Bill a memorial signed by 57 out of the 103 Irish Members, and there were 18 others who on former occasions had voted for the Bill, or expressly stated their intention of voting for it, but who did not wish to put their names to the memorial. There were thus 75 out of the 103 Irish Members who were supporters of this measure, whilst the largest number whom a division had shown against the Bill was 11. What chance had Irish Members in that House of carrying any Bill, on the ground that it was consistent with the feeling of the Irish people, if they were to be told that three-fourths of the Irish Representatives were in favour of a measure which was not one the Irish people were in favour of? These were the circumstances under which this Bill now came

before the House; and in these circumstances he should have expected that the Government would have taken it up and saved private Members the trouble of pushing it through. The Chief Secretary, however, had said that he could not do so, although, in answer to the hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. Sullivan), it had been promised that the Government would give every facility for passing the measure into law, and take every means of ensuring that it should not be rejected, as on former occasions, simply by a system of pure obstruction and delay. He would appeal to the right hon. Baronet to repeat, even more strongly, that statement; because if the Government made it clear that they were determined that the Bill should pass this Session—trying, of course, if they wished, to amend it—it would not be defeated by such tactics again, and they would thus save a great deal of trouble and valuable time both to the promoters and to themselves. He appealed to his hon. Friends who opposed the measure to allow the Bill to go into Committee, and then they could move any Amendments they might think proper, and if their demands were reasonable the promoters of the Bill would give them every consideration. He was glad that the present opposition to the Bill did not arise from an Irish Member, and that the true opponents of the Bill were showing their colours, and that the hon. Member for Guildford had been selected as their champion. He was not a fanatical supporter of the measure—he was not, and never had been, what was known as a strict Sabbatarian, and he was not opposed to innocent amusement on Sunday; but it had always seemed anomalous to him that the museums and other places of innocent amusement on the Sunday should be shut, and that the only places licensed by the law to be open should be those which ministered to the intemperance of the people. He did not like Government interference in private affairs, nor did he believe in making people sober by Act of Parliament; but he asked that a source of temptation should be taken out of the people's way, and he asked it because he believed the people themselves wished it to be removed. If he did not believe that the majority of his countrymen were in favour of the Bill he would not promote it in the House. Moreover, he believed

the Bill would be inoperative if the people, as a body, were opposed to it. The hon. Gentleman who was about to move the rejection of the Bill, and who did not usually manifest much interest in Irish affairs (Mr. Onslow), had given Notice that he should move it should be read a second time this day six months. Now, if the hon. Gentleman would take the trouble to look at the almanac he would find this day six months would be a Sunday, and he, therefore, presumed that the hon. Member's wish was not only to keep the public-houses, but the House of Commons open on that day. The hon. Member concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The O'Conor Don*.)

MR. ONSLOW said, that he had intended to move the rejection of the Bill by a Motion that it be read that day six months; and, in reference to that point, would inform the hon. Member opposite (the O'Conor Don), that, in giving Notice of the Motion, he had not had an opportunity of seeing the almanac. He did not propose to divide the House on that occasion, because many of his Friends who intended opposing the Bill were not present, as no one could have anticipated that the second reading would be reached at that early hour. He would, therefore, reserve his remarks on it until the next stage—that of going into Committee on the Bill. He was informed that there was an immense number of Petitions which would be presented against the measure, and which would have been laid on the Table before, had the Irish people had any idea that it would have been taken up at this early period of the Session. He regretted that the Government had given way, and had promised to help the Bill in every way that was possible, and thought they made a mistake last year in acting as they did on the subject. As an English Member he opposed the Bill, believing as he did that the question involved was not so much one in reference to the closing of public-houses in Ireland as one of a much larger kind. For his part, he could not but regard the measure as being merely the forerunner of a similar attempt with regard to England; and, therefore, he should do his best to oppose the passing of the Bill during the present Session.

*The O'Conor Don*

Any action he took in the matter was taken on his own responsibility, and not from any communication with Irish or English publicans. He sincerely trusted that on another occasion the Government would not hold out inducements to the promoters of the Bill to bring it again before the House.

MR. SHAW said, he could not but hope that the suggestion just made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) would be acted upon, and that the House would not divide at the present stage in the progress of the Bill, postponing any opposition to the time when it should be in Committee. He had on all occasions by his vote opposed the Bill, and he should continue to do so; because he believed, in opposition to the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Conor Don), that the people of Ireland were opposed to it. He had a pamphlet flourished before him, and it looked very formidable; but they could get up anything, he believed, with money, especially if they had plenty of brass. Of course no one would stand in that House to say a word against the clergy who had so numerously signed the Petition to which the hon. Member for Roscommon had referred. He (Mr. Shaw) believed no one could be more interested in their flocks than the clergy of Ireland, but he should be very doubtful about basing legislation on the question on the opinions of clergymen; for they had such an intense idea of the good to be effected by anything they proposed, that they were not the best judges of the good that actually would be effected by it. Let them take the population of London and drive them to Heaven by Act of Parliament, and it would be found to be no Heaven to them. And if they tried to force them into any course for which they were not prepared by Act of Parliament their action would be a failure. Then, again, no one liked to refuse to sign documents which, on the surface, sought to accomplish something that was good, and it seemed like doing good to the poor working classes to close the public-houses on Sunday. He was certain that the same class of people would sign a Petition for closing public-houses during half the week. Now, he believed in resting on the Sabbath, in the physical and moral benefits derived from its institution; but the Sabbath was made for man, and

not man for the Sabbath, and if they pushed views to the extreme they would only increase the difficulties, both social and moral, which were involved in the question of drunkenness. The promoters of this movement in Cork were, he knew, very good men, and they had shown their interest in the working classes by setting up coffee-houses for them which were of the greatest benefit, but they took care to close these houses on Sunday. If this movement was not of a Sabbatarian character surely they would have kept them open, seeing that they might be expected to act as formidable rivals to the public-houses. But Sabbatarianism in its most intense and objectionable form was at the bottom of this movement. They had been told a great deal about Boards of Guardians having petitioned in favour of the measure. He was a Guardian of two or three Unions, and he could say that the business of those Unions was always conducted by two or three gentlemen, and he never knew a case in which there was a discussion under notice on the question. Was the expression of opinion thus formed enough to enable the promoters of the measure to say—"We have the whole population of the country with us." But it was said that they had 75 Members of Parliament. He wanted to know how many of those hon. Members had made this question a prominent one or challenged public opinion directly upon it at the last Election. How many of them would do so at the next General Election, so as to ascertain clearly what was the opinion of the large majority? Would it not be desirable to postpone the question until the opinions of the constituents had been thus challenged? and if then by a large majority Members were returned favourable to it, he would say they might pass the Bill. He asked one of the promoters of the Bill if he would not give the people an opportunity of choosing whether or not they would adopt the Act for their own districts. The answer was an emphatic No. He asked another if he would permit the houses being opened during certain hours for the sale of the dinner porter for the working men, but he replied certainly not. He might say that porter was pre-eminently the drink of the working-men of the South of Ireland, and, as they all knew, if drawn from the cask on Saturday, it would not keep fresh for

consumption on Sunday. The effect, therefore, of the present measure would be to increase whiskey drinking very much in place of the much less stimulating drink which was now to a very great extent used. He himself was as desirous as any man could be to raise the working man, but he would accomplish that object by increasing his moral respect. He was a very large employer of labour, and he was prepared to go as far as most people to stop drinking; but he believed nothing would effect that object, but an appeal to the intelligence, the reason, and that moral self-respect which he was glad to notice was surely increasing in Ireland. He hoped that on the question that the Speaker leave the Chair this question would be fully considered. He believed that up to the present time public opinion had not expressed itself on this question, and that it was just now beginning to do so. The subject was only beginning to be understood. He had been in conversation with a very worthy clergyman in Cork, who had a large working class congregation, who expressed to him his dislike to the measure, and a large meeting of the working-men recently held in that city had pronounced strongly against it. He believed the intelligent thought of the country was in favour of lessening the temptation to drink, but that they were not favourable to that unreasonable interference with the liberty of the working man which this Bill would effect if passed.

Mr. WHEELHOUSE said, that he should not have intervened in this debate, if he thought it was wholly an Irish question. He was bound to state that he, for one, did not believe in what had been termed the increasing drunkenness of the Irish people, nor did he believe in class legislation, whether in this country or elsewhere. If there was to be, as they were told there might be, equal laws both for England and Ireland, he should by all means prefer to try that principle in this case. If they wanted it, let a Bill of this character be brought in for England also; or, at any rate, one that would deal with England and Ireland alike, and they would see what became of their intended legislation then. It was, however, alleged that there were special reasons why this particular measure should be applied to Ireland alone rather than to this country; but he apprehended that there never

was and never could be a greater fallacy than this argument. They were further told that a memorial, largely signed, had been placed in the hands of the hon. Member opposite (the O'Connor Don); but he (Mr. Wheelhouse) desired to be told whether there was a single individual who had signed that memorial who would be affected in the slightest degree by this Bill? It was not of the slightest use to tell him what any of the upper ten thousand or the upper twenty thousand might think about this measure; for what he wanted to know was, what were the wishes and feelings of those who would be affected by it individually? He was told that the under classes of the Irish people, who had no cellars of wine, beer, or spirits of their own, were willing that the House should legislate for them; but if this sort of legislation was to be carried into practice, where was it to stop? for he could not see any ground or reason why the largest class of people in Ireland should be treated in this way. They were told that the object of this measure was to ensure greater sobriety in Ireland; but why were sober people to be deprived of what might be alike necessary and reasonable, because some of their neighbours indulged in excess. He was strongly of opinion that they ought not to punish those who were sober because a limited number of the community broke the law which, he would remind the House, was considered to be a social regulation only by the under classes themselves. It came, then, practically to this—that there was to be one law for the rich and another for the poor. They must all know perfectly well that all the Bishops in Ireland, of whatever creed they might be, could get their drink when and how they chose. They must all feel that members of Town Councils and Boards of Guardians could go when they liked to their own wine-cellars. But what was the poor man to do? He had no wine or beer-cellar to go to, and this measure was therefore an attempt at class legislation in its worst form. He would go further, and say that there was every possible opportunity for the Government of Ireland to repress drunkenness if they desired to do so. Under these circumstances, he had not the slightest doubt as to what ought to be the fate of this Bill; but whether the House intended to read it a second time

or not, he, for one, was utterly opposed to it, for if there was anything in it that was good in principle, the Bill ought to be extended to England also. If there was nothing in its principle, it ought not to be introduced either for Ireland or any other part of the Empire. Opposed as he was to the principle of the Bill, he was not ready to go into the Lobby and vote for the second reading; but if they did go into Committee on the Bill, he still hoped the Bill would be thrown out. He was well aware that there were Bishops of the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches who said they could, if they liked, shut up the public-houses in their dioceses; but that was no reason why the Government should do it for them, and he trusted that they would not do so. Who were the Bishops of Ireland that they should dictate to any class of the community? They knew nothing, comparatively speaking, of the social wants of the classes with which they had little or nothing to do, except so far as the making of a few sacerdotal visits was concerned. If there was anything in the name of right, of justice, of reason, or of common sense, he hoped that they would never in the House of Commons sanction the principle of class legislation, and pass a measure which let the upper ten thousand go free and only affected the under classes. With respect to the memorial of which so much had been said, they all knew how memorials of this kind were got up; for it was a fact that any member of a temperance society could get any number of his fellows to sign it; but, supposing that he got every individual member of his class to sign, it would not in the slightest degree influence his opinion. What did it amount to? There were only about 10,000 or 12,000 names to the memorial, and they could not be said to express in the slightest degree the feelings or opinions of the people of Ireland. What were they, numerically considered, among the 5,000,000 or 6,000,000 of Irish people? Not a bit of it. It might be an expression of the feelings of the higher classes, but that was all. The very fact that the signatures of 1,200 priests were affixed to the memorial showed who were at the bottom of the movement. He could quite understand that the clergy of Ireland wished to keep excessive order, and to endeavour to retain

*Mr. Wheelhouse*

the people who frequented public-houses in their churches and chapels; but he hoped that the Government would not compulsorily help them in their efforts. In conclusion, he would ask them not to indulge in the fancy that people could be made sober by Act of Parliament. What he wished to impress upon the House was that he, for one, would never, under any circumstances, consent to such a Bill as this. It was said, on the one hand, that they ought to have equal laws for England and Ireland; yet in the same breath they were told it was necessary to pass this Bill, which was simply an attempt at class legislation. Under all the circumstances, he could only say, if there was a division, he, at all events, would go to the Lobby against the Bill, and in Committee he should offer it his most strenuous opposition.

MAJOR O'BEIRNE said, he had found from impartial observation and inquiry that there was a considerable amount of indifference in Ireland upon the question whether the public-houses should be closed or not. In his own county, however, about two-thirds voluntarily closed their houses already. He saw that *The Freeman's Journal*, which was generally accepted as the exponent of public opinion in Ireland, was in favour of the measure; and, if public opinion was strongly against it, there would surely have been a series of letters admitted into the columns of that paper protesting against the Bill. It might be said that this was class legislation; but he desired to point out that when the upper class did get drunk it did not become so serious a question for the public as when the poor man did so; as, in the latter case, the family almost invariably had to be supported by the public. He would feel it his duty to support the Bill.

MR. M. BROOKS rejoiced that, owing to the manner in which the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) had brought forward the measure, the discussion could be continued without that heat which generally accompanied it. The hon. Member said this was a question into which no theological controversy ought to enter, and he expressed himself favourable to the opening of museums on Sundays. He would like to read a paper which he had found in the Library of the House, and which had a strong bearing on the hon. Mem-

ber's views and feelings. On the back of the Sunday Closing Bill he found the names of the O'Connor Don, Mr. Richard Smyth, Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. James Corry, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Dease, Mr. Dickson, and Mr. Redmond. When the question of opening museums was discussed in that House on the Motion of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor), he found the O'Connor Don was absent from the division; Mr. Richard Smyth voted against it; Mr. Charles Lewis voted against it; Mr. James Corry voted against it; Mr. William Johnston voted against it; Mr. Dease was absent; Mr. Dickson was also absent; and Mr. Redmond was absent. With these facts before him, he was, he thought, justified in questioning the assertion that the Sabbatarian question was not involved in this Bill. He had been also led to examine the names which figured in the memorial which was alleged to represent the feelings of the people of Ireland on this subject. There were in Ireland 182 Peers, and of that number only 12 had signed this memorial, and as landlords there were no men in the country more interested in the sobriety and good order of the people, which were said to be the objects of the measure before the House. If it was their opinion that it would secure those objects would they not of all signed the memorial in favour of it? The fact, however, remained that only 12 of those 182 men of influence had thought well to do so. Again, on the magisterial roll in Ireland there were 4,000 justices of the peace, gentlemen who in their magisterial capacity had acquired an intimate knowledge of the wants and the feelings of the people, and who had to deal with whatever offences might arise in the country out of intemperance, and of these only 1,434 could be induced by the strenuous exertions of the advocates of the Bill to sign the memorial in its favour. Again, who could be better judges of the habits of the people than the medical practitioners? And of the 2,578 medical men practising in Ireland not one-half had signed this memorial, whether on social, sanitary, or religious grounds. As regarded Poor Law Guardians and town councillors he had not any figures which would enable him to institute a comparison, inasmuch as many of those who signed as magistrates had their names appended to it as Poor Law

Guardians also. It was just the same as regards the town councillors. In fact, the promoters of the Bill had not scrupled to make exaggerated statements which misled a large number of the clergy. As regarded the clergy of Ireland, irrespective of what might be their denomination, no one entertained a higher opinion than he did, both because of the zeal with which they performed their sacred functions, and of their sympathy for the people in their privations, their sufferings, and their wants. And, speaking of the Roman Catholic clergy of Dublin, he could most emphatically state that they were not in favour of this Bill. He had spoken to many of them on the subject, and while they stated how desirous they were to repress intemperance, they added that they feared the effect of the Bill would increase it, as it would drive the people who desired refreshment into the unlicensed houses in order to obtain it, and lead to a general system of law-breaking, so that evil would greatly preponderate over any little good which might be obtained from it. No man had a better knowledge of the habits and feelings of the working men of the City of Dublin, which he had the honour to represent, and that knowledge entitled him to say that this Bill, if passed into law, would give rise to great dissatisfaction and demoralization. He had that day presented 99 Petitions against the Bill signed by 67,000 of these working men. He therefore felt justified in saying that the opinion of those 67,000 people, whose convenience was sought to be interfered with by the Bill, not only counterpoised but far outweighed the opinion of those whose ease and comforts were not assailed by the measure, and who were in no way practically interested in it except by mistaken sympathy and kindly interest. He complained that the supporters of the Bill had by the course they had that day taken stolen a march upon its opponents; but he hoped that before they were asked to go into Committee upon it sufficient time would be given to understand the public opinion of the country, which was now in a condition to inform the House that the Bill was not in accordance with the views and feelings of the Irish people, or conducive to their best interests.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS said, that as the second reading of the Bill would be

taken without a division, he should occupy the time of the House for only a few minutes. The opponents of the measure stated that the opinions of the clergy who were in favour of the Bill were not a test that the people wished it to be passed into law; but he contended that the 10,000 persons, representatives of all classes in Ireland, who had signed the memorial showed what the public opinion of that country was. If those persons did not represent that opinion, where were they to find it? Was it to be found at public meetings? Why, within the last three months, nearly 70 meetings, perfectly free and open, and called at a time when the people could attend them, had been held on the subject in different parts of the country, and at all of them resolutions had been passed in favour of the Bill. He contrasted those meetings with the ticket meetings held in Dublin and at Cork, and that, too, at hours when the working people could not attend them. A meeting convened in Limerick in opposition to the Bill had actually passed a resolution in its favour. It was said that before passing the measure we ought to wait for a General Election. But if we were to wait for a General Election in order to test public opinion on every important measure, very few measures of any importance would be passed at all. What had those constituencies said who had had an opportunity of expressing an opinion? What had been the result of the elections in Waterford, Tipperary, and Cork? Supporters of the Bill had been returned in every instance; and in Clare, where a gentleman from the other side of the world had been elected, his friends had to give a pledge that he would vote for the Bill. Then there was the hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), who, whatever else he might do, would hardly be found voting against the measure. Thus there were Petitions, elections, public meetings, house-to-house canvass, all expressing the opinion of the Irish people on this subject, and yet some hon. Members said that this was no test. These, however, were the usual Constitutional means of ascertaining what public opinion was, and if they were to be set aside what other modes of learning it could they resort to? He had himself attended meetings at Lisburn and Enniskillen which were attended by

*Mr. M. Brooks*

large numbers of the people, and at both resolutions were unanimously adopted in favour of the Bill. He did not see any inconsistency in voting against the opening of museums on Sunday and his advocacy of this Bill. The Bill could not pass for two or three months, and he challenged its opponents to protract their agitation, when they would find that the people were against them. It was not an aristocratic movement, as it had been said, in favour of the Bill, but a working-class movement. He asked the Legislature to alter the present state of things in Ireland by removing temptation from the people, and pass an Act that would effect a great social benefit.

MR. COLLINS said, he did not intend to oppose the second reading, because there was a general consensus of opinion that some legislation was necessary. He was willing to believe that Sunday-closing advocates meant well—that they had the well-being of the people of Ireland at heart; still he must express his opinion to be that they were mistaken as to the feelings of the great majority of the people of Ireland on this subject. The hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) had asked the House how it was to ascertain the state of public feeling if they did not accept Petitions and the resolutions adopted at public meetings as tests of it? His answer to that question was that their own common sense and a moderate study of the Irish character ought to be sufficient to convince them that the Irish people were not likely to come as suppliants to the House of Commons, asking it to place them in restraint and protect them from themselves. He wished now to observe upon the discordant opinions entertained by the promoters of this Bill. In one voice they asked the House to extend to the Irish people certain political privileges, and the very next moment they told the House that those very men whom they proposed to entrust with an extension of the electoral and municipal franchise were incapable of putting any restraint upon themselves, and that, too, in a matter which concerned their own interests. He saw in the Bill a certain amount of intolerance, and he was afraid that a remnant of that intolerance would control its supporters when they came to consider it in Committee. He hoped, however, that they would meet himself

and his Friends half-way when the Bill was in Committee, so as to make it a good Bill and one that would satisfy the people. It was a great mistake to propose to exclude five large towns in Ireland from the operation of the measure. If the promoters of this Bill persevered in their intention they would do a great amount of mischief, occupy needlessly the time of the House, and, with all, their efforts would fail, because there would be a persistent attempt on the part of those who opposed their views to prevent their carrying out their special objects. There were a great many small towns in Ireland—such as seaport towns, large fishing stations, and other places of that description—the inhabitants of which would feel it a great hardship and inconvenience to be subjected to the operations of this Bill. He could not understand why, if these exemptions were good, and would operate beneficially in the larger towns, the advocates of the Bill or the Government should commit themselves to such a limitation, which, in his conscience, he believed would be most dangerous and improper. There were many urban districts in Ireland that might suffer many hardships by a limitation of that kind. Before sitting down he would make an appeal to the Government. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had shown so much impartiality, and had given the subject such an amount of patient attention and consideration for the purpose of fully ascertaining what was the real opinion of the people of Ireland on this subject, that he would entreat of him not to be too yielding to the advocates of the measure, but to meet them, at the same time, in a spirit of conciliation. He begged of the right hon. Gentleman to consider patiently the circumstances of the various other districts of Ireland which were likely to be materially affected by the operations of this Bill. If he would listen to the advice that might be tendered regarding those districts, he would find that many of them would be seriously injured if they were included in the scope of the Bill. He hoped those who advocated the measure would continue in the moderate and temperate line of policy which they had adopted that evening; and he believed he was justified in saying that those who opposed the Bill would hold out to them the right hand of



friendship and be willing to meet them half-way.

DR. WARD said, that as far as he could make out, the principal objections to this measure were the ill effects it would have upon the people; but, as the Representative of a town in which the system of Sunday closing had been tried for some time, he thought he could offer valuable evidence in the opposite direction. Nearly three years ago the publicans of Galway, acting on the representations of persons interested in the Sunday closing movement, decided upon closing their houses on Sundays. Last year he presented to that House a Petition signed by four-fifths of the publicans of Galway, who, having kept their houses closed on Sundays for two years, asked the House to keep them closed. That, he thought, was a very good proof of the feeling on the matter. The working men had made no complaint of the closing, and within the last three months held a large meeting, at which he was present, and they unanimously passed resolutions in favour of the Bill. They were told that if they closed public-houses the people would resort to she-beens, and that drunkenness would increase; but he believed the Chief Secretary had in his possession a Report from the resident magistrate at Galway, that since this custom had been adopted in Galway, the number of people brought up for drunkenness at the petty sessions on Mondays had decreased enormously. He thought that evidence such as that completely disposed of the objections to the Bill, and was of far greater value than the theoretical objections urged on the other side.

MR. O'SULLIVAN said, he thought he should not properly discharge his duty if he did not oppose this Bill at every stage. He was satisfied that the majority of the people of the South of Ireland were opposed to Sunday closing. At the same time, he would not vote against the second reading of the measure, as he was anxious to see what Amendments Her Majesty's Government intended to suggest. He admitted that many of the Irish Representatives were in favour of Sunday closing; but the reason was that the influence of the wealthier classes had been brought to bear upon them. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Roscommon (the O'Conor Don) had said that any evi-

dence the opponents of the Bill wished to bring before the Committee was received; but that was not the fact, for the working classes were denied the opportunity of giving evidence. The hon. Member had referred to the first meeting on the subject held in Limerick; but he forgot to tell the House that the mayor refused to hold the meeting in the evening and fixed 12 o'clock in the day, when he knew the working classes would not be able to attend. A second meeting was called, and was held at 7 o'clock in the evening. It was largely attended by the working classes and the tradesmen, and at that meeting a resolution against the Bill was carried unanimously. The hon. Member, who had forgotten that, had also told them that there were several meetings held in the South of Ireland in favour of the Bill; but he (Mr. O'Sullivan) challenged him or any of the supporters of the Bill to show where in the South of Ireland a unanimous meeting was held in its favour. It was a fact that, in addition to the large public meetings held in Dublin, Limerick, and Belfast, there were also public meetings held against the Bill in Killarney, Tralee, Newcastle West, and other places, at which resolutions were unanimously passed against the Bill. The hon. Member for Roscommon had spoken about the number of Irish Members who were in favour of the Bill. There was a large number in favour of it; but influence had been brought to bear upon them by the wealthy classes, and they had not the ear of the working classes and tradesmen who would be affected by the Bill. He denied the hon. Member's statement that tickets for the Dublin meeting were only to be had at public-houses. He believed that none of them were so obtained. Out of the 70 meetings held in Ireland in favour of the Bill 60 must have taken place in the Sabbatarian part of Ireland, and its supporters had in one case defeated their opponents by burning cayenne pepper in the room where a meeting was held. It was well-known that the Sabbatarians were the backbone of this Bill. Adverting to the adoption of the Forbes Mackenzie Act in Scotland, the hon. Gentleman pointed out that in a country where the people professed neither to drink nor to whistle on the Sunday drunkenness had been more steadily on the increase

*Mr. Collins*

than in any other part of Her Majesty's Dominions. With regard to the Committee which sat last year, some of the hon. Gentlemen composing it expressed surprise that the people were not satisfied with its constitution. How could they be satisfied when it was found that out of the 18 Members who composed it the Sabbatarians from the North of Ireland had more than one-third of that number? It included the hon. and gallant Member for Fermanagh (Colonel Cole), the hon. Member for Belfast (Mr. W. Johnston), and the noble Lord the Member for Donegal (the Marquess of Hamilton); and Londonderry, the hotbed of this agitation, was not satisfied with her city Member, but wanted both the Members for the county of Londonderry, or just as many as there were for all Munster. How, therefore, could the people of Ireland be satisfied with that Committee? He found by a Return presented to that House last Session that drunkenness was alarmingly on the increase in Scotland. The number of persons apprehended for drunkenness in Edinburgh had increased from 5,106 in 1870 to 6,825 in 1873. One of his chief reasons for opposing this Bill was that he believed it would tend to demoralize the working classes of his country. It would drive the people to shebeen-houses, or they would carry drink home with them, and they would be obliged to do by stealth that which they could not do openly. Great stress had been laid upon the number of Members in favour of the Bill. He found that the total number of electors in Ireland was 227,000. There were 22 Members opposed to the Bill, representing 67,800 electors, or nearly one-third of the whole. Taking one-third more as neutral on this question, it would then be found that the 75 Members who were in favour of the Bill did not represent more than one-third of the whole electors of Ireland. But this was not so much a question for the electors as for the non-electors. He would read a few remarks of a gentleman who was formerly a Member of that House, and which were written to him after the debate on this Bill last year. Mr. Stephen De Vere said—

"I have read with much pleasure your speech in the House of Commons on the Sunday Closing Bill. I felt the more interested in it as the statistics you quoted show the working of the pro-

posed law in my own county. Upon entering the Board-room of a large Union lately, I found the Board about to adopt the Petition in favour of Mr. Smyth's Bill unanimously. I opposed it, using almost verbatim the reasons you have so well put forward, and the result was that the Petition was immediately rejected."

A short time ago he was in the Board-room at Kilmallock Union, when a Petition was brought forward by a gentleman who strongly advocated Sunday closing. Out of 60 members only four were present, and as he happened to be one of them, and as there was another gentleman who opposed the measure, the gentleman who advocated Sunday closing proposed the question should be adjourned for a fortnight, as it was no use to vote two and two; but at that moment another Guardian who was in favour of the Petition came in, and the subject was immediately brought forward and carried by a majority of one. In his letter Mr. De Vere went on to say—

"The statistics to show a preponderance of opinion in favour of the Bill are incomplete and illusory. The Petitions are no doubt signed by those who have cellars and cupboards of their own, but they do not express the feelings of the great mass who will be effected by the Bill. As a magistrate of very long standing—nearly since the commencement of the reign—I can safely say that there is not, in my opinion, more drunkenness on Sundays than on any other day. The measure is false in principle, because it proposes to abridge liberty without adequate cause, and because it proposes to abridge the liberty of the many to prevent its abuse by the few. It is fallacious, because it will not only increase drinking, but will make that drinking of a worse sort—will transfer it from licensed to unlicensed houses, and from the bar to the family. It has the two worst faults that any social enactment can labour under—it is tyrannical, and it is ineffectual."

That was the opinion of a gentleman who sat in that House as Member for the county of Limerick for nearly 20 years, and they could not have stronger evidence against the Bill. He believed that if the whole of Ireland was polled, at least two-thirds would be against the principle of the measure.

MR. MELDON said, he had no desire to protract the discussion on this stage of the Bill, when its principle appeared on all hands to be approved and confirmed; but he wished to correct certain statements which had been put forward by the hon. Member for Dublin City (Mr. Brooks), and the Representative of Limerick County (Mr. O'Sullivan). The great bulk of the Roman Catholic priests

of Ireland were in favour of the Bill. During his constant intercourse with that body he had never met but one Catholic clergyman who was opposed to the principle of the measure. The Catholic Archbishop and the Vicar-General strongly approved of the Bill in all its details, and not a single clergyman had signed a Petition against its becoming law. Out of 2,500 parochial clergy, 1,224 signed the memorial, without including those who had affixed their signatures to Petitions in favour of the Bill. This simple statement of facts repudiated the insinuation that the Catholic clergy of Dublin were opposed to the passing of this measure. Then with reference to the meeting of the working men in Dublin about which they had heard so much as a strong demonstration against the closing of public-houses on Sunday, it was within his own knowledge that that meeting had been called by the publicans, and was organized by the publicans, and was organized by the secretary of the Dublin Licensed Vintners. There could not be a greater slander than to assert that the working classes of Ireland were opposed to this Bill. Every tittle of evidence that he had seen showed that they strongly supported it. Out of the 26 Roman Catholic Bishops in Ireland, no less than 21 of them had come forward to sustain the movement, which had been originated in Cashel, where from the time that it was started nothing but good results had accrued. The question of closing public-houses in certain towns was not at present raised by the principle of the Bill. Whatever arguments could be raised on that point would be willingly listened to at the proper time by the supporters of the Bill, as they would endeavour to meet the wishes of the majority of the Irish people whether there should be total or partial closing in those particular localities. It was stated last Session by those who opposed the Bill that if time were given for the full consideration and discussion of its provisions a re-action would set in against the proposal, but none such had taken place. Out of the seven elections which had recently taken place the Sunday closing movement had been made a test-question, and at six of them the successful candidate had declared himself in favour of the principle of the Bill they were then asked to read a second time.

*Mr. Meldon*

The hon. Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell) had not given any pledge; but it would astonish him much if he recorded his vote with the opponents of the measure.

MR. M'CARTHY DOWNING considered that on both sides of this question there had been great exaggeration of opinion and argument. The Chief Secretary for Ireland had expressed himself in favour of the Bill if five large towns which he named were exempted from its operation. Now, he (Mr. Downing) considered that if the Bill were at all necessary, it should be applied to large as well as small towns; because, if they exempted large and populous cities, they would exempt those particular localities where drunkenness most prevailed and crime existed; and if they applied the Bill to rural districts, they would apply it to places where the evidence showed it was not so necessary. For his own part he should like to see legislation on this subject of a tentative character. Let them begin by trying how the plan would work of having the houses open from 2 to 4 or 5 o'clock, and diminishing the hours of liquor traffic on Sunday afternoons. It was a fallacy to say that drunkenness prevailed in Ireland on Sundays. The evidence taken by the Committee last year showed that, so far from its having increased, it had decreased. The number of convictions had increased since 1874, because by the Act passed in that year a record would be made of a case of drunkenness unattended with violence or disorder, which before would have been dismissed by the magistrate before whom the party was brought. If the right hon. Gentleman wanted to pass a Bill that would be acceptable to the Irish people, he must limit the hours of drinking on Sunday to two, and also shorten the hours on Saturday night.

MR. REDMOND thought that the cause could not be a very sound one which had to resort to the argument that the Bill ought to be rejected because the Members whose names were on its back were Sabbatarians. He had no doubt they were all of them in that House more or less Sabbatarian; but no doubt the name was given to persons who believed it to be wrong to indulge in any recreation or employment on the Sunday. For himself, he had always disclaimed such a belief, and at every meeting on

the subject he had attended he had invariably urged that rational opportunities of recreation should be provided for the people on Sunday. He fully intended voting for the Motion of the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. P. A. Taylor), but was accidentally absent when it came on. He thought the present position of the question had been fairly described by the hon. Member who had given Notice of an Amendment (Mr. Onslow) who said that it would cause a great deal of clamour in Ireland, which might be extended to England. Whether it would be extended to England or not he did not know; but he protested against that consideration having any weight in relation to Ireland itself. The change of opinion in Ireland they had been taught to look forward to had not been pronounced. He expressed himself very much surprised at the argument of the hon. Member for Cork County (Mr. Shaw) that the Catholic clergy of Ireland, who supported the Bill, were bad judges of the wants of the people. No Irish Member would join in that opinion, and the truth was that no men could be better judges. He hoped the Bill would be allowed to pass its second reading, and that all objections to it would be considered in Committee.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSEY said, he had received a communication from the president of trades in Limerick stating that resolutions had been passed against the Bill.

MR. SULLIVAN remarked that the president referred to was a publican. The clergy of Ireland were undoubtedly in favour of Sunday closing.

MAJOR O'GORMAN said, he desired, with the permission of the House, before he said the few words he had risen to give utterance to, to make a personal explanation. It had been reported to him by several Members of that House that a great deal of offence had been taken by hon. Members in consequence of words he made use of at a recent meeting of the Board of Guardians of the Waterford Union. He must say that those words had been tolerably correctly reported, and he deeply regretted having made use of them. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman and that House that those words were made use of under the greatest possible provocation; but he did not bring forward that provocation as a palliation of the

words themselves. He most unreservedly begged to apologize to every Member of the House, and to every Englishman whose susceptibilities he might have wounded, and to throw himself on their good will. He begged that the House would receive that apology. With respect to the question before the House, he had a few words to say. He had for four years resisted this Bill, and he appeared there to resist it again that night. He had simply to say that if the Bill passed there could be no doubt whatever that three great mischiefs would be established in Ireland, and he warned the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland with regard to them. The right hon. Gentleman had already expressed himself as favourable to the settlement of the question at this time. He (Major O'Gorman) thought the time was not ripe for its settlement; and if it was settled now in favour of the Sunday closers, he warned the right hon. Gentleman that it would be the ruin of families from one end of Ireland to the other; it would be the parent of illicit distillation, and of very many riots throughout the country. He thanked the House extremely for hearing him.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and committed for Wednesday.

#### HOUSE OCCUPIERS DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL.—[BILL 45.]

(*Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Sir Charles Russell, Sir Charles Legard, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Ryder.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, the object of the measure was a very simple one—namely, to enable the voters, especially of towns, to let their houses for a short period without being struck off the electoral register. At present, if a house was let as a furnished house to any person, even for a day, the original occupier of it was disqualified. That led to a great deal of trouble in registration, especially in watering places, where persons were in the habit of adding to their income by letting their houses for a short period. In the borough which he represented (Christchurch) the voters of both parties

were put to considerable inconvenience by that state of the law, and if this measure were passed it would give great relief to constituencies of that character. If a lodging-house keeper lived in a garret and let the rest of his house he kept his vote; while anyone who let his whole house, even for a short period, was disqualified. Two years ago, for instance, a gallant Admiral belonging to the Liberal Party living at Bournemouth had lent his house to another gallant Admiral, and had been put to great expense to come up and defend his vote. In Scotland the agents made an agreement on both sides not to raise this objection; and it was desired to extend the Bill to Scotland. He hoped that the House would, at any rate, after so many years' attempt on his part to pass it, agree to the second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir H. Drummond Wolff*.)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the hon. Member for Stockton (Mr. Dodds), whose name was down for opposing the second reading, was not present, and that he did not himself intend to oppose the Bill at this stage; but must reserve his right with regard to going into Committee. The chief objections which had been urged by himself and others against the measure were not directed against its principle; what he and others had argued from that side was that there were many other hardships of a similar kind which ought to be dealt with, and that, therefore, the measure ought to be more comprehensive. However, it was so unmistakably the opinion of the House that this particular hardship should be dealt with separately, that he should not oppose the second reading.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, his only objection to the statement of the hon. Gentleman in charge of this Bill was that the measure did not apply to Scotland, where there was a strong feeling as to the necessity for the proposed change. He wished that the operation of the Bill could be extended to that country. It was very much the practice in Scotland for people at the seaside to go to the Highlands for a few weeks, letting their houses, and for people in the Highlands to come to the seaside—there was a sort of temporary exchange

of houses, and it was very hard that the suffrage should be lost.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF explained that the reason why the Bill was confined to England and Wales was that it sought to remove an anomaly under the 33rd Section of the Representation of People Act, which was confined to England alone. He believed the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) intended to introduce a measure dealing with Scotland.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

#### MERCHANT SEAMEN BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

*Considered in Committee.*

(In the Committee.)

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY, in moving, in a Committee of the Whole House, for leave to bring in a Bill to Amend the Law relating to Merchant Seamen, said, this Bill had for its object to redeem pledges that were given by the Government last year that they would, as soon as possible, attempt to deal with seamen in two directions. They wished, in the first place, to introduce seamen, as far as possible, into the provisions of the Acts which were passed in the year 1875—namely, the Employers and Workmen Act, and the Conspiracy and Protection of Property Act; and, secondly, to consolidate and revise the laws relating to the discipline of seamen. The principle of the two Acts of 1875 was that the relations between workmen and their employers should be one of contract, and that breach of contract should not be treated criminally. The Conspiracy Act repealed several Acts which made breach of contract criminal. It also relaxed, to a great extent, the law of indictable combinations; but it left the breach of contract between employers and workmen to be dealt with criminally where the offences were malicious, or wilfully and knowingly such as to endanger life. The Employers and Workmen Act brought disputes between the employers and workmen under the jurisdiction of the County Courts, giving these Courts better powers both for adjusting such disputes and of rescinding contracts or

*Sir H. Drummond Wolff*

of enforcing their performance. In both these Acts seamen were specially excepted. The present Bill proposed to deal with that exception. Merely to repeal the exception would leave seamen under the special discipline law of seamen; but this Bill proposed to place them altogether under the operation of these Acts until they joined the ship and began work. In fact, the Bill would place seamen until they were on actual sea service in the same position as ordinary workmen under the operation of these two Acts. It would abolish arrest without warrant up to that period under any circumstances. With regard to the second point with which the Bill proposed to deal—namely, the subject of seamen's discipline, it must be manifest upon the slightest reflection to everybody that the relation between the master of the ship and his crew after the voyage was begun could not be that between ordinary employers and workmen. It must be the relation of military discipline. The master of a ship on a voyage was responsible for the ship, the cargo, and the lives of all on board. If an officer in command of troops, upon his troops refusing to obey him, was obliged to get a writ of summons for the appearance of his men before the nearest Civil Court on a charge of breach of contract, one could easily see how little possibility there would be of commanding troops upon such terms. Precisely in the same way the master of a ship, who had the whole responsibility for the lives of those on board, must have arbitrary authority to deal with any cases of emergency on a voyage. He must have the widest discretion. The exercise of his power was necessarily unlimited, except in so far as he was restrained by the liability to an action being brought against him for using it in an unjustifiable manner. The master of a ship on its voyage must have unlimited authority, and that was really no more than was absolutely necessary for the safety of the lives and property entrusted to him. He believed, indeed, that so far from being relaxed, the present regulations of discipline at sea ought in some respects to be made more stringent; and the object of the Bill was to consolidate and amend the laws of discipline relating to seamen. The Royal Commission on Unseaworthy Ships, two or three years ago, reported that the

evidence brought before them clearly showed that the masters of ships in the merchant service of this country actually had not sufficient control over their crews for the safety of those under their charge, and that sailors could be guilty with impunity of the grossest dereliction of duty, directly tending to the loss of life. On this point the Bill proposed to amend and consolidate the law. He thought it necessary, so far, also, to maintain the power of arrest without warrant, otherwise a ship having put into a port of call, or by distress, might lose half her crew by men with advance notes in their pockets taking the opportunity to desert, repeat their fraud, and compel the ship to proceed on her voyage without a sufficient crew. The Bill, however, proposed to give a power of rescinding the contract between master and seamen after the voyage began, the same as the Employers and Workmen Act conferred upon master and man on shore. In considering this subject, it was necessary to bear in mind that the relation between masters and men in the merchant service was altogether one of special legislation, regulation, and protection, as well as of special discipline. The seaman's own safety, health, provisions, wages, discharge, care abroad, and the very process of his contract, were all subjects of legal enactment, and there was nothing more special in the terms of the discipline under which he served. Such an artificial scheme of legislative protection had been considered by Parliament necessary by the special nature of his employment. The Bill was in strict accordance with maritime law and with the usages of maritime nations. Penalties for absconding with advanced wages, and for the breaching of cargo, were added in the Bill to the existing law. The latter of these offences had become of late specially dangerous to the safety of the ship and the lives of the crew. There was also a clause of great importance relating to the payment of wages, dealing with the time they become due, which was at present a matter of some uncertainty, and with the mode of paying, enabling the discharged seaman to get home as quickly as possible, and not hang about the scenes of temptation at his port of discharge. By Clause 26 the Bill proposed to strengthen the law with respect

to crimping. The clause was introduced at the suggestion of Mr. Boyer and others, and by making the penalty severe against crimps boarding vessels, not only arriving, but arrived, would, it was hoped, put down an evil which existed to a great extent at most of our ports. The greater part of this Bill was also in the Bill of 1875, and many of the clauses were amply discussed in this House, and passed through Committee, and therefore came with a certain amount of previous sanction already established in their favour. In the Bill of 1876 the discipline clauses were not introduced, as from their experience of the previous Session they thought the rest of the Bill would be sufficient to occupy all the time available. He had, however, now redeemed a promise he made to the House last Session by laying this Bill on the Table at the earliest possible moment of the Session, and he trusted that the House would favourably take it into discussion.

*Moved*, "That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Merchant Seamen."

MR. NORWOOD said, he wished at once to state to the House his conviction that the alterations which the right hon. Gentleman proposed to make in the law affecting merchant seamen were not only of a very important, but of a very serious character. The right hon. Gentleman had proceeded on an assumption, altogether erroneous, that the conditions of the servitude of seamen and of workmen on shore, and following an ordinary occupation on the land, were similar. Instead of the conditions of servitude of seamen and of workmen upon land being similar, any intelligent man must at once feel that the relations between the two services were anything but parallel. The right hon. Gentleman said the Bill would abolish the right of arrest and criminal prosecution of a seaman evading an agreement solemnly entered into with the master of a ship at the shipping office, to attend on a certain day and be ready to perform his duties in a particular ship as a sailor. He wished to point out the great hardship there would be in relaxing the conditions that were now enforced in that respect. The shipowner might have a fine vessel ready

to sail on a certain day; he might have a full crew engaged; but at the last moment the ship might be detained by half-a-dozen loafing, idle fellows, standing, perhaps, at the dock-side, who, when the ship was ready to move away, at the instigation of some evil-minded person, instead of performing their duty refused to go on board. Under such circumstances, the ship would be undermanned, and the captain dared not leave the port, and the merchant, passengers, and shipowner interested in the vessel would be exposed to serious loss and inconvenience, without any practical remedy whatever. There was a still further point. Absolute danger of loss of life and valuable property would ensue if the change contemplated by the right hon. Gentleman were carried out. What was the case now? It frequently happened in the port of London that sailors failed to carry out their agreement, and a ship dropped down the river to Gravesend short of hands. The captain was, consequently, compelled to pick up long-shore men where he could, in order to make up the number of the crew—a fact which could not tend to improve the service. At other ports many ships went to sea short of hands, which would have been fully manned if the contracts originally entered into were carried out. And the necessary consequence of relaxing the existing law would be greatly to increase the number of these delinquencies. With regard to the disciplinary clauses of the Bill, he was not aware that a single shipowner had asked for them. On the contrary, when the question was under discussion a couple of years ago, shipowner after shipowner rose and said—"We do not care to have these excessive penal powers over the seamen. In fact, we have too many penal laws at the present moment." He had hoped that the right hon. Gentleman would have spared the House the necessity of re-opening shipping questions. He felt that he had no right to enter into the subject at any length at the present moment; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be prepared to give the House an assurance on a matter of such importance, that he was willing to refer the Bill to a Select Committee. All he (Mr. Norwood) would do now was to content himself by stating that the proposed alterations in the law were of a very serious character indeed, and he

*Sir Charles Adderley*

was afraid they would lead to considerable discussion and opposition. He believed there was no desire on the part of the shipowners to press unduly upon the seamen, and no wish for the enactment of additional penal powers; but he thought there would be a strong opinion that the important distinctions which existed between servitude on land and at sea ought not to be entirely got rid of, and that it was absurd to place the sailor under the same law of contract as was reasonable with landmen.

Mr. GORST said, he did not intend to follow the hon. Member who had just addressed the House from the opposite side into any discussion at this stage of the Bill into the principle of the measure. He thought that most of the points raised by the hon. Member for Hull would be more easily and more usefully discussed when the House went into Committee, and they had the provisions of the measure regularly before them. He merely rose now for the purpose of congratulating the Government upon having at last redeemed their pledges, and placed the Bill before the House. It was not last year that those pledges were given, but the year before last, and it was last year that the House endeavoured to induce the Government to redeem the pledges they had given. But during the whole of last Session, notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear upon the Government, the Bill was not allowed to see the light. He differed from the hon. Member for Hull in the belief that the scope of the measure, so far as he was able to form an opinion upon it from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, was very large. He had understood the pledge of the Government to be that they would extend to seamen the principles of the two Acts relating to labourers on land which were passed in the year 1875. But, so far as he was able to gather from the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, the principles of those Acts were only to be extended to seamen for the shortest possible time—namely, the time between the making of the engagement and the time of joining the ship. Just for that short time seamen were to have the benefit of the principles laid down in the Masters' and Servants' Act. The moment they joined the ship, the principles of that Act would cease to apply to them, and they would come under a special

maritime code. He hoped it was not too late to induce the Government to alter the principles of their Bill in this respect. It seemed to him that it would be a far better fulfilment of the pledges they had given, and would make their Bill a better measure, if they would boldly extend the provisions of the Masters' and Servants' Act altogether to seamen. A great many of the provisions of that Act might be made to apply to seamen when at sea, just as well as when on shore, and especially those relating to contract, and a considerable number of those relating to the treatment and position of apprentices. The question of apprentices, and especially in the fishing trade, was one of the questions which would have to be considered by that House, and it was one which had had a great effect in bringing forward the demand for the measure. Everyone admitted that when a sailor was at sea he must be subject to special maritime rules, and he quite agreed that it was not so much an alteration of the law in regard to discipline that was required as that there should be greater skill and efficiency in putting the law into force. Whatever special regulations might be necessary at sea ought to be embodied in a special code of maritime law applicable to seamen when at sea; and during the time they were on shore, and during the whole time of their engagement, when not actually performing the duties of seamen, they ought to be subject to the operation of the Masters' and Servants' Act. He would not take up the time of the House further, because these were matters which could only be discussed at length when the provisions of the Bill were fairly before them; but he had thought that he could not allow the observations of the hon. Member for Hull to remain unanswered, because he believed the hon. Gentleman was alarming the House unnecessarily. The measure was by no means so large in its extent and scope as the hon. Gentleman supposed it to be, and he (Mr. Gorst) had no doubt that when it came to be printed it would prove to be a very harmless and innocent measure.

Mr. T. E. SMITH remarked that until the House saw the Bill itself, it would be extremely difficult to criticize its details. It might, however, be divided into two parts. The first part



dealt with the question of engagement—the engagement which a man entered into when he signed his contract, and they heard a great deal as to this being a penal contract. It was a simple contract between an employer and a workman, which the latter entered into with his eyes perfectly open. It appeared to him (Mr. Smith) that the tendency of the measure was not so much in the direction of freedom of contract as in the direction of freedom of breach of contract. He saw great force in the remarks of his hon. Friend the Member for Hull upon this matter, and he was afraid that very dangerous and awkward complications might arise hereafter if the Bill was passed as shadowed forth by the President of the Board of Trade. At the same time, he was not prepared to oppose the Bill, because he was aware that there was a feeling in favour of carrying this view considerably further, and he was willing to accept the propositions of the right hon. Gentleman as a compromise. He should, however, ask for one condition—namely, that having given freedom of breach of contract to the sailor, the right hon. Gentleman should give freedom of breach of contract to the employer. If the seaman was to have immunity from the consequences of a breach of contract, they must allow the employer to have full liberty to make his contract as he liked, and he should not be compelled to go before a Government officer to make a contract under Government inspection when the seaman was able to break it subject only to a money penalty. He thought that was a matter in which equal justice should be done to both parties. As to increasing the penalties upon seamen, he would only re-echo the view expressed by the hon. Member for Hull that it was unnecessary. The captains of all good merchant ships could manage their discipline very well when at sea. They did not want increased discipline, or anything that would create or increase a jealous feeling between the employer and the employed, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not persevere with this part of his Bill. There was, however, one thing which he wished strongly to point out to the right hon. Gentleman, and it was this—that the seamen in the United Kingdom—and he had a good many of them among his constituents—were a travelling

*Mr. T. E. Smith*

people, and that many of them were constantly from home. They were a set of people nine-tenths of whom were away from home at any given moment, and therefore it was impossible to obtain any concerted action among them. Under these circumstances, and as he believed there would be a general concurrence of opinion against the propriety of increasing the stringency of the penal laws, he hoped, upon consideration, that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade would admit the importance of acceding to the suggestion of the hon. Member for Hull, that the Bill should be referred to a Select Committee, so that they might afford some opportunity of eliciting the views of seafaring people. If they were only to discuss the details of the measure in a Committee of the Whole House, he was afraid they might run into a course of legislation that might be dangerous, and that might lead to serious consequences. As the seamen had no means of expressing their views in any other way, he was of opinion that the proper course would be to call upon some members of their body to give evidence, so that the House might hear what the real opinion of the sailors was upon the subject. He therefore pressed upon the right hon. Gentleman most earnestly the necessity of referring the Bill to a Select Committee. In the meantime, he would assure the right hon. Gentleman that in the remarks he had made he had not the least wish to oppose the Bill. He thought the law as to breach of contract was fairly drawn at the present moment, and that it gave every satisfaction both to the shipowner and to the seaman. He certainly hoped that the whole matter would be thoroughly investigated by a Select Committee.

Mr. GOURLEY said, he was glad to see the long-promised measure for dealing with the laws affecting the merchant service introduced at last. He saw no reason why the penal laws should be in the slightest degree increased. He had constantly had seamen brought before him on cases of desertion, and he had generally found the existing laws so severe that he had on more than one occasion dismissed the men without any punishment. He was satisfied, therefore, that the provisions of the Bill in this respect would not be satisfactory to the generality of seamen. So far as the

question of discipline was concerned, it was very difficult to suggest how far they could go satisfactorily in the direction of amending the existing law. His own experience and view was that they did not want any increase of discipline. The shipowners had quite enough power over the seamen already, and if the Legislature increased the power, the only result would be that they would increase the barbarous and inhuman treatment of the men. Their legislation ought to be of such a character as to induce the masters of vessels to treat their seamen in a more humane manner. One part of the question which was very important, and which he hoped would be thoroughly dealt with, was that of crimping. He had no doubt that a great many of the desertions, in connection with the merchant shipping, arose from the existence of the crimping system. It was frequently found that the men, after they had signed articles, were taken possession of by the crimps in the seaports, deprived of the money they had received on their discharge, furnished with advance notes, and when they ought to join their ship they were in a state of inebriation and unable to do so. He thought the provisions of the Bill shadowed forth by the right hon. Gentleman on this part of the question might be improved. Until they had the full details of the measure before them it would be impossible to discuss them satisfactorily. So far the right hon. Gentleman had only given them the principles of the Bill without entering into full details of all that he proposed. It was, therefore, quite impossible to criticize the provisions of the Bill as they ought to be criticized; and, under these circumstances, he ventured to support the suggestion, of the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) that the measure, before being proceeded with further, should be referred to a Select Committee.

MR. D. JENKINS said, his experience of the seamen who were in the habit of refraining from joining their ships was that they were generally worthless when they did join. He thought the present penalties were quite sufficient. It might be relied upon that when they found a crew in a state of bad discipline the fault was not entirely on the part of the crew; either the ship was defective or the men were not properly treated. Where a ship was well managed and

well fitted out they seldom found any cases of breach of discipline. He agreed with the opinion already expressed that the Bill ought to be referred to a Select Committee. He thought a great deal of advantage would be obtained from such a reference, and the Bill would be made a much better measure than it could be otherwise.

MR. E. STANHOPE said, he was sure that his right hon. Friend would be satisfied with the discussion which had taken place. At the same time, of course, it was very difficult to discuss a Bill until the measure itself and its provisions were fully before the House. For instance, his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Gorst) would find, when he came to see the Bill, that it did contain a clause for rescinding contracts, which it was hoped would be of use in a matter now much brought before the country—the cases of breach of discipline by fishing lads at Grimsby and at Hull. Although there were clauses which increased some penalties, there were also clauses which reduced certain other penalties. There was a power to inflict forfeiture of wages as an alternative for imprisonment, and a clause to permit the cancellation of entries in the log against a sailor. It was hardly necessary to refer more in detail to these provisions now as hon. Members would see them for themselves when the Bill came before them. The hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) had pointed out that the Bill contained details of a most difficult character. The Government were well aware of that; but they had considered the matter very carefully and were quite prepared to refer the Bill to a Select Committee in order that there might be a close examination of all these details; but, on their part, they thought they were entitled to ask hon. Gentlemen in that case to try and assist them in obtaining a settlement before a Select Committee as soon as possible, in order that the Bill might be proceeded with during the present Session.

#### Motion agreed to.

Resolution reported:—Bill ordered to be brought in by Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY and Mr. EDWARD STANHOPE.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 79.]

## STANDING ORDERS.

Select Committee on Standing Orders *nominated*:—Mr. MOWBRAY, Mr. BRUEN, Sir EDWARD COLEBROOKE, Mr. CUBITT, Mr. FLOYER, Mr. THOMSON HANKEY, Mr. HOWARD, Sir GRAHAM MONTGOMERY, The O'CONOR DON, Mr. RODWELL, and Mr. WHITEHEAD.

## SELECTION.

Committee of Selection *nominated*:—Mr. MOWBRAY, Mr. FLOYER, Mr. THOMSON HANKEY, Sir GRAHAM MONTGOMERY, The O'CONOR DON, and Mr. WHITEHEAD.

## BREACH OF PROMISE OF MARRIAGE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HERSCHELL, Bill to abolish the action of Breach of Promise of Marriage, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HERSCHELL, Mr. RODWELL, and Mr. RYDER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 80.]

## LIBEL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HUTCHINSON, Bill to amend the Law of Libel, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HUTCHINSON, Dr. CAMERON, Mr. COWEN, Mr. PULESTON, Mr. MORLEY, Mr. WADDY, Mr. EDWARD JENKINS, and Colonel GOURLEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 81.]

## LICENSING LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Licensing Laws.

*Resolution reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. STAVELEY HILL, Mr. MUNDILLA, and Mr. HEATH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 82.]

## LANDED ESTATES COURT (IRELAND) LEASES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. FRENCH, Bill to enable Judges in the Landed Estates Court, Ireland, to grant leases to tenants on Estates sold in their Court, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. FRENCH, Mr. SHAW, Mr. O'REILLY, and Mr. RICHARD POWER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 83.]

## POLITICAL PRISONERS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'CONNOR POWER, Bill to make better provision for the treatment of persons convicted under the Treason-Felony Act, and of all persons imprisoned for political offences, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'CONNOR POWER, Sir WILFRID LAWSON, Mr. JOSEPH COWEN, and Mr. O'DONNELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 84.]

## VOLUNTEER CORPS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. O'CLERY, Bill to authorise the enrolment of Volunteer Corps in Ireland, established on the principle and subject to the regulations controlling the various Corps now in existence throughout Great Britain and the Colonies, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. O'CLERY, Major NOLAN, Lord FRANCIS CONYNHAM, and Major O'BERNE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 85.]

House adjourned at Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 22nd January, 1878.*

## QUEEN'S SPEECH—HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE LORD STEWARD (The Earl BEAUCHAMP) *reported* Her Majesty's Answer to the Address as follows:—

MY LORDS,

I HAVE received with much satisfaction your loyal and dutiful Address.

Your assurance that the measures which will be submitted to you will receive your earnest consideration affords Me sincere gratification; and you may rely with confidence on My cordial co-operation in every effort to improve the welfare and security of My People.

## METROPOLIS—HYDE PARK CORNER.

## QUESTION.

EARL FORTESCUE said, that early last Session he called the attention of the House and Her Majesty's Government to the very inconvenient confluence of vehicles at Hyde Park Corner during the London season. At the same time, he suggested a plan by which at a small expense the inconvenience might be obviated to a very considerable extent. The noble Earl at the head of the Government said, in reply, that the Government had under their consideration a plan for effecting the required improvement, and he did not think it advisable that a partial scheme, which at best would only serve for a short time, and the remedial effect of which would be infinitesimally small, should be adopted. Although he (Earl Fortescue) did not intend on the present occasion to suggest any remedy, yet he continued to

think that what he had ventured to propose would have much diminished the inconvenience. Notwithstanding the admirable efforts of the police, the confusion at Hyde Park Corner was such as would be a disgrace to any civilized capital, and especially so to that capital which was the most populous and the richest in the world. He had to repeat the Question he put last year. He wished to know from Her Majesty's Government, Whether there were to be any steps taken to diminish the very inconvenient confluence of vehicles at Hyde Park Corner during the London season; and, if so, when it was proposed to commence the requisite works?

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in reply, said, that he could only repeat the answer given last Session by his noble Friend at the head of the Government. He quite admitted the existence of the evil complained of, and there was in the Office of Works a plan for remedying it; but the cost of the purchase of the property necessary in order to carry out that plan properly would cost so large a sum of money that at the present time Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to recommend Parliament to take any steps in that direction.

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Tuesday, 22nd January, 1878.

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—East India (Public Works), appointed; Public Petitions, appointed and nominated; Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons), appointed and nominated.

PUBLIC BILLS.—Ordered—Criminal Appeals\*. Second Reading—Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis)\* [14]; Parliamentary Franchise (Ireland)\* [77].

## QUESTIONS.

### THE DOG TAX—USELESS DOGS.

#### QUESTION.

SIR GEORGE DOUGLAS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether

he is prepared to propose any means by which the public may be protected from a recurrence of the injuries to person and property to which they have been so much exposed in consequence of the great increase in the number of useless dogs throughout the Country?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, my hon. Friend will understand that I have nothing to do with the protection of the public from injury to property and person, except in so far as it might be connected with the levying of the dog tax. I have no doubt, however, from information I have received, that the dog tax is not of as restrictive a nature as it ought to be; and I am now in communication with the Board of Inland Revenue for the purpose of taking further measures for effecting that object. I hope that those measures may be effective, but I am not at the present moment in a position to give any further details.

### POST OFFICE—THE AMERICAN MAIL SERVICE.—QUESTION.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Postmaster General, Whether it be the fact that on the 26th September 1876, he issued a Circular announcing the abandonment of monopoly in the American Mail Service, that thereafter only monthly arrangements would be entered into, based on efficiency of service, and that the payments would be equivalent to the rates paid by the American Government, viz., 2s. 4d. per pound for letters, and 2d. per pound for newspapers; whether it be the fact that during the Recess the monopoly has been re-established, excluding some of the Companies which had been doing the service at these rates, and paying the favoured Companies 4s. per pound for letters, and 4d. per pound for newspapers, or nearly double the rates recently paid by us, and still paid by the American Government, for a service without monopoly; and, if he will state his reasons for taking what seems to be a retrograde step, how long the new monopoly is to last, and whether the contract is to be laid upon the Table for confirmation by the House?

LORD JOHN MANNERS: Sir, it is a fact that in September 1876 the Circular as mentioned was issued, and that arrangements were made for carrying

letters at the rate of 2s. per lb., and newspapers at the rate of 4d. It is also the fact that since then, during the Recess, a new agreement has been made with the Cunard, Inman, and White Star Lines, that they shall be paid at the rate of 4s. per lb. for letters and 4d. per lb. for newspapers. The alteration was rendered necessary by the owners of the fast vessels declining any longer to provide the service required; and the mails, therefore, had to be sent by the slower vessels or a change made. The arrangement is for 12 months certain, terminable at six months' notice, and therefore there is no contract which must be laid upon the Table for confirmation by the House.

MR. ANDERSON: As the answer is unsatisfactory I give Notice that I shall bring the subject before the House.

#### PARLIAMENT—THE BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—QUESTIONS.

THE O'CONOR DON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he could state whether it was intended that the Motion for Thursday relating to the Business of the House was to take precedence over the other Orders of the Day?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes; I propose to give Notice that the Orders of the Day be postponed until after that matter has been disposed of, in order that it may be brought on with all possible speed.

MR. MOWBRAY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he would add to his Motion for a Committee on the Business of the House, so that it should include his (Mr. Mowbray's) Motion on the 12.30 rule?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, he would communicate with his right hon. Friend, but he did not think it would be advisable.

#### POST OFFICE—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION WITH BELMULLET. QUESTION.

MR. BROWNE asked the Postmaster-General, If there is any prospect of telegraphic communication being extended to Belmullet, county Mayo?

LORD JOHN MANNERS: I beg to inform the hon. Gentleman that negotia-

tions have been opened with a view to provide this communication, but the propositions which have been made have not up to the present been accepted.

#### INDIA—KHELAT—OCCUPATION OF QUETTA.—QUESTION.

MR. O'REILLY asked the Under Secretary of State for India, What troops are stationed at Quetta; what buildings or entrenchments they occupy; whether it is intended to occupy that station permanently; and, if not, when it is proposed to withdraw the force now stationed there?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, according to the last Return, the total number of troops then at Quetta was 1,362; but this includes a special escort of Major Sandeman, which was to have accompanied him on a mission to settle a boundary dispute at the other end of Beloochistan. The mission being postponed for three months, the escort is waiting at Quetta. The troops occupy an old native fort and temporary barracks. In reply to the last two parts of the Question of the hon. Gentleman, I am sure he will excuse me if I refer him to my speech of last Session, in which I stated at some length the reasons for the occupation of Quetta, at the Khan of Khelat's request, by British troops. I have nothing now to add to that statement.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—TERMS OF PEACE—DESPATCH OF EARL OF DERBY, DEC. 25, 1877.—QUESTIONS.

MR. CHILDERS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the Despatch from Lord Derby to Mr. Layard of the 25th December, 1877 (No. 7 of Papers, Turkey, No. 2, 1878), instructing him to bear in mind a communication made by him to the Sultan in July 1877, Whether there will be any objection to lay upon the table Papers on this subject; and, whether, when or soon before Her Majesty's Government thus "sounded" the Porte in July, 1877, as to "possible terms of peace," and promised that their good offices should be exerted to secure for Turkey the most favourable terms possible, any Communication had passed between Her Majesty's Government and the Neutral Powers of Russia as to the possible

*Lord John Manners*

terms of peace on the side of Russia; and, if so, whether the views of the Powers and of Russia at that period will be communicated to Parliament?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, with reference to the first part of the Question of the right hon. Gentleman, I have to state that the substance, and, indeed, the entire effect of the communication to Mr. Layard on the 28th of July, is given in the despatch which he has quoted. It contains, in fact, the whole of what passed, sent by telegraph. With respect to the second part, I have to state that certain communications did pass at the time indicated between Her Majesty's Government and other Powers, but they were of a confidential character, and, therefore, it is not possible to lay them before Parliament.

**MR. CHILDERS:** I do not know whether I should be right in asking whether one of the other Powers was Russia herself?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Yes. I may take this opportunity of referring to a matter to which I desire to call the attention of the House. Yesterday it may be in the recollection of hon. Members that the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) put a Question to me, of which he had not given me previous Notice, with regard to a statement which appeared in the newspapers with reference to a communication said to have been made by Her Majesty to the Emperor of Russia. I was not then prepared to answer such a Question put without Notice, but I will now state to the House exactly what occurred. It was this. Her Majesty, having received from the Sultan a direct personal appeal, sent by the advice of her Ministers the following telegram to the Emperor of Russia:—

"I have received a direct appeal from the Sultan which I cannot leave without an answer. Knowing that you are sincerely desirous of peace, I do not hesitate to communicate this fact to you, in the hope that you may accelerate the negotiations for the conclusion of an armistice which may lead to an honourable peace."

**MR. HANBURY:** I beg to ask the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs a Question—of which I have given him private Notice—Whether the attention of the Foreign Office has been called to the telegrams in the morning papers announcing the advance of a strong Russian force upon Gallipoli, and whether

any confirmation of this news has been received at the Foreign Office.

**MR. BOURKE:** My hon. Friend has been kind enough to send me a copy of the Question which he has just put. We have no authentic information at the Foreign Office that a strong Russian force is advancing on Gallipoli. We have received reports that the Russians are advancing in the direction of Gallipoli; but whether those reports are well founded or not our present information does not enable me to state.

**MR. DILLWYN** asked whether any answer had been received to the telegram sent by Her Majesty to the Emperor of Russia?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** The communication addressed by the Sultan to Her Majesty was a private and personal communication, and similarly the communication with the Emperor of Russia and his reply. I do not think it would be convenient or right that these matters should be brought before the House; but, as Her Majesty's communication to the Emperor of Russia was made by the advice of Her Ministers, and there seems to be some misapprehension as to its precise character, I have received Her Majesty's permission to lay it before the House.

#### METROPOLIS—THE NEW LAW COURTS. QUESTION.

**COLONEL WALKER** (for Mr. Hopwood) asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether the building of the Courts of Justice is progressing satisfactorily, considering the public importance of its early completion; whether any date has been fixed by which it is to be finished; and, whether any indulgence, by extension of time or otherwise, has been granted to the contractor on account of disputes with his men or for any other reason?

**MR. GERARD NOEL:** Sir, I regret I cannot assure my hon. Friend that the Courts of Justice are progressing satisfactorily, for there are portions of the building which should by this time be completed, and they are not completed. The date for the entire completion of the contract is August 7, 1880. The contractors will be entitled to extension of time under the strike clause of their contract; but no indulgence on account of disputes with their workmen has

hitherto been granted to them. The contract, is, however, in two parts—the one regarding works to be completed by the 9th of August, 1879, the other concluding the contracts as stated above. A short indulgence of nearly three months, on account of frost and stress of weather, has been granted in respect of the first part.

### MOTIONS.



#### EAST INDIA (PUBLIC WORKS).

##### MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in rising to move that a Select Committee be appointed "to inquire into and report as to the expediency of constructing Public Works in India with money raised on them," said, he made the Motion in conformity with a promise he had previously given, last Session, when opposing a Motion for a Committee upon Indian Finance. Of all the classes of expenditure which were in any way under the control of the Indian Government, there were none on which there had been greater controversy or greater discrepancy of opinion than that relating to Public Works Extraordinary. It was not only the most controversial branch of the expenditure, but also the most controllable. The Famine which within the last 18 months had devastated Madras had invested with a new interest this old controversy, and afforded strong reasons for the Motion he was making; and it also had, he thought, given greater interest to the question as to the results to be obtained by a considerable annual expenditure on public works. In making the Motion it was desirable that he should state briefly the origin and growth of the expenditure into which he proposed to inquire. Before Lord Dalhousie became Governor-General of India he was for seven years President of the Board of Trade, and naturally took great interest in the enormous development of English manufactures and English trade by the extension of railway communication. Upon taking the new appointment, he was anxious to confer as rapidly as possible the same benefits on India, but there were difficulties in the way. The credit of the East India Company in India was not very good, and its borrowing powers were exhausted

in England. Lord Dalhousie suggested a plan by which money might be raised through the agency of certain companies, and, in fact, the making of the desired railways was handed over to those companies, who were induced to find the capital by being guaranteed high rates of interest. That was the origin of guaranteeing railways in India. Lord Dalhousie also proposed to hand over irrigation works to similar companies, and on the abolition of the old Military Boards some few years later various offices for the construction of public works in connection with the Civil Department were consolidated into a new Department, to which the name of the Public Works Department was given. It was proposed that this Department should annually expend about £2,000,000 in productive irrigation works. The outbreak of the Indian Mutiny stopped the full development of Lord Dalhousie's proposals, but when it became evident to the Indian authorities that great advantage, direct and indirect, would accrue from a further development of railways in India, numerous contracts were entered into, much of the same character as those initiated by Lord Dalhousie, and a large number of railroads were constructed in different parts of India. It was found that the guarantee system did not conduce to the cheap construction and cheap management of Indian railways, and Lord Lawrence proposed that the construction and management of railways should pass into the hands of the Government, and that the lines should be of a less costly character. There were two sources for the construction of these public works—namely, first, capital supplied by guaranteed companies, and, secondly, that supplied by loans which were raised in the market by the State. As regarded irrigation, there was a slight difference in the course adopted by the Government. Previous to the establishment of the Public Works Department a considerable sum had been annually expended in the construction of irrigation works in India; but that was entirely from the ordinary revenue of the year. After the Mutiny great pressure was put upon the Secretary of State. Certain companies, such as the Madras and the Orissa, were formed for the promotion of irrigation, but they were failures. Lord Lawrence drew attention to the

*Mr. Gerard Noel*

great charges those high guarantees were placing year by year on the revenues of India, and he suggested that in future railways and irrigation works should be constructed by loans. Some years after a proposal was made by the India Government, and confirmed by the Home Government, that the Government should in future be entirely responsible for the construction of irrigation works. So long as money was found for these works by private companies, the real state of the case was obscured. But the moment the State undertook their construction, the whole of the capital embarked was charged against the ordinary revenue of the year. This consequently led to the erroneous assumption that the Indian Government were approaching a state of bankruptcy, and were disbursing more money than they were receiving. Last Session the Government had proposed a form of account to be sent out to India, by which the whole of the transactions connected with railways and irrigation works were brought under one head, and all the interest on the money expended on them, as well as the working expenses, were charged against the receipts, so that at a glance they could see what the actual result of the construction of those works annually was; and thus they would be able to check any statement made by the officials of the India Office, and also to verify the statement which he himself had made—that although the area of irrigation and the mileage of the railways was yearly increasing in India, the actual cost to the State was yearly decreasing. The system upon which this expenditure had been hitherto sanctioned had been one of forecast. The two most important forecasts which would come under the consideration of the proposed Committee were those of 1873 and 1875. By the first it was proposed to devote £4,500,000 annually to the construction of Public Works Extraordinary, of which £3,000,000 were to be devoted to rail-

annual loss on the total number of public works would be £2,378,000; but it was estimated four years afterwards that the loss would be £1,900,000, thus showing an improvement of £478,000. It was estimated that in the present year the total loss on all the public works in India would amount to about £2,000,000, and that the loss upon the guaranteed railroads would amount to £1,442,000. He was glad to say, however, that owing to the immense increase in the traffic receipts on the guaranteed railroads there would be no loss at all this year. He had pointed out that the allotment annually given to irrigation had been diminished, and in ordinary times he would not have considered it necessary to call attention to this fact; but owing to the recent agitation out-of-doors with a view to exercise pressure on the Indian Government to induce them to spend enormous sums on irrigation works, he felt compelled to refer to this subject. An association, he believed, had been formed and applications had been made to Members of Parliament asking their assistance, in order to induce, if possible, the Indian Government to embark upon a gigantic speculation in that direction. That, however, was the continuance of an old agitation. Some 20 years ago a similar agitation prevailed, there being a strong impression out-of-doors that they had merely to construct an irrigation work in India, and it must immediately pay. A chief supporter of that view and a very distinguished engineer was Sir Arthur Cotton, who in the early part of his career had been singularly successful in the construction of certain irrigation works in the Madras Delta. Those works had proved satisfactory and had paid well, although what their exact actual returns were it was difficult to say; but, making all allowance, there was no doubt that those works were a great credit to their designer and promoter. But the Delta of Madras was exceptionally favourable for such works, and could not be held to



with reference to the advantages of irrigation, by some curious oversight, those gentlemen had wholly ignored the results of recent experience. Shortly after the Mutiny great pressure was put upon the Secretary of State to construct irrigation works in Madras by means of a private company. Lord Derby was then Secretary of State for India, and all Lancashire urging him, contrary to the opinion of his Council, he assented to the project, and the Madras Irrigation Company was formed. In the prospectus it was represented that the undertaking would be very remunerative, and Sir Arthur Cotton said he would select for execution the work which would, in his judgment, give the best commercial return. In writing to the Indian Government on the scheme his language was peculiar, considering what the actual results of that company had been. It was stated that when they had secured their plunder, it would be an agreeable task to sit down at their leisure and divide the spoil. It was the actual possession which put everybody in good humour, and the 80 per cent dividend in the case of the Ganges Company was mentioned. It was further stated that the "work was composed of distinct parts, each of which formed a complete scheme in itself, and would yield when executed its own return independently of the remaining parts." On the recommendations of so distinguished an authority the company was constituted with a capital of £1,000,000 sterling, which had been spent without any return. In consequence of an agitation that was set on foot, the Indian Government was authorized to lend £600,000 to the company at 5 per cent. This money also was laid out, and no return had been made. Not only so, but the Government had not received any interest; and although they had been paid a small portion of the money so advanced, that company had never once paid its working expenses. That work ran right through one of the Famine districts, and, of course, it did some good; but its most enthusiastic supporter would not say that the crops it had saved were worth a moiety of the expenditure on its construction. It was necessary, therefore, to be cautious in regard to agitations set on foot to put pressure on the Indian Government and induce it to incur an enormous outlay on undertakings of that

character. One of the main points urged on the public was the advantage of cheap water-carriage. No doubt India had a number of magnificent rivers; and of all the rivers in the south the first, perhaps, was the Godavery. The Indian Government, yielding to an appeal made to it as to the benefits that would accrue from the improvement of the navigation of that river, sanctioned an expenditure for that object. The expenditure was put at £80,000, and the works went on. Lord Mayo took the Public Works Department under his own particular charge, and, having heard of the expenditure upon the Godavery, sent down gentlemen to inquire what the amount was. The result was startling; no less than £700,000 had been spent without any return. This improvement was intended for the benefit of the Central Provinces. Mr. Morris had written strongly to deprecate the further continuance of those works, and had stated that the question in his mind was whether the Government could utilize the expenditure of the past, the main result of which had been, in many places, nothing more valuable than a rich deposit of thick black mud. The Indian Government sent home the Papers relating to the affair, and the conclusion of their despatch was to the effect that the project had swallowed up £700,000, that the work could not be utilized till an expenditure of at least £900,000 had been incurred, and that the river could not be made navigable for less than £1,200,000. It was evident from that circumstance that complete designs were necessary for every project. Woeful as their failures had been, there was a still worse one. The Indian Government had commissioned Sir Arthur Cotton to inspect the Bay of Mahanuddy and to suggest some scheme for securing the neighbourhood from famine. He advocated the expenditure of £13,500,000, but the Government could not accede to that proposal, and after some delay it was resolved that the works should be constructed by a private company. Consequently the Orissa Company was formed, with a capital of £1,000,000; but that proved a failure, and the Government took over their works at a very high valuation. They then sent down engineers to revise the estimates, and it was found that a sum of £2,700,000 would give a return of 16

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percent. The Duke of Argyll was informed of this, and the Indian Government had reason to believe the estimate safe and sufficient; but only last August it was necessary to write with reference to the affair that while in 1871 the outlay had been calculated at £2,700,000, and the profit at 16 per cent, in 1873 the revised estimate amounted to £4,400,000, and at the present time to £6,208,000, the estimated receipts being diminished in an even greater proportion. He had mentioned this fact with the idea that it was desirable to know the results of recent experience, and seeing that, except in the Delta, these irrigation works had all failed, he thought it was wrong for anyone to support a gigantic agitation to force the Government into incurring an enormous expenditure and yet keep back these notorious facts. Especially was he sorry to find that Sir Arthur Cotton had received countenance from such a high quarter as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). His eloquence was so great that it seldom failed to influence the public mind. But that made it all the more necessary for public men of such high position to be careful how they too freely endorsed the ideas of speculative engineers. In purely commercial life he felt certain that the right hon. Gentleman would not ask the public to embark in any scheme respecting the success of which he was not absolutely certain. He ought to be equally cautious in lending his help to an agitation for promoting an immense expenditure of money for purposes which it had been proved would be valueless. Caution and prudence were all the more necessary in this case, because the Indian taxpayer was not directly represented in that House; and of all the Departments of the State none was so weakly represented in a financial sense as the Indian Department. Indian questions were fortunately outside the arena of Party politics. The Representative of the India Office could not depend upon that support which Party organization afforded to other Departments; and whenever any scheme involving increased expenditure was brought forward, all the advocates of increased expenditure of any sort took good care to prime their Friends in the House, so that the Representative of the Government found many against him and very few in his favour.

He was therefore extremely sorry, and it was doubly unfortunate, that at the Manchester meeting the right hon. Gentleman should have taken up one of the wildest and rashest of Sir Arthur Cotton's schemes—that, namely, by which it was proposed to construct a number of navigable canals all over India, at a cost of £30,000,000. For his own part, he would like to know what might be expected to be the actual and final cost of such a scheme. He (Lord George Hamilton) did not deny that the reputation of Sir Arthur Cotton was deservedly great; but there was another gentleman, Colonel Chesney, well versed in such matters, in whose book, to which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded, was a passage explaining that the cost of making a canal depended upon the supply of water, the slope of the ground, and the drainage of the course. In certain favourable conditions great canals might be made for a comparatively small sum, and might be navigated cheaply for exactly those reasons which made ocean traffic cheap. But when those favourable conditions were absent, the case wholly changed, and expenditure on canals was practically indefensible. The best possible way to dispose of Sir Arthur Cotton's ideas would be the appointment of a Select Committee, before whom the advocates of rival opinions could be heard, and their value estimated; but before any Committee considered any scheme involving an outlay of £30,000,000, they should first require satisfactory explanations of those past failures to which he had alluded. The recent Famine in Madras had no doubt directed attention to that part of India, and there were some who thought that much might be done by increasing irrigation in that district to protect it against the recurrence of famine. It had been found by experience that it was no use to construct canals or tanks to prevent drought which was solely dependent on rainfall for their supply of water. In Madras there were only three rivers whose sources of supply were independent of the rainfall of Madras and Mysore; and in the opinion of many competent engineers, it would not be possible to utilize the waters of those rivers to any further considerable extent. Moreover, Sir Richard Temple had directed attention to the fact that in the wet lands the famine had been the worst,

and he had dwelt on that circumstance in a despatch to Lord Salisbury, concluding by depicting the sheets of water and all the apparatus of irrigation lying useless. From that, it was clear that the construction of tanks or canals which were not connected with permanent sources was not sufficient to save the people from famine. In Bengal the conditions were very different from what they were in Madras, because not only was there a great number of rivers, but the country was flat, and canals were easily constructed. But even in Bengal the results were very remarkable. If he took the total expenditure in Bengal, the result was not altogether unsatisfactory. It appeared, from the last account, that there had been expended about £12,500,000 in Bengal, and the result, including direct and indirect receipts, gave a return of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent on the capital. But the moment this sum was analyzed it was found that this revenue was almost exclusively derived from two canals, the Jumna and the Ganges. The capital expended on these two works was £3,500,000, and the result was  $10\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. On the whole remaining expenditure in Bengal, which amounted to £9,500,000, there was only a return of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, and this proved very clearly, what recent experience strongly confirmed, that it mainly depended on physical conditions as well as the rainfall whether a canal paid or not.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked whether the results referred to in connection with the Jumna Canal were independent of the old works?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON replied that the Jumna Canal was an extension of the old work, and he doubted very much if the old work was included in the calculation. [General Sir GEORGE BALFOUR: Hear, hear!] He believed that was not worth very much. Another circumstance to be borne in mind was that it took 12 or 15 years for the revenue of a canal to be fully developed. The consequence was that if they were during that period to adopt a strictly commercial system of increasing the capital account by compound interest, they would make such a capital account as would prevent almost any irrigation work from making the least return. Altogether, the works which the Government had constructed might be divided

into three classes—firstly, those which paid well during ordinary years; secondly, those which would not pay during ordinary years, but which averted famines; and, thirdly, those which would not pay in ordinary years and which would not avert famines. It had been shown that it would be a delusion to rely altogether on irrigation; but, on the other hand, it would be a mistake to ignore the service which it had rendered in the past. One of the main questions which the proposed Committee would have to inquire into was, what had been the result of irrigation works, and to obtain from the various officers of the Public Works Department the cause of their failures; also to see whether the principle upon which their receipts were estimated was sound or not. It was not worth while to enter into a comparison between railroads and canals, because there was not at present data sufficient to enable anyone to draw a comparison between them as to their financial results. In the estimated returns from canals the whole of the indirect receipts, the enhanced value of the land, &c., as well as the direct receipts, were included; but in the case of railways that was not done, although there could be no doubt that railways also enhanced the value of land and enabled the Indian Government to largely reduce the number of European troops kept in India. As to the Amendment which was about to be proposed, he cordially admitted the energy and industry which the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) always brought to the consideration of Indian questions; but he felt bound to say that if the present Amendment were adopted, the Committee would not be of much use, during the present Parliament at all events. The main object in appointing the Committee was not merely that it should obtain evidence, but also that it should report upon it, and the Government desired, if possible, to put an end to the controversy concerning the returns from public works. The reference which he (Lord George Hamilton) proposed was complete in itself. It would enable any Member of the Committee to examine any witness not only as to direct, but also as to indirect returns, and as to the benefit which particular works might do to the country in averting famine. The hon. Member for Hackney, on the other hand, proposed to go further, and to add

*Lord George Hamilton*

words implying that the Committee should inquire into the means to be adopted for preventing the occurrence or mitigating the effects of famines in India. Now, it would be impossible for any Committee of that House to obtain sufficient local information to enable them to form a sound judgment as to every locality in India, and even if they had the time and means he could not conceive anything more dangerous than generalizing from the local experience of two or three witnesses to lay down certain principles, the general operation of which might be found to be much more injurious than beneficial. The Secretary of State had recommended the Indian Government to appoint a Commission to inquire into this very question of Madras; that Commission had been appointed, and it would be far better to confine the work of a Committee of that House to inquiring into and laying down principles and conditions under which public works should be constructed in India, and at the same time to draw up their Report so as to afford the Home and Indian Governments sufficient latitude for modifying their proposals according to the Reports they might receive from local Commissions they had appointed. The second part of the Amendment referred to military and other charges which were under the control of the Home Parliament. There was a Committee three years ago which minutely inquired into the military expenditure of this country; and he did not believe any good would result from appointing another Committee to enter into the military charges that were under the control of the War Office in this country. Besides that special Committee, there had been Departmental Committees, and these had accumulated sufficient evidence to show that although the charges might be high they were not too much according to the principle which at present regulated them, and which had been stated by Lord Cardwell to be, that England was in partnership with India. So long as that principle was adhered to, we had necessarily to bear our share of the increase in the expenditure; but if the House or the hon. Member for Hackney wished a larger sum to be paid by England and a proportionately less sum by India, and chose to raise the question in the usual way in Committee of Supply, he was

sure the India Office would not object. The question, however, was not one into which a Select Committee could with propriety inquire. It was a question of principle, and so long as the principle remained in force, so long must the present system of payment continue. In moving for this Committee, he was not actuated by a desire to avert any possible censure for any supposed neglect on the part of the Government of India. On the contrary, he was confident that the Indian Government had exercised a wise discretion in not throwing away larger sums on the prosecution of works which past experience had shown did not pay. Neither did the Government propose the Committee because they had no suggestions to make as regarded the future expenditure on productive works in India; but what they considered necessary above all things was that this everlasting controversy should be put an end to. What they wanted was to produce, if possible, an authoritative statement which would exactly show what the results of those works were. If, as he believed, those works had on the whole paid well, and if a mode could be suggested by which the results of each work could be distinctly shown, it might very much encourage private enterprise to undertake some of those works. Therefore, he earnestly recommended the Motion to the House. He felt confident that if the Gentlemen composing the Committee showed the energy and assiduity which had characterized the Members of previous Committees they would within a reasonable time be able to lay down perfectly sound and intelligible principles for the further prosecution of those works, and suggest something as to the proper method of giving effect to them. That object might be a less ambitious one than that suggested by the hon. Member for Hackney; but he thought no mean advantage would be gained by his Motion if it placed upon a sound basis this annual expenditure, and made it a source of unceasing and increasing prosperity to the population for whose benefit it was alone incurred.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report as to the expediency of constructing Public Works in India with money raised on loan."—(Lord George Hamilton.)

Mr. FAWCETT, in moving, as an Amendment, that the following words be added to the Motion of the Under Secretary for India :—

“ And further to inquire into the best means to be adopted to prevent the recurrence or to mitigate the intensity of famines in India ; and whether, by greater economy, specially with regard to military and other charges which are under the control of the Home authorities, a fund for the relief of famines may not be provided without subjecting the people of India to such burdensome taxation as will be imposed upon them by the contemplated increase of the salt duty,”

said, he agreed so generally with what had been said by the noble Lord, that he should much regret if either the noble Lord or any other Member of the House might be led to regard the Amendment he was moving as being aimed at the views expressed in the speech they had just heard. The Government of India had exercised a wise discretion in the past, and would continue so to do if they stood firm in their opposition to any proposals to spend the money of the country on reckless and ill-considered public works. While, however, he agreed in the main with the principles laid down by the noble Lord, he thought his Motion inadequate and too vague in its terms. It was inadequate considering the present critical position of Indian finance and the terrible calamity which had lately afflicted that country, and had produced a widespread feeling that something more was required from that House than a simple inquiry such as the noble Lord proposed. It was vague, because unless in some way limited or strictly defined it would, he believed, do exactly what the noble Lord thought the Amendment would do, and commit the House to an inquiry into the whole field of Indian finance. The principle of carrying out public works with borrowed money depended not simply on the question of “ would they pay ? ” but on the condition of the revenue of the Government. If there was a growing surplus, the Government would be perfectly justified in carrying out works upon that system ; but it became highly inexpedient if the finances were not in such a condition. In India more public works meant increase of debt, and further financial embarrassments ; and it was impossible for a Committee of this House to arrive at any conclusion on

this matter without knowing what was the financial condition of that country. Again, the interference of the House with Indian matters might become highly mischievous, more particularly if it attempted to interfere with the internal details of Indian administration. His only wish was to have an inquiry into general principles. Nothing could be more unfortunate than for the English Parliament, in the case of a famine afflicting India, to lay down a limit as to the extent to which relief should or should not be given by the Indian Government. This was a question which could only be properly settled on the spot by persons acquainted with the local circumstances. The same observation applied to the construction of an irrigation work or the making of a railway in any particular part of the Indian Empire. In a remarkable speech recently delivered at Calcutta by Sir John Strachey—a speech which the Government would do well to circulate as widely as possible—that distinguished authority laid down three cardinal principles, which deserved the most careful consideration. In the first place, Sir John Strachey held that famines in India could no longer be regarded as exceptional occurrences, but must be looked upon as events to be expected and provided for out of the ordinary revenue of the year ; secondly, he proposed the establishment of an Indian famine fund ; and as he said it was impossible for the Indian authorities to reduce the expenditure to any important extent, it was proposed to provide that fund by additional taxation, amounting to £1,500,000 a-year ; thirdly, he said that during the last seven years the ordinary revenue of India, excluding famine expenditure, had only just been sufficient to meet the ordinary expenditure—if it did meet it ; that that was not a safe position for a great country to be in, because there were other contingencies which might arise besides famine ; and he proposed to place the finances of India in such a position that there would be a surplus of £500,000 that might be looked upon as another reserve fund. Sir John Strachey proposed, therefore, to raise £2,000,000 by additional taxation. He did not wish, on the present occasion, to express an opinion on the additional taxation which was to be levied

in India for raising this extra revenue. With regard to these proposals, the House would have an opportunity on some future occasion, possibly on Friday next, on the Motion of the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell), of considering them. But, even if for the sake of the present discussion it was assumed that if the money had to be obtained by additional taxation, the mode proposed by Sir John Strachey was the best, it would still be necessary to inquire whether the amount required could not be obtained without additional taxation by means of greater economy, judicious retrenchment, and wiser administration of the affairs of India. He admitted that those who proposed economy ought to point out how it could be effected. The speech of Sir John Strachey contained some remarkable statements well worthy the attention of that House and the people of this country with respect to the military expenditure of India, which was the great cause of the financial difficulties of that country, of the gravity of which the House was not aware. He did not wish to inquire into the details of that expenditure, but into the principles on which it was administered. For many years India had enjoyed an almost profound peace, and yet the military expenditure of that country had increased, between 1863 and 1870, by £1,200,000; although in that time there had been a decrease in the number of European troops of 13,000, and of Native troops of 4,000. Moreover, since the latter date, without any increase having been made in the numbers of the troops, the military expenditure had further increased by £1,000,000. While the net revenue of India was only £40,000,000, her military expenditure was no less than £17,000,000, or 45 per cent of the entire Imperial taxation of the country, or 90 per cent of the whole of the land revenue. Sir John Strachey, in referring to this steady growth of the military expenditure of India, said that the increase of £1,000,000 in a single year arose chiefly on Home charges, about which the Government in India were not consulted, and with regard to which they had often no power of remonstrance, adding that its gravity could not be exaggerated. Sir John Strachey also stated that there was no security that these military Home

charges would not go on increasing in the future; and he concluded by earnestly saying that he hoped the subject would be re-considered, and that in the military relations between England and India consideration would be given to the question whether the plan on which the charges were based between the two countries could not be placed on a more equitable basis with regard to India. It was on the strength of these weighty opinions that he ventured to appeal to the English Parliament to do justice to India. The House was bound in these circumstances not to lose a single moment in instituting an inquiry, not into the details, but into the principles of the Indian expenditure. If he were asked what would be the practical result of such an inquiry, he should point to the fact that the Army Retirement scheme which had been hurried through that House, and which largely affected the Indian expenditure, had been introduced without even having been submitted to the authorities in India. If he were asked what sort of evidence would be given before such a Committee as he asked for, he should say that if he were upon it the first person he should call would be a high Indian military authority, and he should put to him the question whether he had not devised a scheme for the re-organization of the Army of Madras which would save that Presidency an expenditure of £400,000 at least—a sum considerably more than would be realised by the increase of the salt tax, and whether it was not a fact that the scheme was approved by all the authorities connected with India; yet, in spite of that, it could not be carried out, and having discovered the obstacles to its being carried out, whether it would not be possible to remove them? The English people were, he believed, anxious to do justice to India, and only desired to know how justice should be rendered; and it was a pertinent and practical part of the inquiry which he suggested to find out how the English people could be, he would not say more generous, but more just to India. He had principally confined his remarks to the military expenditure; but it should not be supposed that there were not other departments, more especially in connection with Home charges, in which expenditure could be cut down. He could give many examples, but would mention two only.

One was the subject of pensions granted by the Government of India. It was surely time that that subject was reconsidered. Then, again, in 1856 the cost of printing to India was £90,000, a few years later it was £230,000, while at the present moment it amounted to no less than £430,000 a-year. India was too poor to bear that kind of extravagance; but the fact was, the whole expenditure of India was framed in days when the idea prevailed that India was the richest country in the world, while it was now known that she was not only not the richest, but was actually one of the poorest. He had no hesitation in saying that to spend an unnecessary shilling of Indian money produced more bad consequences than to spend unnecessarily a pound of English money. So desperate, indeed, were the financial straits of India that, in order to obtain the insignificant sum of £300,000, the Indian Government were about to increase the salt duty 40 per cent, and that in districts in which the people of India were only beginning to raise their heads from the consequences of a great calamity. Salt was as much a necessary of life as the food they ate or the air they breathed, and yet they were about to increase the duty on salt in the case of people still bearing the marks of starvation. The evidence against such an increase of duty was overwhelming. He would give only two out of many high authorities against the adoption of such a course. Lord Lawrence stated before a Committee of the House of Commons that in no circumstances should the duty on salt be increased; and Lord Hobart, speaking several years since, said that a then recent increase of the salt duty showed conclusively in its result that it not only decreased the consumption of salt by human beings, but that it diminished its use in agriculture, producing thereby cattle disease. He proved that increasing the duty caused a decline in the consumption of salt, by showing that an increase of 18 per cent in the duty only produced an increase of 12 per cent in the revenue. He knew it would be said that one of the objects in view was to equalize the salt duties. Well, if they wanted to equalize the duties, they ought to do it by reducing instead of raising them. When it was remembered that to obtain £300,000 they had to

resort to the salt duty, and to increase it in the case of the very poorest peasants and ryots, surely nothing could show more strongly the necessity that existed for setting themselves to work with a view to find out how they could save that sum by economy instead of raising it by taxation. He quite agreed with what the noble Lord had said as to the pressure which was brought to bear on the Government of India to incur vast expenditure in the construction of public works. When it was stated that expenditure on irrigation works would yield a return of 70 or 80 per cent, why, he asked, did not the capitalists and commercial men of large means who made those assertions embark their money in so splendid an enterprise? He strongly deprecated any partizan feeling in discussing the question whether railways or works of irrigation were the better calculated to yield a profitable return and to prevent the recurrence of famine. He was quite aware that railways had done great things for India; but, on the other hand, all the railways had not paid, and in the same way some irrigation works had been disastrous failures, while some, no doubt, had been attended with success. Every figure that had been brought forward by the Under Secretary for India with regard to irrigation schemes could be proved by a reference to official documents before the House. He believed that it could be shown that out of £9,000,000 that had been spent by the Indian Government on irrigation schemes of their own design and construction, there was not one that was paying 1 per cent, and many that were not paying their working expenses. The noble Lord the Under Secretary had alluded to the case of the Orissa irrigation works, and it was a well-known fact that owing to the great pressure brought to bear upon the Government of India they were induced to purchase those works, not at the price at which the shares of the Company were quoted on the London market—namely, at 60, at which price they were unsaleable, but at their par value of £100. If any such pressure were brought to bear upon the Government of India in the future he hoped they would be sufficiently strong to resist it, or that if they did not the House of Commons would have its at-

*Mr. Fawcett*

tention called to the matter. He joined his humble testimony as to the zeal and ability which were shown by all the officials in India in relation to the famine, and the devotion displayed by the people generally. He believed it was the settled determination of the House to spare no effort to prevent the recurrence of these visitations, which had produced to the people of our great Dependency unspeakable woe and suffering, which they had borne with great patience and calm resignation. The hon. Member concluded by moving his Amendment.

#### Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words, "and further to inquire into the best means to be adopted to prevent the recurrence or to mitigate the intensity of famines in India; and whether by greater economy, specially with regard to military and other charges which are under the control of the Home authorities, a fund for the relief of famines may not be provided without subjecting the people of India to such burdensome taxation as will be imposed upon them by the contemplated increase of the salt duty."—(Mr. Fawcett.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Sir, I am not about to address the House at any length, but after the part which I have taken in Indian matters, and after some of the observations made by the noble Lord, I do not wish to abstain altogether from speaking on this occasion. First, then, I should like to say, with regard to the Motion and the Amendment, that I think both of them are open to very considerable objection. The Motion is for

"a Select Committee to inquire into and report as to the expediency of constructing Public Works in India with money raised on loan."

The Motion has nothing whatever to do with any particular class of public works; it does not refer in any way to the question which has lately very much excited the public mind and feeling as to the causes of famine, or as to the mode in which famines may be prevented. It applies, I presume, to all public works in India, and it is simply this question, whether it is expedient, in constructing public works, that the money should be raised on loan. Now, that does not appear to me to meet the requirements of the case which is before the public; and I think it would have been much better if the Committee could have been

confined to the question as to which I think the House now is—and I am quite sure the public in connection with Indian matters is—now thinking. Then I come to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), and I object to the Amendment on the ground that it would overload the Committee with so much subject-matter of inquiry, that I think the objection of the noble Lord was quite well-founded, and that you might carry on that Committee for two or three Sessions of Parliament, and probably get no Report at all. But the main question which I thought we were going to consider—that is, what should be done with reference to famines—would be almost, if not altogether, lost sight of in the multitudinous and prolonged inquiry which the hon. Member for Hackney wishes to force the House to enter into. Now, on these grounds I should object to both the Motion and the Amendment—not that the Motion of the Under Secretary may not be of some use; but I think it would have been a great deal better if the Reference were worded differently, and the attention of the Committee kept more distinctly to the question of famines, and of what can be done to prevent the recurrence of them in future. The noble Lord has made some—I will not say attack on me—remarks which I have no doubt he thought himself quite justified in making; but he has not had so much to do as I have with out-of-door agitations. I can tell him, from my own experience, that nothing has been more common for the last 40 years than to hear denunciations of out-door agitation from the Ministerial Bench. There has been scarcely a single great question agreed to by Parliament during that period that has not been agreed to mainly in consequence of political agitation outside. Of course, the noble Lord is entitled to his opinion whether the statements made during an agitation and during the public discussions which arise are justifiable or not. The matter which we are now discussing is one upon which we may quite expect to have great mistakes and great exaggerations, because the country about which we are talking is a great many thousand miles away; and I find that gentlemen who have lived in India for 20, 30, or even 40 years, and have been concerned in the government of India, differ about almost every Indian question. One man



has lived in the South of India, and another in the North, and they have been as far away from each other as we are from Italy. One speaks of what he saw in his neighbourhood, and the other of what he saw in his, and their evidence conflicts, and it is difficult to come to the truth upon any matter. I think, therefore, we may make some allowance for persons who discuss this question of India, and I think there will be exaggerations and mistakes. But now as to the cause of this debate. What is it? Why is it the noble Lord has brought this question before us to-night? If the famine in Madras had not happened, we should not have heard of this Committee. We have heard of this Committee, but the Committee, apparently, is to say nothing about the famine. There is an inconsequence in this which the House might correct, and which the noble Lord ought to allow to be corrected. I think there is little use in this Committee unless it directs its attention to the special question which has caused it to be appointed, and unless it endeavours to ascertain how it is that so many millions of persons during the last 10 years—and they are to be counted by millions—have died by famine. Talk of “this savage and destructive war” now waging in the East of Europe—we hear of thousands being slaughtered; but all that that war has done, and all that the wars of the last ten years have done, has not been equal in the destruction of human life to the destruction caused by the famines which have occurred in the great Dependency of the English Crown in India. That is a question of some importance, and why should this Committee not be appointed for the express purpose of ascertaining from such evidence as we can get in England, and, if necessary, such as we can get from India, how it is that after so many years of possession—100 years of possession—of this very part of the country, still we have got no further than this, that there is a drought, and then famine? There is no failure of water, except at particular times, and over a particular district? But take the year through, almost without exception, in India there is far more water than is necessary there for what is required for the cultivation of the soil, yet almost no step has been taken to provide irrigation works. We hear that there has been £9,000,000 or £16,000,000 spent on

such works. What is that in India? The town of Manchester alone with a population of 500,000 has spent £2,000,000 already, and is coming to Parliament now to ask to be allowed to spend £3,500,000 more—that will be £5,500,000—to supply the population of that town and its immediate surroundings with pure water, and a sufficient quantity of it. But in India we have 200,000,000 of population subject to the English Government, and with a vast supply of rainfall, and great rivers running through it, with the means—as I believe there are the means—of abundant irrigation, and still the whole sum expended has been only £16,000,000. We have heard some other authorities say it is £20,000,000; but be it £16,000,000 or £20,000,000, what is it when we consider the vast extent of the country, and the greatness of the need? I remember years ago that Sir James Hogg, the Chairman of the East India Company, and the late Mr. Mangles, stood up in this House and insisted that the Indian Government had not failed in its duty with regard to the public works in India. I showed then—that was in 1856 or 1857—that the Corporation of Manchester had, during the preceding 14 years, spent more in public works for the good of its own population than the East India Company had spent in the same 14 years throughout the whole of the vast territories which were subjected to their care or to their neglect. Now, I have no doubt whatever, notwithstanding what has been said, and notwithstanding what may be said, of the condition of their finances, it is the duty of the Indian Government in some way, if possible, to find a remedy; but if not possible, of course famine must come and the doomed must die; but I believe it is possible, and I will not rely on the authority of Sir Arthur Cotton alone; but if hon. Members will take that book which the noble Lord quoted from, they will find there the evidence—I was going to say of scores of eminent men—as to what ought to be done, and what may be done in India. There is the evidence of Colonel Chesney, in which he shows how much may be done, and how much has been neglected in regard to the question of irrigation. The noble Lord stated that the Secretary of State for India had ordered an inquiry to be made in India as to some matters having

*Mr. John Bright*

regard to the further progress of works of irrigation. What I want, and what Sir Arthur Cotton wants, is, not that you should believe me—for I am no authority on the matter—or even that you should believe him, but that you should have a fair and full inquiry on the spot. You have a great Government in Calcutta, and you have what is called a Government in other parts of India. Surely it would be possible in all parts of India to have a complete scientific inquiry and engineering report of what is possible to be done; and some great plan might be devised, not, perhaps, to be immediately carried out, but to be looked forward to as a portion of the duty of the Government of India towards the people of India. If that Commission be appointed, and if its purpose be such as I have indicated, then it may possibly be said that this Committee which we are about to appoint need not go into these questions. But I fear, from the terms in which the Committee is moved, that when hon. Members get into the Committee they will find that they have a vast problem before them; the terms are so vague that it will be scarcely possible to keep the Committee within any bounds; while if the terms were such as I think necessary they would simply inquire into the desirability of irrigation works for the prevention of famine. The hon. Member for Hackney has asked a Question which other persons have asked—Why is it that if some of these schemes will pay 70 or 80 per cent, the people of Manchester, or the City of London or elsewhere, with capital to employ, do not go to India and establish these great works, and put in their pocket this great profit? I will tell the hon. Gentleman why they will not do it. There are no people in this country who will form public companies and expend money in India without a guarantee from the Government. There are circumstances which make it very doubtful

only last year a deputation waited upon the Secretary of State for India to ask permission that the Nizam of Hyderabad, who was represented here by Sir Salar Jung, should be at liberty to borrow money in England for the purpose of making a railway about 200 miles long in his country. The Indian Government objects. I doubt very much whether Lord Salisbury objects; but the Indian Government objects. They say—“No; we will make the railway for you if you like; or, if you can make it out of your own funds, you can construct it.” But I suppose Sir Salar Jung would say, if he said exactly what he thought—“No; I have not the funds to make it for myself or for my Government, and I do not wish you to make it and get more absolute possession of my country than you have now, and diminish in any degree what I have now—an independent position in India; but I can go to London, and there find plenty of people who will trust the Government of Hyderabad; and I can raise a million sterling for the purpose of making this railway of 200 miles long, which will enable me to communicate from Hyderabad with the line that runs from Bombay to Calcutta, and at the same time to carry a branch railway through extensive coal fields that promise to be of the greatest value.” Sir Salar Jung makes that proposition, and the Indian Government say—“No, we will not give you liberty to borrow money. English capitalists may think they have security enough in the Government of the Nizam; but we do not wish that English capitalists in London should have possession of a railway track in your country, or the influence it would give them in your State. Therefore, unless you can make it out of your own funds, or allow us to make it, the population of the State must be deprived of the great advantage of this railway.” Now that is a specimen of the narrow, jealous, and miserable spirit in which

it is, of the failure of that scheme has been the mismanagement of the Government in connection with it. However, I do not wish now to go into it. Everybody must admit the tremendous difficulties which any Government must have in managing the affairs of that vast country and its population of 200,000,000 persons. I admit that; and therefore, perhaps, it is not reasonable or just that one should bring strong charges against men who, I dare say, do the best they can in their position, but who fail in much that they do. The noble Lord quoted two or three cases in which irrigation had failed. There may be works of irrigation that may pay nothing to the Government, but which will save the lives of their people; and I do not like to hear the Secretary of State or the Under Secretary, in discussing this question, always treat it as if it were a shopkeeper in London or a merchant in Manchester who was considering whether he should open another shop or another mercantile house. It is not exactly in that spirit in which the question should be dealt with. I believe there are many cases in India in which, probably, it would not be possible for the Government to say—"We shall get 10 per cent out of the expenditure of £1,000,000," but a year afterwards they might say that the expenditure of that £1,000,000 had probably saved 1,000,000 of human lives; and therefore it might be worth while for the Government, as a clear duty, to expend that £1,000,000 in that work. I do not know that I have any more to say than this. If the noble Lord intends that the Committee shall thoroughly examine this question, and if they can do anything in India, it should be done by a Commission in India. I do not ask them to take my opinion, or the opinion of Sir Arthur Cotton. But Sir Arthur Cotton lived 45 years in India. He has more information in connection with works of irrigation in India than any other engineer. He has given the attention of a lifetime to them; he is a man of the most undoubted honour, and of the highest character; he believes absolutely what he says as to what is necessary to be done and what may be done. I confess I think it will be difficult—almost impossible—after discussing this question with him, not to come to the opinion that his authority is one

which ought to have great weight with the House. He is willing to say—I have myself heard him say—that there have been many mistakes made—there have been mistakes in the railroads, in the irrigation works; but that if famine comes from want of water, clearly to get rid of famine you must have water. You cannot have water except by works of irrigation. You have the rain from Heaven; you have the great rivers; and you have a great Government, which has conquered the country, and which, having conquered it, at least ought to exercise all the powers of its intellect for the purpose of saving its people from this suffering and this ruin, and ought to save this country and this Parliament from the degradation and humiliation of allowing it to be known throughout the world that millions of the subjects of the Crown in India, in the course of 10 years, perish by famine, which great engineers and men of character and experience say positively might altogether have been prevented.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL considered that the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) had made out some case for inquiry into the military and other charges which were under the control of the Home authorities, if it were only that statements on the subject had been made by high official authority in India, and that the educated Natives of India had been led to think that there ought to be such an inquiry; but the noble Lord the Under Secretary for India was right in saying that such an addition to his Motion as that proposed by the hon. Member for Hackney would make the inquiry which he proposed too large, and therefore he would recommend his hon. Friend rather to move for a separate Committee to inquire into all those important questions which he had brought before the House. He would not enter into the question whether or not irrigation works in general were good, right, or proper in themselves—that would be for the proposed Committee to decide—but having had much personal experience in regard to several of the works of which the noble Lord the Under Secretary for India (Lord George Hamilton) had referred, he thought it his duty to support him in several of his statements. He felt bound to point out the utterly unreliable character of the reports of Sir Arthur Cotton.

*Mr. John Bright*

That gentleman was a man deserving of very great respect, but he was in this matter wholly unreliable. Though he did not doubt Sir Arthur Cotton's honesty, he thought there was some truth in the saying regarding him that he had water on the brain. He was hopelessly enthusiastic, and had been carried away beyond all bounds of reason in his views, and was neither to bind nor to hold in his statements of what might be done if his recommendations were carried out. It was because of the reckless manner in which he had set forth his views that he had prevailed with so many; but he (Sir George Campbell) was sorry that Sir Arthur Cotton had prevailed with the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). As Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, he had had experience of great public works which Sir Arthur Cotton had designed and forced upon the Government, and as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces he had also had experience of some of Sir Arthur's projects. The noble Lord had stated the facts in regard to one or two of these when he said they never could return interest on the money expended on them, and that they had never extended over more than a limited area, or done more than a very limited amount of good. One of Sir Arthur's projects was to create an enormous reservoir in the centre of India, to store water there during the rainy season, and to let it down on the country when drought prevailed. That scheme was submitted to him as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. He found that Sir Arthur Cotton had never been in the country where he proposed to place his reservoir, and had never obtained information in regard to it. He had simply taken a map, and having found that there were two or three rivers in the country, he had marked a circle on the map and said—"You can make a large reservoir, a grand lake there." They found that Sir Arthur Cotton had no data on which to found his assertions. They obtained men to examine and work out these projects, but having gone into them they saw there were physical conditions which made it impossible to carry them into effect. That was the last he had heard of Sir Arthur Cotton, until he was resuscitated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. There was another of

his projects equally wild. India and China were, Sir Arthur said, great countries. Water was the panacea for all evils, and it was the easiest thing possible to make a canal between the two countries. He was oblivious of the fact that between them there were mountains 19,000 or 20,000 feet high, and when somebody pointed this out, he said it was the simplest thing in the world to make locks. While pointing out the unreliability of Sir Arthur Cotton in these matters, he would admit that this was a great and important subject. It had been well said that some projects had been failures, but other projects might be successful. It was important that the general principle on which these might be grappled with should be inquired into and reported on by a Committee of the House. No doubt the details would need to be investigated by a Commission in India, but as regarded the general principle a strong Committee of the House might take up the matter, and the Report would be one of a very valuable character. That was all he had to say in regard to the Motion before the House. He should just like to say one or two words in regard to the observations that fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham. He set forth that a large profit could be made out of public works in India if they were carried out by public companies, and that the reason that the works were not undertaken was because the Government of India would not let these companies do it, but discouraged them, and did not give them fair play. That, he thought, was the gist of the right hon. Gentleman's observations. He was sorry to pit himself against the right hon. Gentleman, or to venture to contradict him in this matter; but he must say it was not the fault of the Government if people abstained from starting companies and constructing works out of which they could not make a profit. Were there not tea companies in India? were there not coffee companies in India? and were there not jute and cotton and other companies there? Ordinary companies had been found profitable, and there was no reason to suppose that the Government had unfairly discouraged or hindered them. In the matter of taxation, he thought the Government had given too much encouragement to companies at the expense of the poor people

of India. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham was not justified in saying that the people of this country could not form companies and send money to India to work out their projects. They had done so in many cases. They had not done so in the case of irrigation works, because money invested in this way had been lost or only recouped from the Government by means which the hon. Member for Hackney had alluded to, and they were not satisfied that it would now yield 80 or 100 per cent as Sir Arthur Cotton had asserted. He did not know whether he should touch upon another matter which the right hon. Gentleman had introduced into this debate—the proposal that Sir Salar Jung should raise a loan in this country to construct public works. He (Sir George Campbell) thought the Government of India had exercised a wise discretion in not allowing this. It was all very well saying he had come there as a public-spirited man. His object was to create a financial interest in this country, and there were other reasons behind. The Legislature of this country had, indeed, exercised a wise discretion, looking to the intrigues in India, the financial adventurers and other adventurers that tried there to get hold of Native Princes, in saying that no European should lend money to Native Princes without sanction.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: The Government did allow it in one case.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, they had in a particular case, and they might allow it in another case, but if the Government had thought fit to allow it, and capitalists went to India with the permission of the Government at home and lost their money, they would come to the Government and say—"You permitted and sanctioned these loans, and you are bound to see them paid," and whether their arguments were right or wrong they would put pressure on the Government to cause that money to be re-paid. This had convinced him that the Govern-

—they would be raising large sums till their revenues were pledged, and till their countries were in that position that their finances were hopelessly embarrassed, and then the burden was liable to be thrown over into the hands of our Government. He thought the Government did wisely in considering, before sanction was given to such loans, whether the object was to promote public works, or whether there was some ulterior object. At the same time, he admitted this was a great and difficult subject, and had been brought somewhat unexpectedly before them. He thought it right that the House should suspend its judgment in regard to Sir Salar Jung, and not be led away by the great authority of the right hon. Member for Birmingham. Many things would crop up connected with this subject before long, and a suspension of judgment was the more necessary.

MR. GRANT DUFF said, he hoped the House would not be tempted by the numerous and collateral issues which had been raised to wander too far away from the main subject. The question raised by this Motion and Amendment was whether it would be expedient to appoint a Select Committee on Public Works in India, and what would be the best order of reference to that Committee? He hoped the House would not elect to go into the larger question which had been raised by the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett). It appeared to him (Mr. Grant Duff) that the question raised on the Motion of the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) was a sufficiently wide one to occupy the Committee for a considerable amount of time. He would only suggest to the noble Lord that, considering all that had recently passed out-of-doors, it might not be unwise to introduce into his Motion some words which would show that the Indian Government and the House were especially anxious for the avoidance of famine in India. He might, for example, add to the Motion

question that had so often been agitated with reference to the railways and irrigation works in India, and it appeared to him most desirable that that question should be raised, and that Parliament should thoroughly understand the principles upon which irrigation works and railway works had recently been made in India, and the manner in which they had been paid for. He thought it highly important and most advantageous to the Indian authorities to have the principles upon which they had been working submitted to the best financiers in this House, who might bring to bear upon the discussion experience gained in other fields of public business, and who did not look at the matter with purely Indian eyes. But he could not think that any advantage would be obtained by going into the wide question as to how the recurrence of famines was best to be averted. He thought if they stuck to the question relating to railways and irrigation works they would cover a sufficiently wide subject. Inquiries as to the prevention of famines must be carried on in India, and even there they would branch into many local inquiries which would have to be carried on in different parts of India. If they were to attempt, in this country, to go into the many details necessary, the very acutest men would be puzzled with them, and no result would be arrived at. Very possibly the end would be that the Committee would not report at all, but merely give the evidence. That was the melancholy fate of the Committee appointed in 1871, which sat for three years. The first year was usefully employed, part of the second year was also usefully employed; but after that the Committee got involved in so many details and so many minutiae, that it exhausted itself, and did nothing but lose the time of its Members, the time of the witnesses called, and the time of the officials in the India Office. He trusted they would not again see a spectacle of this sort, but that the Government would keep a very clear and definite question before the Committee. All that he would suggest was the addition of a few words at the end of the Motion of the noble Lord, namely—

“Especially such works as may be adapted to prevent the recurrence or mitigate the intensity of famines.”

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, he had heard with regret the remarks which the noble Lord the Under Secretary for India, had made with reference to Sir Arthur Cotton. Having had many years' acquaintance with Sir Arthur Cotton, and, having examined the works which he had made in Madras, he could say that, so far from Sir Arthur Cotton being justly chargeable with the mistakes attributed to him, he believed him to be entirely free from blame. Standing up before the House he would say that he did not believe that a single work which Sir Arthur Cotton had executed had ever been a failure. Sir Arthur Cotton was a man of mighty genius; he was a man who had done much for the people; he had been a great benefactor to India, and his name would go down to posterity as one who had done great things for that country. His hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had attacked Sir Arthur Cotton; but he would say that if the hon. Gentleman had known Sir Arthur Cotton and his great services as well as he and those who had worked with him did, he would never have given utterance to the censure he had passed upon him. When the investigation was made by the Committee which he hoped would be made, it would be found that there was no ground for some of the particular charges that had been made against Sir Arthur Cotton. The Under Secretary had made remarks about the Madras Irrigation Company, with the view of throwing on Sir Arthur Cotton the blame of failure. But it was the Government itself which assigned to the company the particular works to be undertaken, and he believed it could be proved that they had not shown good faith to the Madras Irrigation Company. No doubt, great mistakes had been made; but the mistakes and bad management were greatly due, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham had said, to the Government themselves. He believed that if Sir Richard Temple, a man of great independence and integrity, and quite capable of judging about these matters, were examined before the Select Committee it was proposed to appoint, he would show that there was great mismanagement on the part of the Government officers. In many parts of the country the reservoirs were empty, and a

large number of tanks in the Madras Presidency were thoroughly out of repair. There was in the Madras Presidency only one irrigation work which Sir Richard Temple asked the Government to carry out. This project, if carried into effect, would have cost only £270,000, and after all expenses had been paid, the Government would have derived from the work an annual revenue of £25,000. The Government of India and the Secretary of State came to the conclusion that this work was not yet matured, although the Papers laid before the House of Commons in 1870 showed that the project was matured in all its details.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, that after the satisfactory tone of the debate, he should not detain the House with many remarks. He thought there was some amount of force in the objection raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham as to the terms of Reference which he had proposed, and which might not be understood out-of-doors to be applicable to the mitigation or prevention of famines. He himself thought that the Reference was sufficiently large as it stood, but he should not object to add certain words to make that point clearer if the hon. Member for Hackney would withdraw his Amendment. In that case, he would propose that the Motion should be in the following terms:—

“That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into and report as to the expediency of constructing Public Works in India with money raised on loan, both as regards financial results and the prevention of famine.”

As to the scope of the Commission appointed by the Secretary of State for India, he might explain that its duty was to inquire, not merely into the irrigation works in Madras, but also into the various measures adopted for the relief of the poor; and also, as far as possible, to collect evidence on those points of famine administration on which there was a difference of opinion between the Madras Government and the Supreme Government. In addition to this, the Commission was to inquire into the capacity of the ryots to dig wells and tanks, and to suggest means by which the construction of such works might be expedited. He mentioned these circumstances in order that it might not be

supposed that the proposed Committee was to be a small and pettifogging inquiry.

MR. CHILDERS, after the explanation of the noble Lord, with whom he entirely concurred, hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Hackney would not object to withdraw his Amendment. By the addition of the proposed words the greater part of his hon. Friend's object would be attained.

MR. FAWCETT said, that though the proposal, as it stood, did not touch a great deal of what he had in view, he would gladly accede to the request which had been made, and withdraw his Amendment. He thought, perhaps, it would be better to raise the question of military expenditure on another occasion.

Amendment and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn.*

#### EAST INDIA (PUBLIC WORKS).

Select Committee appointed, “to inquire into and report as to the expediency of constructing Public Works in India with money raised on loan, both as regards financial results and the prevention of famine.”—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

#### KITCHEN AND REFRESHMENT ROOMS (HOUSE OF COMMONS).

##### MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

LORD KENSINGTON (for Mr. ADAM) moved that a Select Committee be appointed,

“to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House:”—  
MR. ADAM, MR. DICK, SIR WILLIAM HART DYKE, MR. EDWARDS, MR. GOLDNEY, CAPTAIN HAYTER, LORD KENSINGTON, MR. MUNTZ, MR. RICHARD POWER, MR. STACPOOLE, and SIR HENRY WOLFF.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That Three be the quorum of the Committee.”

MR. HARDCASTLE said, there was a very general feeling in the House that the kitchen and especially the wine department were in an unsatisfactory state. He mentioned this matter on behalf of those hon. Members who were from time to time compelled to dine in the House, and with the view of effecting a remedy he moved that the quorum

*General Sir George Balfour*

should consist of five instead of three persons.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "Three," in order to insert the word "Five,"—(*Mr. Harcourt*),—instead thereof.

LORD KENSINGTON assented to the suggestion of the hon. Member.

Question, "That the word 'Three' stand part of the Question," put, and *negatived*.

Question, "That the word 'Five' be inserted, instead thereof," put, and *agreed to*.

Main Question, as amended, put.

*Ordered*, That Five be the quorum of the Committee.

And, on January 24, Lord HENRY THYNNE and Mr. MONK *added*.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (METROPOLIS) BILL—[BILL 14.]

(*Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Gordon, Colonel Beresford, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it would carry out the Report of the Committee of last Session on this subject. It was also recommended that the Committee should this year be re-appointed, to take into consideration the case with regard to the rest of the country. He had accordingly moved for the re-appointment of the Committee, and it had been re-appointed. The case of London seemed to the Committee last year to stand alone, and all parties were agreed as to the necessity for the present Bill.

### PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL—[BILL 77.]

(*Mr. Meldon, Mr. Henry.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. MELDON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he would make only a few observations, as the Bill he asked the House to read a second time was substantially read last year, with this alteration only—that certain objections to it were pointed out last Session, and he had tried by certain omissions to meet the objections that had been raised to it. He merely asked the House to approve of its second reading.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Meldon.*)

MR. CHARLES LEWIS, who had given Notice of his intention to move that the Bill be read a second time upon that day six months, said, he would not to-day move his Amendment; but when the Bill went into Committee he would move the omission of one of the clauses. He had no objection to the Registration Law of Ireland being assimilated to that of England, but he objected to its being carried further.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Wednesday* 18th February.

#### PUBLIC PETITIONS.

Select Committee *appointed*, "to whom shall be referred all Petitions presented to the House, with the exception of such as relate to Private Bills; and that such Committee do classify and prepare abstracts of the same, in such form and manner as shall appear to them best suited to convey to the House all requisite information respecting their contents, and do report the same from time to time to the House; and that such Reports do in all cases set forth the number of Signatures to each Petition:—And that such Committee have power to direct the printing *in extenso* of such Petitions, or of such parts of Petitions, as shall appear to require it:—And that such Committee have power to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House:—Committee *nominated*:—SIR CHARLES



## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 23rd January, 1878.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—For Perth County, *v.* Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, baronet, deceased.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Public Parks (Scotland) [34].

Committee—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) [44]—*R.P.*

Committee—*Report*—Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis) [14].

*Withdrawn*—Hypothec (Scotland) (No. 2) [49].

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## PUBLIC PARKS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Fortescue Harrison, Dr. Cameron, Mr. William Holms, Sir George Balfour, Sir Windham Anstruther.*)

[BILL 34.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. FORTESCUE HARRISON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was a measure to enable the corporations and public bodies in Scotland to acquire lands for the purpose of making parks and recreation grounds in Scotland for the benefit of the working and other classes in that country. There was no new principle in the Bill. It was exactly the same as the Bill which he introduced last year, and which the House then permitted to be read a second time. Unfortunately he had been unable to get it into Committee on that occasion, and the result was that he now asked the House to extend the same indulgence to him as it did last year by agreeing to the second reading. There was great need in Scotland for a measure of this character. In that country there were large towns containing great numbers of the working classes, without any recreation grounds for the people. He had endeavoured by his Bill to place Scotland in the same favourable position in this respect as England. In fact, every clause in the Bill was already law in this country. He might mention that the Lord Advocate, as representing the Government, was not only willing that the measure should pass, but had afforded him valuable assistance in arranging its clauses. He would not further occupy

the time of the House, but merely move now that the Bill be read a second time, and reserve any further information it might be necessary to give until it was in Committee.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Fortescue Harrison.*)

MR. BIGGAR said, he had last year opposed going into Committee on this Bill for a number of reasons, which he need not now explain. On the present occasion, however, he did not intend to offer any objection to the second reading of the measure. He thought that, on the whole, the Bill was necessary and desirable; but, at the same time, there were some of its provisions which would require, in his opinion, to be modified in Committee. Certain of its clauses were perfectly proper, those, for instance, which referred to cases in which lands could be taken by compulsion; but in connection with which, notwithstanding the compulsion, there must be proper notice given by advertisement and otherwise. In cases, however, where land was proposed to be taken by agreement, no provision was made for advertisements, and thus an opportunity might be offered for jobbery on the part of town commissioners or town councillors, in burghs in Scotland. He did not mean to say in a general way that parties in Scotland were disposed to jobbery; but it would be well if no opportunity was given for it, but a sub-section of Clause 6 stated that no notice was required in cases where land was to be taken by agreement. In the same clause, in another sub-section, when property belonged to two or more owners in common, it was proposed that it should be sufficient to serve three of them with notice; but those three might be obscure persons not likely to take any interest in the subject, and they might act in opposition to the interests of the majority. Practically speaking, a notice to three only might be giving no notice at all. That, therefore, was an objectionable feature, and should be amended. Then, again, power was given to town councils to let land to private persons on lease, and no provision was made that that should be at a fair rent. An Amendment should be introduced in that clause, making it imperative that the rent to be

given by the person who took the land from the town council should be fair and reasonable. He would go further, and would say that if afterwards it could be shown that the land was not let for a fair rent, the lease should become null and void, and the person who took the lease should not be able to take advantage under it. There must always be a certain amount of temptation to town councillors to be friendly to their connections and political friends. In passing Acts of this nature, the Legislature should guard very strictly against the possibility of anything unfair or unreasonable in the way of the rates being aggrieved for the benefit of certain parties. Clause 10 gave power to the council to charge the rates with the expenses that were legitimate under the Act as carried into operation. That would be perfectly legitimate if the Bill were to be carried into operation, but if a town council made an application for certain powers, and that application proved to be unsuccessful, presumably from some fault of their own, the members of such a body should be made liable for the charge, which should not in such a case be put upon the rates. If the Bill were carried into force, then the expenses should be borne by the ratepayers; but there was always the possibility to be guarded against that the solicitor of a town council might encourage his friends in it to involve themselves in an application which was untenable and uncalled for, and it would only be fair that a council in framing any project under a Bill of this sort should have clearly before their eyes the risks which were being incurred. Another objectionable provision of the Bill was that which gave power to add to taxation for the purpose of making public parks. This was an important point—much too serious and important to be carried into operation under a Provisional Order. Of course places of recreation were very good in their way, but they might entail upon the ratepayers an amount of expense which it would not be desirable for them to bear. Certainly it should not fall upon them without their opinion being asked upon the subject. The application might be made when no election was pending, and in that case the ratepayers had no opportunity, except at considerable trouble and cost, of disputing the dictum of the town council, and the property of the

borough might be mortgaged to a serious extent for all time to come. He would not, however, make any Motion against the second reading.

THE LORD ADVOCATE said, he should offer no opposition whatever to the passing of the Bill, which he believed would be a useful one. It was framed very much upon the lines of the English Statute, the Public Health Act, 38 & 39 *Vict.*, and would upon the whole, he thought, be found serviceable in Scotland. But in the working of the English measure some limitations had suggested themselves as necessary and desirable, and it might be requisite to move Amendments in that direction when the Bill was in Committee.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and committed for Tuesday next.

#### HYPOTHEC (SCOTLAND) (No. 2) BILL.

(*Sir George Balfour, Mr. Laing, Mr. Barclay.*)

[BILL 49.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*General Sir George Balfour.*)

MR. J. LOWTHER said, that in connection with the measure he desired to direct Mr. Speaker's attention to a point of Order. Leave had been given by the House to the hon. and gallant Member (Sir George Balfour) to introduce a Bill on the subject of Hypothec, for which Bill another had since been substituted, and had only been delivered to hon. Members that morning. He wished to inquire whether it was in Order for the hon. and gallant Gentleman to ask the House to give a second reading to a Bill which he had not obtained leave to introduce, and which had not been read a first time?

MR. SPEAKER replied that he had noticed that some material alterations had been made in the Bill. Hon. Members might make clinical or verbal alterations in Bills, but it would not be in Order for an hon. Member to move the second reading of a Bill which, although bearing the same title, differed materially and substantially from the measure which he obtained leave to introduce. The Bill which the hon. and gallant Member now asked the House to

read the second time, was not the one which he was allowed to introduce, and therefore the only course open to him was to withdraw the Order for the second reading of the Bill, and to ask leave to introduce a Bill in substitution for it.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that under the circumstances he would withdraw the altered Bill, and move the second reading of the one which he had originally introduced.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS suggested that the course which the hon. and gallant Member proposed to take would be as far out of Order as his original proposal that the House should read a second time a Bill which he had substituted for the one he had leave to introduce. He submitted that the proper course to pursue, would be to move to discharge the present Order, and to give Notice for leave to introduce another Bill.

MR. SPEAKER ruled that the proper course open to the hon. and gallant Member was to move that the Order for second reading be discharged, and then, if he thought fit, to move for leave to introduce the amended Bill which had been delivered to hon. Members.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR said, that if he was not permitted to go on with the present Bill he should desire to move the second reading of the first Bill.

MR. SPEAKER said, that he had already ruled that it was not in Order, under the circumstances, to proceed with the first Bill. The proper course would be to move to discharge the present Order, and to ask leave to introduce another Bill.

MR. RAMSAY said, it was unfortunate that the Bill (No. 2) had only been circulated to hon. Members that morning. It was still more a matter of regret that his hon. and gallant Friend should not be allowed to proceed with the discussion of his first Bill upon its merits. It was a more comprehensive measure than any Bill previously before them. ["Order, order!"]

MR. SPEAKER said, that the House was dealing with a point of Order, and it would be clearly out of Order to proceed with any discussion upon the merits of a Bill until that question was disposed of.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: Then, Sir, I now beg to move, with your

*Mr. Speaker*

permission, that the Order for the second reading of this Bill be discharged.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Order discharged; Bill withdrawn.*

#### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL—[BILL 44.]

(*The O'Conor Don, Mr. Richard Smyth, Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. James Corry, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Dease, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Redmond.*)

#### COMMITTEE.

*Order for Committee read.*

*Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(The O'Conor Don.)*

*Motion agreed to.*

*Bill considered in Committee.*

(*In the Committee.*)

*Preamble postponed.*

THE O'CONOR DON moved that the Chairman do report Progress, as he did not consider it would be fair to proceed with the Bill in the absence of the Chief Secretary and many Members who were deeply interested in the measure, and who had stated their intention to move Amendments in Committee. He had moved the House into Committee mainly to prevent an unnecessary debate upon the question of Mr. Speaker leaving the Chair.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Committee report Progress; to sit again upon Wednesday, 13th February.*

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (METROPOLIS) BILL—[BILL 14.]

(*Sir. Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Gordon, Colonel Beresford, Mr. William Edward Forster.*)

#### COMMITTEE.

*Order for Committee read.*

*Bill considered in Committee.*

(*In the Committee.*)

MR. ASSHETON CROSS wished to say one word in reference to this Bill. He thought that some time should be allowed to elapse before the next stage of the Bill was taken, on the ground that the Attorney General had an

Amendment to propose in it. He had not opposed either the second reading of the Bill or the going into Committee upon it; but he thought it was a measure to which the attention of the Attorney General should be directed.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that he desired to meet the convenience of the right hon. Gentleman; but he might state that the Attorney General had seen the provisions of the Bill and had offered no objection to them, and that it was a measure upon which all the Metropolitan Members were agreed. The Bill merely carried out the recommendations of the Select Committee of last Session.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, he believed that the Attorney General had seen the Bill, but he (Mr. Assheton Cross) wished to consult him in reference to some of its provisions before the Report.

Bill reported, without Amendment; to be read the third time upon *Wednesday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 24th January, 1878.*

MINUTES.] — *Sat First in Parliament* — The Lord Ranfurly, after the death of his Brother.

### THE EASTERN QUESTION — STATEMENT-BY HER MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT.—QUESTION.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, in the absence of my noble Friend who leads the Opposition in your Lordships' House (Earl Granville), I rise to put a Question to the noble Earl at the head of Her Majesty's Government. I have waited till close on the hour of a quarter past 5 o'clock to see whether any communication would be volunteered by Her Majesty's Government on a subject respecting which we are all anxious in this country at the present moment. My Lords, a report has reached us in this House that a statement of great gravity and importance has been made by Her

Majesty's Government in "another place." Perhaps the noble Earl at the head of the Government will allow me to ask him, Whether he means to submit any communication to this House upon that subject?

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, it appears to me to be only in accordance with the custom of Parliament that, when a Notice of the kind referred to by the noble Duke is given in the other House, Parliament should wait till a statement has been made by that Minister whose peculiar province it is to bring financial matters under the notice of the other House.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, will the noble Earl allow me to ask, as it is matter of notoriety that a statement of great gravity has been made to the other House—of such gravity that it looks in the direction of involving this country in war—perhaps the noble Earl will be kind enough to say whether he will lay on the Table of this House soon any further Papers explanatory of the resolution to which Her Majesty's Government have come? I ask this Question because, from the proceedings which occurred in Parliament last week, it was understood by those who sit on the opposite side to the Government in both Houses, that no change was likely to take place in the attitude of Her Majesty's Government on this very grave matter until the terms which Russia might propose to Turkey should be known to Her Majesty's Government, and until they should have come to the determination that those terms involved serious danger to those neutral interests which it is the business of the Government to defend. That, I say, was the understanding of those who sit on the opposite side to Her Majesty's Government in both Houses, and it has been the understanding of all since, which may, perhaps, account for the absence of my noble Friend (Earl Granville) this evening. I do not wish Her Majesty's Government to do or say anything which might seriously embarrass the public service. All I would respectfully ask is, that before any discussion on the subject comes on in this House, Her Majesty's Government will take an opportunity of laying on the Table such Papers as may explain the change of attitude which must have occurred since last week with regard to this matter.

**THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD:** My Lords, Her Majesty's Government will, of course, take care that all Papers shall be placed on the Table of this House that they can produce consistently with their sense of public duty. It is always agreeable to them to take Parliament into their confidence; but your Lordships must feel that this is a subject in respect of which much discrimination ought to be exercised. Now, with regard to the understanding to which the noble Duke has alluded, that no Resolution should be submitted to Parliament of the character of that of which Notice has been given in the other House to-night, except when the conditions of peace proposed by Russia were made known, I can only say that was an understanding not, as far as I recollect, of a formal character. An observation was casually made by one of the Ministers in the other House that no Motion such as that of which Notice has been given should be made until the conditions of the Russian Government were known. But at that time we had reason to believe, and had received information which induced us to accept it as true, that those conditions would be made known immediately. Now, a considerable period has elapsed since then; and the noble Duke must feel that the course which Her Majesty's Government might think it their duty to recommend Parliament to take cannot depend on the will of any foreign Government in keeping back any information as to the conditions. Therefore, I must protest against the interpretation which the noble Duke has put upon words which may have been spoken in debate in the other House. We should have been very glad to have been made acquainted with those conditions of peace at the time we thought we ought to be made acquainted with them; but we have not yet been made acquainted with them, and I have no authority for saying when we shall be put in possession of them. Under these circumstances, it is for Her Majesty's Government to pursue that course which they feel it their duty to their Sovereign and their country to pursue.

House adjourned at half past Five  
o'clock, till To-morrow, half  
past Four o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 24th January, 1878.*

**MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE —** Public Business, *appointed*; Irish Land Act, 1870, *appointed*; Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons), Lord Henry Thynne and Mr. Monk *added*.

**PUBLIC BILLS — Ordered — First Reading —** Marriage Preliminaries (Scotland)\* [86]; House Occupiers Disqualification Removal (Scotland)\* [87]; Bar Education and Discipline\* [88].

*Second Reading—*Roads and Bridges (Scotland) [4]; Public Health (Ireland)\* [1]; Linen and Yarn Halls (Dublin)\* [2].

*Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—* Parliamentary and Municipal Registration\* [73].

## NOTICE OF MOTION.

## SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

## NOTICE OF MOTION.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I beg to give Notice that on Monday next, in Committee of Supply, I shall move a Supplementary Estimate for the Naval and Military Services.

## QUESTIONS.

## ROYAL PARKS, &amp;c.—KEW GARDENS.

## QUESTION.

**SIR HENRY PEEK** asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether there would be any objection to the opening of Kew Gardens at an earlier hour than at present?

**MR. GERARD NOEL:** Sir, the matter to which the Question of my hon. Friend refers has been carefully considered by several of my Predecessors in the Office of Works as well as by myself, and what is asked could not be conceded without a large increase of expenditure and without materially interfering with the daily work in the Gardens. In fact, I may say the change demanded would involve the consideration whether Kew could continue what it originally was intended to be—a scientific utilitarian institution—or merely a resort for pleasure-seekers. The present arrangements I really believe satisfy every one but those who live in the immediate neigh-

bourhood. The visitors from the metropolis and elsewhere, as a rule, never arrive till long after the Gardens are opened, and sometimes days and weeks pass without any visitors. What a waste of public money would be incurred, therefore, were the Gardens always opened at 10 in the morning, and we constantly had to maintain an additional staff of men all the year round. Kew is open every day gratis to all, Sundays as well as week-days. Christmas Day is the only holiday, the only closed-day in the year. No institution in the country, I may say in Europe, is so freely open to the public every day from 1 p.m. till dark. Notwithstanding this, the authorities are so anxious to meet the reasonable demands of the public that, for the future, we are prepared to open the Gardens at 10 in the morning on Bank Holidays. I trust this will be satisfactory to my hon. Friend. He will see from what I have stated, that more could not be conceded without altogether altering the character of the Gardens, without doing away with the original intention for which the Gardens were established, and without largely increasing the annual expenditure.

#### REGISTRATION OF LAND, &c.

##### QUESTION.

DR. BRADY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in relation to the revelations of fraud, forgery, conspiracy, and obtaining money by false pretences, which have come to light by the trial and conviction of certain parties at the Central Criminal Court on the 15th instant, If he intends introducing a Bill to establish in this country a system of registration of land and other property similar to the Law or Laws now in force in our colonies?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, he had had the advantage of consulting with the Lord Chancellor and the Attorney General on the subject referred to in the hon. Member's Question, and he was able to state that it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a measure relating to it at present.

#### CEYLON—FOOD TAXES.—QUESTION.

MR. POTTER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What

action will be taken by Government on the Report of "the Commission appointed to inquire into the Taxes on Home-grown Grain and the Customs Duties on Imported Grain" in the Island of Ceylon; and, whether these Food Taxes and the system of farming the Revenue will be abolished in Ceylon?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into this subject has only arrived by the last mail, and until Her Majesty's Government has had an opportunity of taking it into consideration, it is impossible to say what steps will be taken in the matter.

#### MALTA—FOOD TAXES.

##### QUESTION.

MR. POTTER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, after Mr. Rowsell's Report on the food taxes in Malta has been laid upon the Table of the House, the Government will take steps to abolish the 10s. a quarter Duty levied on grain imported into the island, and other food taxes?

MR. J. LOWTHER: As I stated the other evening, Sir, Mr. Rowsell's Report has not yet been fully considered by the Government, and therefore my hon. Friend will no doubt agree with me in thinking it would be premature if I entered into any of the details he alludes to pending a full consideration of the whole subject.

#### MERCANTILE MARINE—MISSING STEAMERS.—QUESTION.

MR. PLIMSOLL asked the President of the Board of Trade, When inquiries will be held into the causes of the loss of the steamship "Wells," the steamship "Kinshan," and the steamship "Rose," all of which vessels have been lost with all hands?

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY: Sir, I gave all possible information about the loss of the *Wells* in answer to the hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Macdonald) last March. As I then stated, an inquiry had been held; but nothing has transpired since, nor could be expected. As regards the *Kinshan*, I am communicating about her. She left Cardiff last October with coal for Bombay, and has

not been heard of since. As regards the *Rose*, she disappeared after passing Copenhagen December 20, bound for Revel, and no evidence can be obtained as to the cause of her loss. She had a cargo of iron bridgework not excessive for her tonnage.

#### NAVY—JUDICIAL POWERS OF NAVAL COMMANDERS.—QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is true that a native of Tanna, in the Pacific, was hanged at the yard arm of Her Majesty's schooner "*The Beagle*," as reported by the Rev. T. Neilson, Resident Presbyterian Missionary at the island; and, if so, whether it is competent for the commanders of Her Majesty's ships to pronounce and execute capital sentences upon their own authority?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, it is correct that the native alluded to was hanged at the yard-arm of H. M. S. *Beagle*. An Englishman, named Easterbrook, had been murdered at Tanna. Mr. Neilson, a Presbyterian missionary there, reported the circumstance to Mr. Layard, Her Majesty's Consul at Noumea. Mr. Layard recommended the commodore to demand that "the murderer should be required from the tribe, and hung at the yard-arm as a warning to others." Commodore Hoskins ordered Lieutenant Caffin, of H. M. S. *Beagle*, to proceed to the island, and directed that if, after inquiry, he should be fully convinced that it was not the misconduct of Easterbrook that led to his being murdered, he was to cause the murderer to be executed according to judicial forms in the most public manner possible. A Court was formed of Lieutenant Caffin, Lieutenant Pugh, and Mr. Neilson, the missionary, and the murderer was tried and found guilty, and then hung at the yard-arm. As regards the competence of the officer to take these measures, the islands in question not being under the jurisdiction of any competent Court of any civilized country, this was the only course open for the punishment of such crimes. Only a short time ago for such a murder the course would have been to bombard the village and destroy it, which would have occasioned the loss of many innocent lives.

*Sir Charles Adderley*

#### GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF IRELAND— THE "FREEMAN'S JOURNAL."

##### QUESTION.

MR. REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether it is the fact that on Monday, the 14th instant, the following notice was posted on the Geological Survey Office Dublin:—

"Notice. Geological Survey of Ireland, Dublin. Considering the manner in which the '*Freeman's Journal*' has encouraged the disloyal demonstration of yesterday evening, the 13th instant, the Director trusts to the good spirit of the officers of the Survey not to allow that paper inside the public office.—14th January, 1878."

And, whether, if this notice was so posted, it was with the knowledge or approval of the Government; and, if not, whether the Chief Secretary will take any steps to prevent the repetition of similar conduct in Government offices?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: The Geological Survey Office is not under my control; but I find, on inquiry, that the Director, on his own authority, had posted up such a notice in his own office as has been quoted by the hon. Member. I have read the articles in *The Freeman's Journal* to which the notice, I presume, related, and I am bound to say that I am not surprised that the Director of the Geological Survey considered the articles in question as deserving of severe condemnation. But I think he might have left it to the good sense and the good spirit of his subordinates to form their own opinion; and if he considered it necessary to post any notice whatever on the subject of newspapers he might have been more general, and informed his subordinates that a Public Office was a place for the transaction of public business, rather than for the reading of newspapers of any kind. I do not see any reason for my taking any action in the matter.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY gave Notice that on an early day he would ask Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the doctrine just laid down by the right hon. Baronet, that newspapers should be excluded from Public Offices, should not be applied to England as well as to Ireland?

CIVIL BILL EJECTMENTS—RETURNS.  
QUESTION.

MR. MCCARTHY DOWNING asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether the Returns of the number of Civil Bill Ejectments entered and tried in each county in Ireland ordered by the House on the 11th of May last has been made; and, if not, when it may be?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: Sir, the Returns have been collected and will be presented on an early day. The delay which has occurred is mainly due to the difficulty experienced in obtaining Returns from the sheriffs of counties. No Returns were received from the high sheriffs of four counties, though repeated applications were made for them, and in several instances the sheriffs stated that they were unable to furnish the information, or were only able to give a part of it. In other respects the Return is complete, but it is feared that that portion of it which was to be obtained from the high sheriffs must, for the reasons above stated, be presented in a somewhat imperfect form.

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTION PETITIONS—LEGISLATION.—QUESTION.

MR. O'CONOR asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he intends to introduce a Bill this Session to amend the Law relating to the Trial of Parliamentary Election Petitions?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, in reply, said, it was his intention to introduce such a measure.

## THE BANKRUPTCY LAW—LEGISLATION.—QUESTION.

MR. FRESHFIELD asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether he intends to bring in a Bill in the present Session to amend the Law relating to Bankruptcy?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL, in reply, said, it was his intention at an early period of the Session to introduce such a Bill.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.  
DESPATCHES OF JANUARY 4, 8, AND 10.  
QUESTIONS.

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, Whether Despatches intervening between the three following can be given, in explanation of their apparent inconsistency, viz.

(1). That from Lord Derby (January 4th, No. 16): "It is clearly indispensable that the conditions on which it (the armistice) is to be granted, should be discussed between the two (belligerent) Governments, and not merely between Generals. . . . The armistice may well be arranged between the immediate belligerents," but the "other Powers also are interested in the conditions of peace."

(2). That from Lord Derby (January 8th, No. 22): "Under these circumstances (the supposition that the Russian Commanders have received the instructions) Her Majesty's Government consider that the conditions which appeared to them essential, in order to give effect to Prince Gortchakow's suggestion for an armistice, have been practically fulfilled."

And (3). The Statement of the Imperial Commander in Chief (January 10th, No. 32): "The negotiations can only take place directly with me. There cannot, however, be any question of an armistice at this moment without bases of peace."

MR. BOURKE: Sir, there are no intervening despatches; but in the despatch of the 11th of January, which has been already laid before Parliament, Lord Derby stated that he was unable to reconcile the terms in which the reply of the Grand Duke Nicholas was couched with those of the message they communicated to Her Majesty's Government, on the authority of Prince Gortchakoff, from St. Petersburg.

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any Despatch was written and reply received in explanation of the two conditions, on negotiations for peace, imposed by the Russian Government (January 9th, No. 28): namely,

"That the Russian Army should advance, and that the Turks should be convinced that they would receive no aid from England?"

MR. BOURKE: Sir, no despatch was written.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY—THE WAR—  
PROPOSED TERMS OF PEACE.

## QUESTION.

MR. HANBURY: I beg to ask my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer the Question of which I have given private Notice—namely, Whether the Russian terms of peace have yet been received; and, if so, whether,



without inconvenience, he can lay them before the House?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, the Russian terms of peace have not been received by or communicated to Her Majesty's Government.

#### THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES.

##### QUESTION.

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the Notice which he has given at the commencement of the Business, Whether he can inform the House when the Supplementary Estimates will be in the hands of hon. Members? It was my intention to have asked the Question which has just been put by my hon. Friend the Member for Tamworth (Mr. Hanbury); and perhaps, without trespassing on the time of the House, the House would allow me to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he has no further explanation to give on that matter than that which he has given? It will be in the recollection of the House that this day last week the right hon. Gentleman stated that a demand for further Supply would not be made until the terms of the Russian Government had been received by Her Majesty's Government. The answer which has just been given by the right hon. Gentleman does not appear to be altogether consistent with that assurance, and I would therefore ask him whether he has any further explanation to give on that point. And perhaps, further, the House would allow me to ask, whether, in view of the very grave anxiety, grief, and alarm, which no doubt will be produced throughout the country by the Notice which the right hon. Gentleman has thought it necessary to give, it is in his power now to make any further statement, in anticipation of that which it will be his duty to make on Monday, which may tend in any degree to diminish that anxiety, relieve that alarm, and calm the public excitement consequent upon it?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** With reference to the first Question put by the noble Lord, I hope that the Estimate will be in the hands of hon. Members, or, at all events, that I shall be able to lay it on the Table to-morrow evening. I am not in a position to do

so to-night. With reference to the second Question of the noble Lord—that is to say, the Question which relates to what he regards as the inconsistency between the Notice I have now given and what fell from me on the first night of the Session—I wish to remind the noble Lord and the House of what I really did state on the first night, because it was not exactly what the noble Lord has stated. The noble Lord had asked me in the speech which he made in the debate on the Address whether it was intended to ask for a Vote immediately, as had been shadowed forth in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech. In reply to that Question of the noble Lord, I stated that communications were going on with regard to the terms of peace, and that as we had then heard that it was likely that within a day or two days those communications would lead to the terms being proposed, it was not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to make any immediate proposal to the House, because it might very well happen that when those terms, which were expected to be disclosed in the course of a day or two, came to be known they would appear to be such as might be accepted by the Porte and also be acceptable to the Powers of Europe. Under these circumstances, I said, *cadet questio*; there would be no occasion for any proposal being made. Subsequently my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich, in commenting upon these statements of mine, put to me across the Table the Question, whether he was right in understanding me to say that no proposal would be made until the terms of peace had been received, and I nodded assent. But I must ask the House clearly to understand that I did that in the anticipation that what I had contemplated at the time I was speaking would take place—that is, that within a few days we should be in possession of those terms of peace. At all events, the position was such that I think the House will gather that I could have had no other expectation than that within a very few days we should be in possession of those terms of peace. But since that time a week has elapsed, and not only have the terms of peace not been communicated, but we have observed that a very considerable and rapid advance has taken place on the part of the forces of Russia. Under these circumstances Her

*Mr. Hanbury*

Majesty's Government have felt it necessary not to delay any longer that which Her Majesty intimated in Her Gracious Speech might be necessary—the necessity of asking Parliament to enable them to make provision if any circumstances should arise requiring that course to be taken. I am perfectly conscious of the inconvenience of a Notice such as that which I have been obliged to give; but the Government have thought it best that that Notice should be given at once, and that fair and due Notice should be given to all Members of Parliament, whether actually present in London, or having to come from any distance, that the subject would be brought forward on Monday. I think, and Her Majesty's Government also, that is the fairest and the best course, and although it leads to the inconvenience of a few days' delay, it is better than that the Government should be open to any charge of taking the House by surprise. I regret that I cannot find it within my duty to make any further statement upon the subject at this time, but I shall be prepared to do so on Monday.

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** Perhaps the House would forgive me for putting one further Question to the right hon. Gentleman. I should like to ask him, Whether it is the intention of the Government, before Monday, to present to the House any further Papers on the Eastern Question? In explanation I ought, perhaps, to say that the attention of the right hon. Gentleman has been called by one or two Questions to the fact that among the Papers which have been presented there are none that have any reference to our relations with the Courts of Europe generally. I would ask whether the Government now intend to lay before the House any Papers on this subject?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I will consider the subject in concert with my Colleagues, and we may be able, perhaps, to lay some Papers upon the Table to-morrow.

**SIR CHARLES W. DILKE** thought it would be more convenient to discuss at the same time the Motion of which the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mowbray) had given Notice—namely, that except for a Money Bill, no Order of the Day, or Notice of Motion be taken after Half-past Twelve o'clock.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** said, he had no objection to that course, if it were considered to be for the convenience of the House.

**MR. MOWBRAY** trusted that his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer would consent to the proposition of the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke).

**MR. RYLANDS** thought it would save the time of the House if the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would place on the Table the recommendations of the Government on the subject, and challenge the opinion of the House upon them. At the same time, he would observe that not one of the recommendations of the Committee which sat on this subject in 1871 had been adopted as a Standing Order by the House.

**MR. SPEAKER:** The Motion to refer this question to a Select Committee is not now before the House. The Motion before the House is that the Orders of the Day be postponed.

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY** said, that there would no doubt be a considerable advantage in the whole of the discussion as to Public Business being taken consecutively. He would therefore propose so to alter the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford (Mr. Mowbray), which was not an Amendment to the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as to terms that it would read—

“That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notices of Motion relating to the Public Business of the House.”

**MR. BERESFORD HOPE** expressed his satisfaction with the course proposed by the right hon. Gentleman.

## MOTIONS.

## PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS.

## MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I think I shall best consult the convenience of the House by being very brief in the proposal which I now wish to submit to it. I have to ask the House to appoint a Select Committee to consider the best means of promoting the despatch of Public Business in this House; and I do so partly to redeem a pledge which I gave in the last Session of Parliament, and partly because I think it would be for the convenience of this House; and of Public Business that we should consider whether there are not some amendments which might be made in the method of conducting our proceedings. What I am anxious to induce the House to agree to is the appointment of a Committee with this object, and I should propose, among other names, my own to serve on that Committee. In the event of the House choosing to place me upon it, I should be ready to present to the Committee, on the part of the Government, certain proposals having for their object the greater facilitating of the conduct of Public Business in the House. I think those proposals would be better, in the first instance, considered in the Committee than, as the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) proposes, by discussing them in the shape of Resolutions on the part of the Government. I desire to say that in making this proposal I have not at all exclusively, or even mainly, in view what may be called the interests of the Government in this matter. I have sat for many years in this House, and have had occasion to notice the course of Business both from an official and an unofficial position; and I think it will be for the convenience of all classes of Members and of the House at large that this matter, which is a very important one, should be considered frankly and fairly by those who have been most conversant with the subject, who have attended to the manner in which Business is conducted, and who have viewed it from different sides. I should be sorry to give the impression that I was making proposals that were intended simply to facilitate Government Business, and that

I was encroaching on what are regarded, and properly regarded, as the rights of the general body of Members. Nobody could be more reluctant than I am, either, to interfere with old-established rules, if they work fairly well, for the sake of introducing new ones that might at first sight look better; nor, on the other hand, is there anyone who is less disposed to infringe on undoubted rights of unofficial Members or of the House generally, or who is less disposed to infringe on the rights of minorities. I think it is most essential that, even if we have occasionally to suffer inconvenience, we should observe, and observe very strictly, those great principles which have been handed down to us by our forefathers in this House for so many generations. But I have remarked—as every hon. Member must have done—that from time to time it has been found convenient to revise and to some extent adapt our particular Rules of proceeding, in order to attain in a better way the objects we have in view. Business naturally changes; as a whole, Business increases; the number of hon. Members who take part in discussion naturally also increases; and, moreover, the amount of work that has to be done in Committee of Supply has of late years very much increased. I wish, therefore, particularly to consider whether this House is as well enabled now to perform that which is its principal object and purpose—the proper criticism of the Estimates in Committee of Supply—as it might be. I may be told—and I entirely recognize the rule—that it is one of the first principles of the British Constitution, that the consideration of Grievances should precede the granting of Supply. But I would point out that when your Business is so conducted as practically to prevent hon. Members from taking their proper part, as they desire to do, in the discussion of Supply itself, that is a grievance on the part of hon. Members which ought itself to be considered. And although, no doubt, it is desirable that there should be as great a latitude as possible in the manner in which Business is conducted, and to give hon. Members the greatest possible freedom in bringing forward any subjects to which they wish to call the attention of the House, still there is nothing more important for hon. Members in all parts of the House

than that there should be as much reasonable certainty in the Business which is to be brought forward and discussed as is attainable. That is important for the Government; but it is quite as important, or perhaps even more important to other hon. Members, because the Government are obliged to be here, and if they are not doing one part of their Business, they are probably doing another. But it may happen, and often does happen, that hon. Gentlemen who come down to this House, perhaps at some little inconvenience to themselves, after remaining here for a considerable time for the express purpose of discussing a particular subject, and which they had reason to believe would be brought forward, may find that some wholly unexpected subject occupies the sitting, and they are compelled to go away without the opportunity, it may be, of afterwards taking part in the debate when the matter is again introduced. Now, I wish to have the opportunity of making to the Committee, consisting of such hon. Members as you may please to place upon it, some proposals. They are not many, nor very intricate, but they are proposals which the Government think it right to propose with a view to the simplification of, and the attainment of rather more certainty in, the Business brought before the House. I do not think it desirable to throw these propositions loose on the Table of the House, nor do I think that a desultory discussion would be the best way of thrashing them out, so to speak. I think that they would be first better considered by a Committee, from whom they would come in a shape in which they could be discussed by the whole House, and accepted, or modified, or rejected, as you may please. I desire to say, also, that although I purpose making these proposals, yet in order that the Committee should not be one of a "fishing" character, it would not be at all proper, in my opinion, to exclude from consideration any other proposals which other hon. Members thought they had a right to bring forward, and which the Committee might be disposed to entertain. I hope, however, it will be understood that these are the conditions on which the Committee is to be appointed—that this is a Committee for the purpose of considering the "best means of promoting the despatch of Public Business

in the House." I make this remark because there are one or two Amendments which go beyond the scope of the subjects to which I think the Committee's inquiry should be directed—as, for instance, when it is proposed that the Committee shall consider the possibility of the Imperial Parliament dealing with the affairs of the whole Empire—an Amendment which distinctly goes beyond the scope of the inquiry. It is not a question of how much Business Parliament can undertake, but how Parliament can do the Business it has to do in the best and most expeditious manner. I hope, therefore, that the Committee will be required to confine itself to that inquiry alone, and that it will not be asked to go into the longer and more difficult inquiry of the limits of Parliamentary jurisdiction. Again, I would wish to say that I am making these proposals for the consideration of Amendments in our course of Public Business on the assumption that every hon. Member will desire, in a fair and straightforward manner, to promote the proper conduct of the affairs of the House; and I am not making the proposals, as has been stated out-of-doors, with the view of meeting what is called "wilful obstruction." I have no such idea, and if at any time we have to deal with such a thing, we must deal with it on different principles and different grounds. I hope that such matters will never again cause us trouble in this House; but if any such misfortune should arise—which I do not anticipate—I trust that the House will be able to vindicate its own dignity, and to carry on its Business in spite of such untoward opposition. But apart from wilful obstruction, there are many occasions on which time is wasted—not wilfully but thoughtlessly wasted—and we ought to consider how, without limiting the free liberty of Members, we can get rid of the inconvenience which thus arises. I have argued for this Committee in very simple terms, and I see that several special directions are proposed, some of which lie within and some beyond its scope. Some, no doubt, may be brought under its consideration; but I deprecate the enumeration of them before the Committee is appointed. We need not give Instructions which would point to conclusions at which we are not likely to arrive in the debate to-night. Therefore, without any further comment,

I will move for the Select Committee of which I have given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the best means of promoting the Despatch of Public Business in this House."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

THE O'CONOR DON, in rising to move, as an Amendment, to add at the end of the Motion the words—

"and especially to inquire into the desirability of committing Bills, unless when otherwise ordered, to Grand Committees, instead of to a Committee of the whole House,"

said, that it would be in the recollection of the House that towards the close of the last Session he had intended to move that Bills read a second time should be referred to Grand Committees. He had meant to bring forward that Motion early this Session, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion rendered it necessary for him to do so in the form of an Amendment. If it were desirable that the Select Committee should be appointed—a proceeding the benefit of which in common with the hon. Member for Burnley (*Mr. Rylands*) he doubted—it would be better to point out certain matters for its consideration than to leave it with so vague a Reference as was proposed. A Committee to be useful should have its attention directed to particular subjects, and it was in that belief that he had proposed that it should give particular consideration to the stage known as a Committee of the Whole House. Such a Committee, he thought, was almost a contradiction in terms, the very word "Committee" usually implying selection from a larger number of men intended to save the time and supplement the knowledge of the majority. That was a very generally adopted arrangement; but the House of Commons was unique in its adoption of a system which was certain to defeat its primary objects. One of these was the competent supervision and examination of details, which the present arrangement failed to secure. Nor did it save time, for the only difference between it and the House itself was that the Speaker was not in the Chair, and moreover further facilities were afforded for obstruction, since each hon. Member was allowed to speak as often as he chose. Decisions were very often come to in that House by Gentle-

men who had not heard a word of the arguments and did not understand the merits of the question. That was an evil which applied to all stages of the proceedings, but it applied in an especial manner to proceedings in Committee; for even if they heard the question put, it conveyed no information to them, and they could not tell on the spur of the moment what would be the effect of inserting or omitting certain words in particular clauses. It very often happened that when hon. Members came up to vote upon questions raised in Committee of the Whole House they were entirely ignorant, not alone of the merits of the question, but of what it nominally was; and this especially happened in relation to measures affecting Ireland and Scotland. There were, for instance, two measures affecting those countries with which it was proposed to proceed in the present Session—the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Bill and the Grand Juries (Ireland) Bill. He ventured to say that very few Members unconnected with Scotland knew anything about the first, and certainly very few unconnected with Ireland knew anything about the second; yet numerous Amendments would be placed on the Paper, which would be utterly unintelligible to any persons not acquainted from personal experience with the subject, and votes would be given by hon. Members who had heard nothing of the discussions, and who knew nothing of the Bills themselves. Again, how frequently did it not occur that a Gentleman had convinced those who had heard the discussion in Committee that it was desirable to adopt a certain Amendment and then found himself defeated by a sudden rush of hon. Members who had not heard the arguments, and had no idea what the Amendment was. Another defect was the haste and hurry in which Bills were often pushed through Committee without adequate consideration of their wording; while it was a thing of constant occurrence that Amendments were adopted in Committee on a Bill late at night and without much consideration to prevent its being lost for want of time, the result being litigation and the necessity for amending the law a year or two after. Now, his proposal was to do away with the system of having all the details of a Bill considered by the whole body of the House.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

The proposal was no new one, and had in favour of it the authority of the late Speaker as well as of Sir Erskine May, who might, he believed, be looked upon as being almost its author. Various forms of Grand Committees had, he might add, been proposed. It had been suggested that the House, at the beginning of a Session, should be divided into such Committees, and that they should have submitted to them groups of Bills according to the subjects to which they referred, such as Education, Finance, and the like. To such a proposal he entertained the objection that it would fail to meet one of the great ends which he had in view—the consideration to some extent of the demands which came from Ireland, as well as other parts of the Empire, that the details of Bills should be considered by the Members who were most interested in them, and who understood them best. To the appointment of a Grand Committee of that kind there would, he thought, be the strongest opposition; and it was well that this should be known by discussion in the House before it was considered upstairs by the Select Committee for which the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved. It had also been suggested that on the second reading of a Bill a large Select Committee should be appointed by the House to deal with its details; but he was of opinion that the adoption of such a plan would have the disadvantage of giving rise to protracted discussions on the names of the Committee being submitted for the approval of the House. Another proposal which had, he believed, been made by Sir Erskine May was, that every Member of the House should be at liberty to serve on these Grand Committees; but were that proposal adopted without any restriction, one would hardly know who were serving on any particular Committee. Now, what he himself would suggest was, that at the beginning of each Session there should be a certain number of Standing Committees appointed, and among them a special Grand Committee for the consideration of Bills relating exclusively to Ireland, another for those affecting Scotland, and, if deemed desirable, others for the consideration of particular classes of Imperial legislation, for Colonial Bills, and matters connected with India. To those Committees he would propose to give exactly the same powers

as were now possessed by Committees of the Whole House, but no more. They should have authority to consider the details of a measure and to report to the House, their Report standing in exactly the same position as the Report of the Committee of the Whole House did at present. He would not, however, suggest that the Committee of Supply should be done away with, or that control over the finances of the country should be given to any more restricted number of persons than the Members of the Whole House. If his plan were adopted, the advantage of a great saving of time would, he thought, be secured, because several of these Committees could be sitting at the same time; while they would secure the important advantage of having each measure carefully considered by those who were most conversant with its details. If the proposal were carried out in its entirety, there would also be the additional advantage that it would meet to a certain extent what he should call the national demand from Ireland to have more weight and influence in the decision of Bills by which that country was affected. He did not mean to say that this measure would quiet the demand for Home Rule, but it would at least mitigate the evil complained of. If it was not thought right to adopt his proposal in its integrity, and if Grand Committees composed of different nationalities were not acceptable to the House, another means might be adopted of arriving at the same result. It was this—When a Bill was read a second time, the Committee might be fixed for a certain day—say not sooner than a fortnight—and meanwhile hon. Members who wished to serve might be permitted to enter their names on a paper placed on the Table for the purpose. After a certain date this list should be closed, and no other Member allowed to join the Committee except on a special vote of the House. The result of this system, he believed, would be that only those hon. Members would join a particular Committee who were really interested in the subject to be discussed, and that consequently the discussion would be conducted mainly by hon. Members of the nationality most affected. Irish Members would, as a general rule, put down their names as willing to serve on Irish Bills, and Scotch Members on Scotch Bills; and in this way indirectly,

if not directly, a considerable step would be made in the direction in which he desired to advance. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that one main defect of the system now in force was that no one was aware when a particular Bill would come on. To remedy this he would propose that the Session should be divided into periods, one for English Bills, another for Irish Bills, and a third for Scotch Bills, by means of which not only would Business be facilitated, but hon. Members would be saved much inconvenience. If that was found to work well, he would not eventually despair of seeing the day when the Irish Business would be transacted by the Imperial Parliament in College Green, the Scotch in Edinburgh, and the English at Westminster. That, however, was a mere speculation, quite beyond his immediate object; and he would, for the time being, confine himself to moving an Amendment referring to the Select Committee the duty of considering the desirability of committing Bills to Grand Committees. He would also suggest that steps should be taken to obtain information as to the system of procedure adopted in other Legislatures, and especially as to the working of the bureau system in the Legislatures of France and the United States. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Amendment.

#### Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words "and especially to inquire into the desirability of committing Bills, unless when otherwise ordered, to Grand Committees, instead of to a Committee of the whole House."—(*The O'Conor Don.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. NEWDEGATE rejoiced that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had decided on the part of Her Majesty's Government that the proposed Committee should deal with the question of Public Business generally. The House had had some experience on this question. In the year 1871 a Select Committee sat on the Public Business of the House, and that Committee made sundry recommendations; but subsequently circumstances changed in the conduct of the Business of the House, and practices were adopted by hon. Members of filling up the Order Book and otherwise, which

rendered it necessary, in the opinion of many hon. Members, and in his (Mr. Newdegate's) opinion also, that the House should again consider the question of the transaction of its Public Business. He himself had repeatedly urged that there should be another Committee on the subject; but the late Leader of the House (Mr. Disraeli) objected, though the proposal of another Committee on the Public Business generally was supported by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. What was the result? Why, that the difficulties of the House increased, and the right hon. Gentleman the late Leader of the House proposed a Resolution to the House with respect to the right of individual Members to "espy" strangers, and thus to exclude the public. That Resolution was passed; but it was not satisfactory to the House, was not renewed, and had not become a Standing Order. Then there were the Resolutions proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer last Session. True, they survived for that Session; but they had not been found very effectual for their purpose, and there was no proposal to renew them. Twice in three years had proposals been adopted, with regard to the mode of procedure in the House, which did not meet with adequate consideration by the House to render them effectual. The only mode of amending their procedure, then, must be, as it had always been, to refer the whole subject of Public Business to a Select Committee, and to leave that Committee to devise the proposals to be submitted to the House. At the present moment there were several proposals before the House; and what objection could there be to hon. Members referring them, all or any of them, to the House, after the appointment of this Committee. If they found that all or any of them had not been considered by the Committee, that would be the proper mode of proceeding. First, appoint the Committee to inquire into the general Business of the House; then, if any hon. Member suggested grounds for believing that any point had not been considered, it would always be open to him to move an Instruction to the Committee; and the Members of the Committee, some of whom were always present in the House, could either accept the Instruction, or state the reasons why the Committee had not thought fit to

consider that particular part of the subject. The Business of the House was a whole, and every proposal relating to it that was made ought to be considered with reference to the whole. The House was one body; and if they were to take each separate proposal, as now suggested to the House, the danger was that the House would direct its attention to that proposal only, and lose sight of the relation of the suggested change to the whole Business of the House. He earnestly trusted, therefore, that none of the Amendments, of which Notice had been given, would be pressed. The fact that they were on the Notice Paper that night was, he thought, sufficient to ensure their due consideration when the Committee met. He was convinced that the Committee would not overlook them, but enable the House to form a deliberate opinion upon them, for the Report of the Committee would be based upon a consideration of the Business of the House as a whole. He (Mr. Newdegate) himself made a proposal in the year 1875, the Leader of the House having suggested that they should proceed by Resolutions. He was not going into a detail of the Resolutions which he then submitted to the House; he would merely say that they were a result of long and careful research, and of a good deal of labour on his part, which he must say the Leader of the House was good enough to acknowledge. But those proposals were submitted to a very thin House; the House was unwilling to consider them, and the first of them having been rejected, he withdrew the others. Those proposals, briefly stated, were that, in the case of a Bill proposed by an unofficial Member of the House, the House should resume its ancient practice of discrimination, and should, on the Motion for leave to introduce the Bill, ascertain what was the nature of the Bill, and the machinery by which it was proposed to carry it out, before it was permitted a place on the Order Book. That was the general

consider the whole subject of the Public Business of the House, he felt that he had no right, before that Committee was appointed, to give undue prominence to one particular part of the subject; for he felt confident that, when the Committee met, it would not slur over a question that had been acknowledged as important by the House. That a great change had taken place within the last few years in the conduct of the Business of the House he thought was manifest from the state of the Order Book, as compared with the state of the Order Book in previous years, and that change seemed to him sufficient to justify the House in instituting the proposed inquiry. Towards the close of last Session it was affirmed in the House that the transaction of the Business of the House had become so unsatisfactory to the country, that the position of the House in the eyes of the country was rapidly deteriorating, and such, he regretted to believe, had been the impression out-of-doors. The time was ripe for the appointment of the Committee on the whole subject, and he thanked the Chancellor of the Exchequer for having redeemed his pledge of last Session by the proposal which he had now made.

SIR CHARLES FORSTER bore testimony to the necessity for some change in the manner in which Public Business was transacted. He complained of the manner in which time was wasted in the repetition of hopeless divisions, as occurred during the memorable 26 hours' Sitting of last Session, when no less than 23 divisions took place, in many of which the minority varied from four to six. It seemed to him that in such cases the sense of the House should be taken on the propriety of continuing the divisions. Opposed as he should be, without great consideration, to the appointment of a Deputy Speaker, he still thought that a Deputy might be empowered to put the Motion for the Adjournment of the House at a late hour. It would be well, too, that the House



mittees of unusual size—the Cattle Plague Bill, for instance, and the Endowed Schools Bill were so treated. If they swept away the word “grand” what remained was only the affirmation of the principle that important Bills should be thrashed out in Committees upstairs before the steam-thrashing machine of the House was applied to the results of the primary process. That was now done in the case of every Bill sent to a Select Committee upstairs. He did not believe that Grand Committees would produce better Bills in the end, though the process of production would be inevitably lengthened, unless the arbitrary and impossible change were made of abolishing the Motion for recommitting Bills. Select Committees, chosen from Members specially fitted to deal with the various subjects referred to them, were far preferable to the present proposal; for these confessedly contained a large infusion of experts, whereas a Grand Committee would only be of the average quality of the Whole House—in short, nothing better than the House in small—whose conclusions would command no respect from the House at large, when they came back to it. If they wanted to alter the present system—as to which he said nothing—the only possible course would be more frequently to have large Select Committees of, say, 40 Members, to be appointed, as now, by the Vote of the Whole House. The scheme of Grand Committees would break down at the first stage when the system of their appointment came to be considered. The House never would submit to their being appointed by any authority except its own, and he merely begged it to imagine the delays, difficulties, and divisions which would environ and bewilder the nomination of a Grand Committee when any important measure was in prospect, and Party spirit was rife. The suggestion of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O’Conor Don), however theoretically valuable, was practically impossible, and

part of the unfinished work of one Session in the next Session of the same Parliament, and of putting some limit to the inordinate length of speeches,”

said, it seemed to him that the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O’Conor Don) had made out a fairly good case for the modified scheme of Home Rule which he had laid down in a speech of much greater length than he should consider it necessary to inflict on the House. One of the reasons which had induced him to put this Amendment on the Paper was that there was no subject on which the House had shown such extreme reluctance to carry out the recommendations of its Committees as it invariably did in respect to the Public Business. The reason was obvious. Public Business affected every individual Member of the House, and every individual Member thought himself quite as well qualified as any other Member, and perhaps better, to form and express an opinion on it. For that reason the experience of former Committees was far from encouraging. The House had treated the Reports of these Committees with something like contempt, and it would be difficult now to find a Member of any weight to serve on a Committee which was liable to be so treated. For his part, he preferred to place on the Paper proposals which he believed, if carried out, would be likely to bring about considerable improvement in their procedure. He had given Notice of two such proposals. The first was to the effect that the Business of one Session might be continued in the next Session, provided a Dissolution of Parliament did not happen in the meantime—in short, that the various Sessions of each Parliament should be continuous, instead of treating every Session not as a Session, but as if it were a Parliament. Important Bills which had been passed through Committee with great labour had been kicked out of the House of Lords without any consideration at all, because they were not sent up in time. On this account the

of Lords in the beginning of the next Session. If that were done, there would be an end to the hurried work of the House of Commons at the end of a Session, and an end to the complete idleness of the House of Lords at the beginning of a Session. It would also save a great waste of legislative power. All the hours and the labour spent upon a Bill, unless it could be passed in a single Session, were entirely thrown away. Many important Bills which were well discussed and amended in one Session, had to be begun again the next, just as if they had never been heard of. This seemed such a waste of legislative power, that he could not conceive how it was tolerated from year to year. Another proposal was that some precaution should be taken to reduce the inordinate length of speeches. Since the last Reform Act, a much greater number of Members were sent up who were desirous of taking part in the debates. If out of 658 Members only a dozen or half-a-dozen had time to take part in a debate, the House not only treated the other 650 very unfairly, but was not doing justice to the constituencies which returned them, and yet without some restriction it was impossible to get over that difficulty. Sometimes they had a four or five nights' debate, and yet the number of speakers was only about 30 that could take part in the debate. How was that to be got over except by making some limit to the length of speeches? All other Legislatures had means of doing so except ourselves, and we had attempted to establish one by Members crowding round the Bar, and endeavouring to stop a speaker by cries of "Divide, divide!" This was not only undignified and unseemly, but it was also extremely ineffectual, and he hoped that the House would find some other and better means of obtaining the desired end. He was quite willing that these proposals should come before the Committee, where he might be able to enlarge upon them at greater length.

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU called the attention of the House to the fact that the Committees consisted of Members from each of the three Kingdoms—Ireland, Scotland, and England—so that the Committee bore the complexion of the House itself. It was suggested that Irish questions should be referred to Irish Members. That would be a very

great convenience in some cases, but in others it was a great inconvenience. In 1864 the Government thought it necessary to introduce a Coercion Bill. The Irish Members said that it was not at all required, and in the end they were proved to be right; and in that case it would certainly have been the convenience. If the Bill had been referred to Irish Members, they would have left nothing of it to be reported to the House save the title; but the result would have been that the Minister of the time being would still be of opinion that a Coercion Bill should be passed. The scheme of his hon. Friend (the O'Connor Don) was one which would, he believed, fail the moment they began to work it. There was a flaw in it. If they wished that Ireland should be ruled intelligibly—according to Irish ideas—then there was only one way to do it. If they rejected that, they could not have this scheme of Grand Committees. He trusted that the Committee would not be composed of those well versed in the official ways of the House, but that they would have Representatives upon it of opinion from all sides of the House, whether they had long been Members or not. Scotland and Ireland ought to be very fully represented. English Members had the power to act just as they pleased with Scotch and Irish Business; and, therefore, if they were now going to introduce new rules, it was only fair that the cause of the sister country, which was weak in comparison to England, should be fully considered.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he thought the whole tone of the discussion showed that hon. Members were thinking of something more serious than the appointment of this Select Committee. For his part, he could not but believe that if it had not been for the promise of the Chancellor of the Exchequer last Session they would not have had that proposal at that moment. If the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Government had proposals to make which would materially promote the Business of the House, those proposals should be made on the authority of the Government. The present Government, whether rightly or wrongly, had achieved the reputation of referring nearly every question to a Committee, with a view of deriving an authority or obtaining an assistance in the formation of an opinion

which the country was entitled to ask for at the hands of the Government itself. He was glad to learn that this Committee, if it was appointed, as he presumed it would be, was intended really to consider the best mode of facilitating the Business of the House and not indirectly to consider the conduct of individual Members. He had heard very little allusion to-night to anything which took place during the last Session of Parliament, and he hoped that this Committee would not find it necessary to enter into that matter; because, whatever might be thought of the vigour or persistency of the course of conduct of certain hon. Members which had received a distasteful name, he would only remind the House that hitherto that very course of conduct had been considered a weapon of great value in this country, and both sides had had recourse to it. They might appoint these Committees over and over again, and nothing would come of it, because the Business of that House was greater than the House could manage. An hon. Gentleman (Mr. Anderson) had complained of the speeches in the House being too long. As a general rule, sitting there as he did constantly, he did not think that was true, and he derived instruction from the speeches of hon. Members, who expressed themselves in intelligent and generally in dignified and business-like language. The proposal to refer Business to a Committee or a bureau, and the proposal to limit the speeches, were direct invasions of the privileges and intentions of Parliament. The sole object of Parliament was not to pass laws, but to promote discussion and to ventilate public questions. It certainly was not the wish of the majority of the Irish Members to obstruct or to interfere with the legitimate Business of Parliament. If their proposals were adopted in their integrity they would still form a portion of this great Assembly, and they would come there to assist in its deliberations

plause of his Friends for the kind of obstruction he offered to its passing, and he spoke 72 times in the course of the discussion of the Bill. They knew that in the discussion on the Army Purchase Bill, and on the Ballot Bill, many hon. Members were perpetually obstructing in a way which was supposed to do them great credit. He did not approve of the proposal that the House should be divided into Committees of different nationalities, for that would not get rid of the demand of the Irish people for self-government. He hoped great care would be exercised in selecting this Committee, and that Representatives would be taken from all sides of the House, whether they had long been Members of the House or not.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER said, the proposals of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) were exceedingly ingenious; but he thought when they came to be put to the test they would be found impracticable. It would be an insurmountable difficulty to adjust the strength of political parties in Grand Committees; and, as Sir Erskine May said, nothing would be gained by resorting to them if they were to be Committees of the Whole House under another name. It would be difficult so to constitute Grand Committees that all Members would be upon them who ought to be, or so that a Member would not be in one Committee when he was wanted in another. For these reasons he feared that Grand Committees would not work consistently with Government by Party. The proposed Committee ought to pay some attention to the nomination of Select Committees, from which Members with special qualifications were sometimes excluded because they had not influence enough with the Whips, who were naturally governed by Party considerations.

MR. HIBBERT said, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was justified in asking for a Committee, because the Business

when the Committee made its Report. While he would not say Grand Committees could not be formed so as to promote the despatch of Business, he deprecated the constitution of them by nationalities, believing that, as far as was practicable, the three Kingdoms ought to be legislated for on the same principles and in the same Bills. Last Session time was lost by having separate Prison Bills for each of the three Kingdoms; and this Session there would be a corresponding gain in passing the Factories and Workshops Bill, because definition clauses made it applicable to Scotland and Ireland. With regard to Business on Wednesdays, he suggested that instead of a Bill being talked out, a division should be taken upon it at half-past 5 o'clock. In that way they would get rid of the Bill, if it were an objectionable one. Of late years there had been an increase of Motions on going into Committee of Supply, so that Government had practically lost the Fridays; and it might be well to give the Government two Fridays in each month. It was worth considering whether there ought to be any discussion on going into Committee on a Bill unless there were Notice of an Instruction to the Committee, and whether, in Committee, the privilege of speaking twice on the same Motion should be restricted to the Member in charge of a Bill. If alterations of that character were carried out, much time might be saved; Government would have greater opportunities of proceeding with their measures, and hon. Members would get into the country at a much earlier period of the year than they could now do.

MR. GREGORY said, that his hon. Friend the Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert) had anticipated him in one of the suggestions he was about to submit to the House—namely, that Members should not be allowed to speak an unlimited number of times on every question in Committee. If hon. Gentlemen would consider what they wished to express there could be no difficulty or inconvenience in their doing so in one speech. He also thought some limit should be placed upon the power of moving Amendments in Committee. Nothing could be more inconvenient or prejudicial to the framework of a Bill than the practice of starting Amendments on the spur of the moment, of

which no Notice had been previously given. Everyone conversant with legal documents knew how necessary it was to well consider any alterations introduced into them with reference not only to the context, but the general character of the document; and he thought that Members might fairly be required to give Notice of their Amendments to Bills on the Paper before proposing them in Committee. Without altogether agreeing with the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), he thought that the Business might be materially facilitated by the reference of Bills to Select Committees, properly constituted, and such scandals as had been referred to with regard to the progress of Bills in Committee of the Whole House would be prevented. He had been a Member of the Committee on the Endowed Schools Act, and ventured to think that the result of their labours had been most satisfactory, and if a similar course had been taken at first with the Supreme Court of Judicature Bill, many useful Amendments might have been made in it, and the labours of the House to amend it in a subsequent Session would have been rendered unnecessary.

MR. THOMSON HANKEY said, it appeared to him that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had directed his attention to those matters which seemed to the right hon. Gentleman to be the most serious evils under the present system, and if they were to couple with the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion any of the Amendments on the Paper they would not do any good; it would, on the other hand, be unwise to agree to any Amendment, as it would fetter the right hon. Gentleman in regard to what he promised to do in placing his views and those of the Government before the Committee. The fact was the House had on previous occasions collected evidence *ad nauseam* on this subject, and all they now wanted were some practical suggestions for consideration by the Committee, and adoption by the House. He was of opinion that the hon. Member for Roscommon, and other hon. Members who had placed Amendments on the Paper, would render great service to the House by not pressing them to a division.

MR. DODSON said, that from the course of the debate two things were

evident—in the first place, it was evident that the House was disposed to agree to the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the appointment of the Committee; and, in the second, that it was not disposed to enter into an exhaustive discussion of the different Amendments on the Paper. Last Session the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he and his Colleagues would consider, during the Recess, the recommendations which had been made by Select Committees in previous years; that they would consult the authorities of the House, and be prepared to submit proposals to the House for their consideration this Session. He (Mr. Dodson) understood from that, and he hoped, that at the commencement of this Session the right hon. Gentleman would come down to the House and make some direct propositions to the House. He had no very great expectations of the results of a Committee appointed to consider the Business of the House. There had been many Committees on the subject, but the fruits of their exertions had not been very great. He gathered from the observations of the right hon. Gentleman that the Government had considered the recommendations of the previous Committees, and that they had formed in their own minds a programme which they wished to submit not directly to the House, but to this Committee. He understood that the Government were prepared to undertake the conduct of the Committee, and that they would supervise and be responsible for its management. He did not, therefore, think it would be reasonable for the House not to accede to such a proposal. That being the case, and the terms of the Motion being wide enough to admit of the consideration, not only of the programme of the Government, but of any proposals that might be submitted *ad libitum* by Members of the Committee, no advantage would be gained by the acceptance of any of the Amendments on the Paper. Neither could the suggestions that had been made be accepted as Instructions to the Select Committee without ample discussion. The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Anderson) who suggested the suspension of Bills from one Session to another was not, perhaps, aware that the subject had been fully considered already. It had been considered three times—by two strong Com-

mittees of this House in 1848 and 1861, and by a Joint Committee of both Houses in 1869; and each had reported unanimously against such a proposal. He would mention one objection. A Bill might pass this House which the other House of Parliament might dislike, but might not be prepared to reject or abandon. It would be an easy alternative to suspend it for another Session. Again, those who had charge of a Bill might, having had the Recess to reflect upon it, get such Amendments as would alter its whole character introduced in the House of Lords; but, when the Bill came back, the House of Commons would not have power to debate those Amendments fully, but would have simply to accept or reject them as Lords' Amendments. Another objection was that this was a matter which affected the three Estates of the realm, and could not be dealt with except by Act of Parliament. He did not think that the suggestion that no Amendments of which Notice was not given should be received was practicable. Very frequently the adoption of an Amendment on the Paper rendered the adoption of other Amendments necessary of which no Notice could possibly be given. With regard to Grand Committees, the House had better leave the Select Committee free and unbiassed. He would wish, however, to ask how were these Grand Committees to be appointed? Were they to be large Select Committees, appointed as Select Committees usually were, with an equal number of Members taken from each side? If so, the majority of the House would sacrifice itself. Then, if the Grand Committees were to consist of Gentlemen specially conversant with particular subjects—such as legal Members for legal matters, commercial Members for commercial matters, agricultural Members for agricultural matters, and so on—it would infallibly happen that the majority of the House would in two or three Committees, at least, find themselves in a minority, with no chance of passing the Bills they desired. If, on the other hand, they were to have Open Committees, and Members were allowed to vote in all the Committees, the minority in Committee A might, when a division was imminent, send for the Members of Committee B to come and vote, on the understanding that they by-and-by would do a similar good turn. The effect of that

*Mr. Dodson*

would be to establish a system of log-rolling, which would be most injurious to the character of Parliament. He did not wish to express an opinion upon any one of the Amendments on the Paper, or upon the suggestions which had been ventilated; and if he had used arguments against any one of them it was merely to show hon. Members that their views were not so easy to carry into practice as they seemed to suppose. The House was not in a mood to discuss any of these proposals fully, and therefore it would be better to leave all questions to be dealt with by the Committee, the reference to which would be in very general terms, and it would be open to the Committee to do what might seem to them to be right, and to make their own suggestions to the House in their Report. In his view, they should leave the Committee free and unfettered in its action.

MR. M'LAREN thought that Grand Committees, limited as proposed by the hon. Member for Roscommon, would be dangerous and would not work as well as Committees of the Whole House, composed of Members from the different parts of the United Kingdom. As a Scotch Member, he had great confidence in the fairness of English and Irish Members in relation to Scotch Business; and having watched the course of Scotch legislation for 40 years, he thought his country deeply indebted to English and Irish Members. If Grand Committees were appointed, there would be danger, where money was involved, of Irish Members favouring their own country, and of Scotch Members favouring theirs. For instance, last Session there was a Bill before the House which dealt with the salaries of the Chairmen of Counties in Ireland. It was referred to a Select Committee, and he was surprised to see how quickly it came back with their salaries raised to £1,400 a-year, and the Clerks of the Peace to £600, £700, and £900 a-year; and, on asking an Irish Member how it was managed to get a Bill passed so rapidly with such a Schedule, he replied that the Committee was composed of 20 Irish Members and three English Members. He did not think it would have got through so easily if there had been more English or Scotch Members on the Committee. At the same time, he wished it to be understood that for this he did not blame

Ireland or the Irish. He was sure if it had been a Scotch measure of the same sort, and there had been an equal proportion of Scotch Members on the Committee, the same thing would have happened. There should be sufficient local knowledge in the Committee to explain every particular thoroughly, and there should be an impartial jury, consisting of about two-thirds or more of the number of the Committee, to give an impartial judgment.

MR. BIGGAR said, there was a Scotch Roads and Bridges Bill coming before the House, and also an Irish Grand Juries Bill. Now, he should not be able to understand the former question, and what he would probably do would be to vote with the hon. Gentleman the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren); and probably the hon. Member would in a similar way follow him in the vote on the Grand Juries question. Neither of them could fully understand a Bill referring to the local affairs of the country of the other. It would be well if the Government did not introduce more Business than could be really expected to pass during the Session. The system of trying to force the Business through in a hurry, without proper discussion, wasted more time than all the other systems put together. The result of such a method was that a Bill passed into law in one Session needed re-consideration and amendment in perhaps two or three following Sessions; and the complaint naturally followed that there were too many Acts of Parliament upon a particular subject, and then came the necessity for a Consolidation Bill. The plain result of all this was that, instead of one Bill being properly considered in a reasonable time, the whole affair occupied about four times as long as was really necessary. There was another point of consideration too—namely, the incapacity of the Government to estimate with any degree of accuracy the length of time that should be occupied on certain discussions. For instance, on a night last Session, when the Budget was introduced, the Government wished that the Public Worship Bill should be dealt with the same night, the result actually being a 'four nights' discussion upon what was estimated by them to occupy only one night. With the experience of the right hon. Gentleman, he ought to be able to estimate what time should be

occupied in a discussion according to the circumstances of the House. He further thought that a large majority of the Members of each Committee ought to be of the same nationality as the measures brought under its consideration. If the Committee proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer were appointed, it would probably report towards the end of the Session. No further action would in all likelihood be taken in the matter, and thus another exemplification would be afforded of the manner in which the time of the House was wasted.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR, referring to a remark that had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said, he fully appreciated the advantages of getting into Committee of Supply; but they ought to have facilities for getting on with that Supply by an improvement in the mode of stating the requirements of the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had last year promised that if he (Sir George Balfour) formulated his suggestions on this point he would take them into consideration. He had done so, and he begged to remind the right hon. Gentleman of his promise. It was only the portions of the Estimates which were different from those of the previous year that excited discussion. Following the example of the French Chamber, the House ought to have laid before it all the different sums and different changes in the Estimates. They could then vote the Estimates as the French Chamber did, with much greater usefulness to the country than they did at present.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, he feared he could not congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the mode he had adopted of bringing this subject under the consideration of Parliament. He wanted them to refer the whole question to a Select Committee, and he had done so without including in the slightest degree the nature of the proposal which he intended to submit to the Committee. He did not think that that form of proposal was likely to save any time, such as it was suggested to do. After the Committee had duly sat upon the question they would come to the House with magnificent conclusions and recommendations, without in the slightest degree showing upon what these conclusions were founded. He did not think sufficient justice had been done to the

Amendment of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), which contemplated placing Public Business of various kinds in the hands of Committees composed of those Members of the House who were best able, from their local knowledge and experience, to deal with it. Whatever might be the decision of the House upon it, he would remind hon. Members that Home Rule represented Irish nationality; and if it were known in the popular constituencies of Ireland that Home Rule did not represent Irish nationality, they would see very little of Home Rule Members on those benches. Whatever was done, therefore, with the Resolution of his hon. Friend, he could not expect that Irish Members would abandon the national demand they had insisted on putting forward; and until that demand was conceded in a proper spirit, they could not say that their mission had been fulfilled. The bureau system of France gave the conduct of Public Business to the men most competent to deal with it; and the Amendment of his hon. Friend would hand it over to those best qualified by local knowledge and experience for dealing with it. As the Business of the House grew and accumulated, new and more extended machinery was required for disposing of it. Great social and political problems arose every day; and as Parliament undertook to grapple with them, it was useless for that House to attempt to retain its old machinery, which, though it answered very well 25 years ago, was now completely obsolete. He, therefore, urged the House to adopt the hon. Member's Amendment, and thus, while relieving themselves from the pressure of Business, make a concession to the national feelings of Ireland. His experience of modern Parliaments told him that it was impossible for anyone but the Government to succeed in passing measures through the House, the consequence of which was that the Government turned aside from its Executive duties, which should more properly belong to it, and turned to the duties which belonged to the Parliament. Whatever might be said about the Constitution of the United States—and he would not say that it was superior to the British Constitution—but whatever might be said of its defects, it was at least free from the difficulties to which he had called attention. It had no Ministerial responsibility in any way.

*Mr. Biggar*

The prevailing majority in Congress, whatever it might be, was the only body responsible for legislation. He regretted that the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) should have deprecated discussion at this stage of the numerous Amendments now before the House, stating that the Select Committee would be sure to consider them. The reason he should like all the proposed Amendments added to the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was that they represented the conclusions of Gentlemen who had devoted some attention to this question, and they also represented the labour and thought which these Gentlemen had given to these proposals. If the Select Committee would deal with these, it would prevent the necessity of going all over the discussion again. But if they merely appointed a Committee, saying in "general" terms that they had to consider the whole question of Public Business, and come down to the House with their bare decisions, he would undertake to say that would be as barren and fruitless in its results as had been those Committees which had previously sat, and they would find themselves a few years on in precisely the same position as they now occupied.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. O'DONNELL (for Mr. SULLIVAN) moved to add at the end of the original Motion, the words—

"And whether the endeavour of the Imperial Parliament to deal with the legislative requirements of the three Kingdoms as to local affairs has not been a serious obstacle to the due and expeditious discharge of the general Business of the House."

He believed that a direction of the kind which the Amendment contemplated would not be found to be superfluous or irrelevant. On the contrary, it seemed to him to be required in order to bring out of the appointment of any Committee the good which they all desired. When he remembered how earnestly and how often, on both sides of the House, the complaint had been made that the Irish demand for local legislation was not understood, it appeared to him that an Amendment like the present afforded an admirable opportunity for the Members of the present Government, and of the Administration

which had preceded it, acquiring the information which they had so frequently declared they desired with reference to the conduct of measures connected with Ireland, and therefore he did not think there could be any difficulty in accepting it. There was reason to fear that the Committee proposed was only likely to have the result of previous Committees, and prove abortive. He felt that there was a very strong necessity to add to the general proposition—to add something specific on that general ground. He felt that a specific recommendation was necessary to bring about that good that was required. Speaking as an Irish Member, he could say that the requirements of Irishmen were not understood, and this Amendment would give the requisite information wanted. He maintained that, if the Amendment were passed, the effect would be to direct the attention of the Committee to the nature of Irish demands and the concessions which, with all due regard to Imperial unity, might be made in the way of satisfying the people of the sister Kingdom. The unimpeachable and impartial evidence which would be adduced would tend to remove the ignorance of hon. Members as to what it was the Irish people required, and no doubt a practical and business-like solution would, in consequence, be found for the Irish difficulty. The terms of the Amendment were strictly moderate, and they answered all that could reasonably be required. They asked that the Committee should take into consideration—

"Whether the endeavour of the Imperial Parliament to deal with the legislative requirements of the three Kingdoms as to local affairs has not been a serious obstacle to the due and expeditious discharge of the general Business of the House."

The Amendment was to review the course of legislation on general and local affairs, and in that review they might have a guide for the future working of legislation. He did not intend to speak further in support of this Amendment than he thought it his duty to do; but he would remind the House that they were always asked as to what were the local requirements of Ireland, and this Amendment would give what was local in contradistinction to what was considered Imperial. It only carried out the recommendations repeatedly made by English Members.



MAJOR NOLAN, in seconding the Amendment, said, he regarded the House of Commons as the most perfect machine for doing Business that the ingenuity of man could invent; but unfortunately the internal arrangements of Parliament prevented it from efficiently dealing with Irish affairs. He had, therefore, been very much struck with the necessity for some such inquiry as that indicated in the Amendment; for, if Irish Business was to be properly attended to, he really believed it would occupy the entire attention of this House for two or three years. They saw the machinery for doing the work; but unfortunately the Irish Members were not allowed to work, and the English Members were taken up with matters of more importance. He thought that they ought to consider whether the English or the Irish Business could not be disposed of by Grand Committees or otherwise. It was thought the Motion was owing to what was termed the "obstruction policy" of Irish Members; but he thought that if something was done in the proposed Committee, as suggested by this Amendment, they might find some solution of the question. He emphatically said that Ireland was neglected in that House, because the English Members thought of the more important affairs connected with the other portions of the United Kingdom. He was convinced that if the question proposed in the Amendment was discussed, some light would be thrown on the difficulty.

#### Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Question, to add the words, "and whether the endeavour of the Imperial Parliament to deal with the legislative requirements of the three Kingdoms as to local affairs has not been a serious obstacle to the due and expeditious discharge of the general Business of the House."—(Mr. O'Donnell.)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY, fearing that the Committee would not have time to deal satisfactorily with the question relating to the conduct of Irish Business, would recommend his hon. Friend (Mr. O'Donnell) to withdraw the Amendment.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that, with the permission of the House, he would

content himself with having raised the question, and would withdraw the Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. O'DONNELL rose to move the Amendment which appeared on the Paper in his name, when—

MR. SPEAKER decided that he could not move it, as he had already spoken to the question before the House.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Select Committee *appointed*, "to consider the best means of promoting the Despatch of Public Business in this House."

#### PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS— (HALF-PAST TWELVE RULE).

##### RESOLUTION.

MR. MOWBRAY, in rising to move—

"That, except for a Money Bill, no Order of the Day or Notice of Motion be taken after half-past Twelve of the clock at night, with respect to which Order or Notice of Motion a notice of opposition or amendment shall have been printed in the Notice Paper, or if such Notice of Motion shall only have been given the next previous day of sitting, and objection shall be taken when such Notice is called."

said, that the House would see that his Motion was of a limited character, and differed entirely from that of his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer in being the recommendation, not of an individual, but of the Select Committee of 1871. It had in its favour their unanimous opinion, the experience of the past six years, and it would materially conduce to the comfort and convenience of hon. Members. He introduced it in no Party spirit, because he knew it was supported by many hon. Members opposite as well as by hon. Members on his own side of the House. All he asked of the House was that it would renew temporarily and until the Committee had reported the Resolution which had been popular for some time. It had been originally proposed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), and had since been continued on several occasions, being re-enacted, when it was last challenged, by 185 votes to 23. He was told that there was some little revulsion of feeling on the part of hon. Members, partly on account of the "obstruction" that had been practised dur-

ing the last Session, and partly because the Rule had been abused. It was true that it had been discovered that since 1871 the House had sat on an average a little later than before; but, at all events, the Rule had been productive of much practical convenience, especially by the certainty which it gave that Opposed Business would not be taken after half-past 12. The principle was a sound one, and he would accept the Amendment of the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory), which came to much the same thing—namely, that the names of three hon. Members should be put to every Notice of Opposition. He begged, without prejudice to the inquiries of the Select Committee, to move the Resolution of which he had given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

“That, except for a Money Bill, no Order of the Day or Notice of Motion be taken after half-past Twelve of the clock at night, with respect to which Order or Notice of Motion a notice of opposition or amendment shall have been printed in the Notice Paper, or if such Notice of Motion shall only have been given the next previous day of sitting, and objection shall be taken when such Notice is called.”—  
(Mr. Moubray.)

MR. HIBBERT said, there was much dissatisfaction in past Sessions with the Half-past Twelve rule, and it was a fact that the House had sat many more hours after midnight in the six years since this rule had been in operation than in the six years previously. It was therefore a fit question to be considered by the Committee the House had just agreed to appoint. The rule was used vexatiously to prevent Business coming on, for a debate which otherwise would close about midnight was sometimes prolonged in order that the rule might be enforced against the commencement of another discussion. This was an indirect way of closing the Business of the House; and he thought they should say by way of Standing Order, if at all, that no Opposed Business should be taken after a certain hour. He would therefore

Public Business has reported to the House.”—  
(Mr. Hibbert.)

Question proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

MR. GORST said, that the question was a very small one; only what they should do in the interval before the Committee reported, and, under the circumstances, the fair thing to do was to withdraw both the Motion and the Amendment, and leave matters *in statu quo*.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN thought the proposal could hardly be said to leave matters *in statu quo*, since this rule had only been enacted for three or four years past, and then merely as a Sessional Order. He never could understand why the rule should be supported; like some other things of modern invention, it was not quite as good as the customs of their forefathers. There was no doubt that this rule had two very considerable disadvantages. In the first place, it practically put a stop to all legislation by private Members. That might be considered by some people desirable, but was one undoubted effect of the rule. Only last Session he (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) had carried the second reading of the Colonial Marriages Bill by a considerable majority against the opposition of the Government. But no effort of his could procure an opportunity even for the further discussion of that Bill at its next stage at any period during the Session, and such a state of things was a scandal to a Legislative Assembly. Under the old system he should have agreed with the opponents of the Bill to take it at a late hour on some particular night, and so settle the question one way or the other. But this could not be done under the Half-past Twelve rule. Another great objection was the encouragement given by this rule to Members to talk upon some measures to which there was no opposition in order to prevent some Bill coming on before 12.30 A.M.: and he be-

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE congratulated his right hon. Friend upon the true old-world Man-of-Kent ring of his sentiments; but he reminded the House that for all practical purposes the question had been taken out of their hands. In the good old times, to which his right hon. Friend looked back so fondly, the late nights were few, and then they were really late, while the public was content to wait for its reports even till the second day. Now science and competition had changed all this state of things, and the revolution was consummated by the system of early newspaper trains. Whether the House made this rule or not, the gentlemen of the Press in the Gallery had of inevitable necessity set up their Half-past Twelve or One o'clock rule, since the necessity of writing out and of printing in time for the newspaper trains rendered it impossible to report debates after midnight. He would support the original Motion.

Mr. RYLANDS expressed the hope that the House would accept the Resolution of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxford University (Mr. Mowbray). He had no doubt that, taking Business generally, the Half-past Twelve rule had been an improvement. Formerly the House might be found sitting up to 1 and 2 o'clock in the morning passing important measures, the deliberations on which were never reported—the Members themselves not being in a condition for maturely deliberating upon them. He had himself heard two most important statements by present and past Lords of the Admiralty delivered at such an hour that it was impossible to give more than a line or two to them in the next morning's papers. They had no right to dip their hands in the public purse when the reporters were away from their duty. Those who objected to the rule were mostly private Members who had charge of Bills which they were unable to push through. Now, although he sympathized with independent opinion, he did not think it desirable that private legislation, which was often crude and pernicious and fussy, ought to have undue facilities given to it. The rule, therefore, tending, as it did, to prevent mischievous measures from slipping through after half-past 12, when many hon. Members had gone home, was a useful one and ought to be maintained.

SIR WILLIAM FRASER, in support of the rule, cited the following 11 names of old and experienced Members of this House, headed by Mr. Lowe, who, as Members of the Committee of 1871, had declared in its favour:—Mr. Lowe (Chairman), Mr. Bouverie, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Dodson, Mr. C. Forster, Sir George Grey, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Newdegate, Mr. Wilson Patten, Mr. Rathbone, and Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.—[See 3 *Hansard*, cciv.]

Mr. ANDERSON, who had given Notice of the following Amendment:—

“That such notice of opposition shall be removed from the paper on the Clerk at the Table being assured that the Member in whose name it stands is absent from the House, and has been so for two successive sittings,”

said, that as he had put this Amendment to the Resolution on the Paper, it would perhaps be convenient that he should say a few words on the subject now. Having listened to the strong speeches of the hon. Members for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) and Burnley (Mr. Rylands), it did not appear to him that they bore on the Half-past Twelve rule at all. In reference to speeches delivered to thin and sleepy Houses which were not reported in the newspapers the next morning, he would like to point out that the Half-past Twelve rule did not apply at all; because if, when half-past 12 came, they were engaged in Supply, they could go on until any hour, or if they were engaged in an important discussion affecting the Admiralty, or anything else, they could go on until any hour. The only remedy would be to stop the whole Business at half-past 12, if the hon. Members for Burnley and Cambridge wished to stop all that could not be reported in the newspapers. He was strongly in favour of early hours, but the Half-past Twelve rule had not been successful. From a Return moved for by the hon. Member for South Durham (Mr. Pease) it appeared that in the six years previous to the Half-past Twelve rule the House sat for 642 hours after midnight; but in the six years after the rule the House sat 724 hours, thus instead of getting earlier closing they got later closing. There was not the slightest doubt an immense amount of time was wasted on account of the Half-past Twelve rule. No doubt many speeches made after half-past 11 were not made

in the interests of the Business then before the House; but were made solely for the purpose of preventing Bills coming on before half-past 12. It would be an evil day if the House came to the conclusion that private Members' legislation was mischievous. All great measures of reform had been at some period the measures of private Members, and it would be very unfortunate if discouragement were thrown on their right; but in any case no single Member ought to have power of preventing any private Member from passing a Bill. He had a Bill last Session, and only one Member in the House was against it, but that one Member prevented him from getting it through until close to the end of the Session. This might be done from conscientious motives, but it might be a mere crotchet by a single hon. Member. An hon. Member might put down opposition to a Bill on the Paper, and might go to Italy or Scotland, or anywhere, and could still delay the progress of the Bill, thus controlling the proceedings of Parliament at all. If the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) would amend his Amendment to admit the words "to be renewed weekly," he would accept it; but he wished particularly some safeguard that the opposition should be a real one, and that the Mover should be at any rate in London and not in Italy. If anything could be suggested to meet the case he had mentioned, he should be content without moving his Amendment.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT expressed a hope that the Motion of his right hon. Friend would be adopted. He did not think that the arguments of the hon. Member for Glasgow were of any avail. What they had to consider was whether the Half-past Twelve o'clock rule interfered with the Business of the House or the convenience of hon. Members. For his part, he was of opinion that it had been a great benefit to the House. It might be that the House had

sat at the other side of the House they took good care that the Estimates should not be proceeded with beyond midnight, and they were all aware that great debates were invariably adjourned at or about 12 o'clock. He asked the hon. Members who sat below the Gangway on the Opposition side whether they would not take advantage of the non-adoption of the rule—and rightly—to bring forward their measures at any hour of the night or morning? Without such a rule as that proposed by his right hon. Friend the House would be compelled to sit very much later than it would if the Motion was adopted.

MR. O'REILLY said, the incessant labour and fatigue of watchful opposition was greatly relieved by the introduction of the Half-past Twelve rule. During his Parliamentary career the Government of the day at one time introduced a number of measures affecting Ireland which were extremely objectionable to Irish Members, and the then Secretary for Ireland refused to name an hour when he should bring them on. Therefore they had to sit till long summer mornings to be ready to enter their protest against those Bills. In the interests of hon. Members of the House it was most desirable that such a rule should exist. He thought, however, that it might be abused if in order to put off a Bill which stood second the first Bill was unnecessarily talked out. If that was made a frequent practice it was the thing which should endanger the Half-past Twelve rule. He trusted, on behalf of the independent Member, who profited most by the rule, that such a thing would not often occur. He agreed with the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) that the opposition which would prevent a Bill being brought on after half-past 12 should be *bond fide* and earnest opposition. He was not prepared to say how this could be effected, but it was not a fair use of the Forms of the House when one hon. Member gave Notice of opposition and then left the

had already been passed for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the whole question of the Business of the House, it was wise to weight the Committee with a prejudged opinion on a matter of this kind. ["No, no!"] The passage of such a rule as the one now proposed must inevitably weight the Committee, and it was idle to say it did not.

MR. RAIKES said, he could not agree with the hon. Member for Newark (Mr. Bristowe), that the decision of the House upon the question now before it would prejudice the action of the Committee. The House having several times agreed to a like Session Order to that proposed, its opinion was already known in reference to it. They had been told that under the Half-past Twelve o'clock rule the House had sat a greater number of hours than it did in Sessions when the rule did not exist, and that might be quite true; but they had no means of judging what would have been the case under the old system. Those who, by their official position, had to remain in the House until a late hour, and who could form an impartial judgment on the subject, felt that, even if the hours of sitting had not been largely reduced, a great boon had been conferred by the rule upon hundreds of hon. Members who, by its means, were able to go home instead of being compelled to remain until all hours of the morning to see whether certain Business was to be proceeded with or not. The rule did not apply to proceedings in Committee in the case of Bills in which Progress had previously been reported, and those proceedings, carried on to a late hour, had certainly not been in the highest degree satisfactory or creditable to the House, and had certainly not increased the value of the legislation so carried on. Setting aside all other questions, for this reason alone, he should be exceedingly sorry were the rule to be allowed to lapse during the present Session. He did not think the Committee to be appointed to consider the conduct of the Business of the House would be greatly influenced by the fact that a Sessional Order of the kind had been renewed; while, on the other hand, if the passing of the rule were to be delayed until the Committee reported favourably upon it some two months hence, much injustice would be done to those private Members whose Bills, by the mere acci-

dent of the ballot, did not come on until the latter part of the Session. He must, therefore, give his voice in favour of the Motion.

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, he felt himself at considerable disadvantage in addressing the House after the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Committees, especially as an appeal had been made to the feelings of a large number of hon. Members on the ground that, by passing the rule, they might be able to go away after half-past 12 and neglect the Business of the House; but he could not concur in the remarks of the hon. Gentleman. He agreed with the hon. Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert) that the matter was one which should be left in the hands of the Select Committee about to be appointed. He reminded the House that there could be no fear that the Government could bring on important measures after a late hour, inasmuch as it was the practice of the Members of the Government to state early in the evening after what hour they would not proceed with their measures. He thought, from the experience they had had, that the conduct of Business had not been greatly improved by the adoption of the rule; on the contrary, it often led to long discussions on unimportant measures with the view of throwing measures of consequence over until after half-past 12 o'clock, so as to preclude their being taken on those occasions. The only result of the rule was to set up for themselves a point of debatable ground which did not previously exist.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY remarked that the House of Commons was certainly a very singular Assembly, because he did not believe that there was another Legislative Assembly in the world which would seriously discuss the question whether it was right to bring on fresh important Public Business for discussion after half-past 12 o'clock at night. His only complaint was that the rule did not go far enough. If they had a rule that no new Business should be taken after 12 o'clock or half-past they would get through the work with much greater credit to themselves and more advantage to the country. A few years ago it was the custom of the Irish Secretary to introduce Bills habitually after 1 o'clock in the morning, and no assurance could be got that he would not

*Mr. Bristowe*

bring them on after that time. The consequence was everybody had to wait until 1 or 2 o'clock in the morning on the chance of a discussion coming on on the particular subjects in which they were interested. They had the advantage, under the existing rule, of knowing that no important legislation could be thrust upon them by surprise; but notwithstanding, the rule was open to abuse on the part of the Government, and also on the part of private Members. For instance, hon. Members were accustomed to put their names down in opposition to a Bill when they never attended, and did not intend to attend the House. That was an unfair advantage which ought to be put down by the good sense and high honour of the House. It must be put down in such a manner as the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) suggested.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, we are discussing the Half-past Twelve rule upon its merits, and I think the discussion may be well likened to the painter who put up a picture that anyone might point out its faults, and put up the same picture in order that its beauties might be noticed. The truth is, that you cannot conduct the Business of an Assembly, and certainly not such an Assembly as the House of Commons, merely by rules, and if Business is to be properly conducted you want something more than that—you want an actual agreement as to the spirit and manner in which you are to proceed. In regard to this rule, no one can doubt that it has many great advantages, because it enables hon. Gentlemen to know that certain measures they are interested in will not be brought on after a certain hour, and therefore they are enabled to leave the House if it is necessary for them to do so. The rule is not at all conducive to the conduct of Public Business. On the other hand, we cannot help seeing that this rule is frequently abused by hon. Members who give Notice of opposition to a Bill, and then go away, thus delaying the Bill for an indefinite time; it also leads to discussion being carried on, the effect of which is that Bills which should come on are crossed

self to promote early hours, and I have always endeavoured to promote certainty as to what Business was to be transacted. Now, this rule is brought forward with a double view of promoting early hours and certainty of Business. I trust that we shall be enabled to arrive at some conclusion by which we shall get rid of the evils under which we suffer at the present time. The question is whether we shall renew the rule for the present Session in the same manner as it had been renewed in past Sessions, or leave it until the Committee had reported on the question. I think that the Committee will consider very carefully the proposition as to the Half-past Twelve rule, and what modification it will be necessary to move in it; but the question is if the matter is left for the Committee what is to be done in the interim? There is no desire on the part of the Government to unduly press any conclusion on the House. So far as the Government is concerned, I own it is against rather than in favour of my own wishes to have this rule in operation; but, on the other hand, I believe that both in this debate and on past occasions, when attention has been called to this subject, a large majority of the House has approved of it. I believe the rule is one well in favour with the House. I therefore think that after such a recommendation we should renew that rule for the present Session with the view of its being carefully considered in Committee, and with a view to see whether there are any means of modifying it. Therefore, I shall be prepared to support the Motion of my right hon. Friend.

MR. HIBBERT observed that after the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and believing that a large majority of the House was in favour of the rule, he was willing to withdraw his Amendment, on the distinct understanding that the rule would come before the Committee without prejudice in any way.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

*Resolved*, That, except for a Money Bill, no Order of the Day or Notice of Motion be taken after half past Twelve of the clock at night

Mr. ANDERSON said, that after the course which the debate had taken he would leave his Amendment to be considered by the Committee to the appointment of which the House had already agreed.

Mr. GREGORY said, he should not press his Amendment.

### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

#### ROADS AND BRIDGES (SCOTLAND)

##### BILL—[Bill 4.]

(*The Lord Advocate, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*The Lord Advocate.*)

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY said, that while he had great pleasure that the Government had introduced such an important measure as this at so early a period of the Session, he could not but express his disappointment in finding that the Bill, so far as he had examined it, appeared to be defective in some essential particulars. One point to which he desired to call attention had reference to the power which elected trustees would have in their own parishes for the management of the roads, and another had regard to the period of grace to be allowed before tolls were abolished. The Bill of last year provided that the general county trustees should consist of one member elected by each parish, and that the County Road Board should consist of those elected trustees, together with the landlords of the county. This was upon the lines of the private measures which had been passed through Parliament, but the Government now proposed to withdraw with the one hand what they professed to give with the other. The Bill now before the House provided that the only work which the elective trustees would have to perform would be to meet together and appoint a local committee for the management of the roads, in which the elected trustees were to be in a minority. It was provided that the District Board should not consist of more than one-half or less than one-third of the elected trustees. This was really making a farce of the elected trustees. The ratepayers in each parish would not certainly meet together

merely for the purpose of electing trustees, whose only duty would be to take part once a year in the appointment of a local county board. One of the great advantages under the private Acts which had been obtained for the abolition of tolls in Scotland consisted in this, that, under those Acts, distinct provision was taken for having the elective trustees largely interested in the maintenance of the roads. He asserted with confidence that in the counties where the private Acts to which he referred had been put into operation—in the county, for example, which he had the honour to represent (Forfarshire), and in the county of Aberdeen, where one of those measures had been in force for some time—the system which they provided had acted most successfully, and had been attended with the greatest advantage both to landlords and tenants. The elected trustees had taken a very active part in the management of the roads. They co-operated very heartily with the landlords in the matter, and he thought he might say on very considerable evidence, that this co-operation, in the opinion of the landlords themselves, had been of the very greatest advantage to the management. One of the greatest evils of the old system was that there were no trustees interested in the management of the roads, which was consequently very much left to officials, and no real supervision was kept up over the expenditure of the money. Now all this was changed. The elected trustees took a very active interest in the management of the roads, and they saw that value was obtained for money expended. Therefore, he thought it would be very unfortunate, both for landlords and tenants, if some clause were not provided for interesting tenant trustees in the management of the roads, as had been done in the private Bills recently passed. Another strong point was the long period of 10 years allowed for the expiration of the turnpike trusts. He understood, and he thought it was the general understanding, that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary promised last Session that expiring trusts should not be continued without some inquiry into them. Under this Bill, however, trusts which otherwise would die out in a year or two might be continued for 10 years. This was extremely objectionable, and if agreed to would be

very disastrous to many turnpike roads in Scotland. What would be the policy of the trustees? The valuation of the road would be determined, no doubt, by the amount of interest which they had paid for the preceding few years, and therefore the trustees would be very much tempted to starve the roads in order to pay a higher interest upon the debt. The roads, consequently, would gradually get worse; and finally, when the turnpikes were abolished and the Act came into operation, the roads would be handed over to the new trustees in such a condition that they would require to be almost entirely re-made at very great expense. In his opinion, if the provision was retained, a clause should also be added that the roads should be handed over in good condition. If that were done, he had no doubt all the turnpikes would be abolished in a very short time. For these and other reasons explained last year, he hoped the Government would introduce some modification in the Bill. He would suggest that they should make inquiry into the private Acts in operation in Forfarshire and Aberdeenshire, and if it was found that the tenant trustees worked harmoniously, and to the perfect satisfaction of the landlords, that the Government should modify their Bill in that direction; otherwise he was afraid the roads would fall into the hands of officials with results that would be very unsatisfactory to all parties. He was not going to divide at that stage, but on another occasion he should take the sense of the House on what seemed to him very unjust—that the tenants should pay half the rates equally with the landlords, and yet not be allowed to have an equal voice with them in the expenditure of the money. He hoped it was not too late for the Government to take some steps in the matter before the Bill went into Committee.

Dr. CAMERON said, he fully endorsed what his hon. Friend the Member for Forfarshire had said as to the expenditure upon the roads by trustees if another period of 10 years should be permitted before the expiration of the trusts. In England when Turnpike Acts expired they were referred to a Select Committee to inquire whether they should be continued; but as to Scotland a continuance Act had been passed every year, and the result was that the great ma-

jority of the turnpikes in Scotland were continued in this way every year. Thus a simple suspension of the Bill for a Session would make these Acts lapse. He must say that the provisions of this Bill were not consistent with the promise made by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary last year, when he expressed an opinion that the system of continuing these trusts ought not to be persisted in.

COLONEL MURE observed that though the Bill had been introduced without remark by the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate, it was substantially the same as that brought in last year. He (Colonel Mure) was not prepared to offer any opposition to the second reading, but he wished to make one or two very short observations. He understood a Government official of high standing and great reputation had been employed to report upon this question, and especially as to the opposition offered by Renfrewshire and Lanarkshire with reference to the position of the city of Glasgow. He must express his regret that the Report had not been presented to Members, for the chances were that it contained a good deal that was new and very interesting about the road system in Scotland. As to the city of Glasgow, he believed the Government as to that would introduce some clause similar to that introduced as to bridges over which special traffic passed, and which would enable them to deal more satisfactorily with that city. There were many other matters which could be touched upon in Committee; but as he understood the rejection of the measure was to be moved on going into Committee, they would then have the opportunity of further expressing their views. He did hope, and that was his main object in rising, that the right hon. Gentleman would see fit to have this Report, to which he had alluded, placed in their hands.

MR. RAMSAY said, he had looked into the Return which had been referred to, and it certainly contained details of considerable interest as to the action taken by the counties of Renfrew and Lanark. Whether the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary justified that action or not he could not tell, but the Return obtained by the hon. and gallant Gentleman showed that they had not been justified in their opposition, and that the statements made had



been much exaggerated. In Lanarkshire the expenditure on turnpike and statute labour roads only amounted to 6*d.* in the pound on the valuation of the county; while in the city of Glasgow it was 4½*d.*, and he did not think a difference of 1½*d.* on the rate per pound ought to be a barrier to a settlement between burgh and county. Renfrewshire was in a somewhat similar position. The annual valuation amounted to £1,177,471, and the total expenditure on roads was £28,426; an assessment of 6*d.* on that valuation would, therefore, produce £29,436, or more than equal to the whole of the present expenditure on both turnpike and statute labour roads. If the same details as had been furnished in the Return he alluded to had been obtained as to other counties, he believed it would have shown in these cases also that there was no proper ground for the opposition to the passing of the Bill. He begged to thank the right hon. Gentleman on his own behalf and that of every hon. Member for bringing in the Bill at so early a period in the Session, and he hoped he might think proper to introduce clauses to make the Bill better suited to the particular circumstances of each district. The hon. Member for Forfarshire had suggested that the right hon. Gentleman should examine the local Acts under which the roads in Forfarshire and Aberdeen were managed. They had enjoyed in his county for a very long period the advantages of a local Act, and indeed they were the first to have one abolishing tolls and statute labour. Under it the county was divided into districts, the trustees in each of which had power independently to levy assessments within itself. He trusted that the Lord Advocate would see his way to accept some modifications of the provisions of the Bill, as it then stood, in order to meet the case of the counties placed in the circumstances he had described. He had no doubt that the right hon. Gentleman would do so, and he believed that such modifications, if accepted, would be of great advantage to the community when this Bill became law.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was rather surprised that the Lord Advocate should have introduced the Bill without any explanation. At the same time, they were so grateful to the Government for having brought in a Bill

at so early a period of the Session—the great majority of Scotch Members being anxious that a good Road Bill should pass—that he would not make any serious complaint on that score. He entirely concurred in the observation of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), who had expressed regret that those Acts, which would otherwise have expired at an earlier period, were to be extended to a further existence of 10 years. That, he thought, was a great mistake; for, in his opinion, the period ought to have been considerably shortened. Not only were the Acts to be extended to so long a period; but, as he understood the question, whether the new Act should be adopted or not within that long period was to rest with the Commissioners of Supply, and the Commissioners of Supply were the most considerable landowners of the county. Therefore, the result would be that the decision of this great question would be left mainly in the hands of the extremely aristocratic element to the exclusion of small ratepayers. [The LORD ADVOCATE dissented.] As the right hon. and learned Gentleman shook his head, it was to be hoped he was about to explain that the matter would not be left in that way, and that the ratepayers as well as the aristocracy were to have something to do with the decision of this question after all. There was one important point which he did not see provided for in the Bill. There were some small burghs, little larger than villages, but with large roads passing through them. As these small burghs could not sustain the burden of keeping up these large roads, it was desirable that they should be united with the counties for that purpose. With regard to the former Bill there was a difficulty in providing for such cases; because he believed there were some small burghs that were not willing to unite with the counties, as they would be united under the Bill of last year. He thought some provision should be made in the present measure to meet cases of this description. But this Bill went to the other extreme. It appeared that no Royal or Parliamentary burgh, however small, would be exempted from the operation of the Bill. His impression was, that a small burgh with an important road running through it, would be placed in a difficult position if, as he

understood, such burghs were not to unite with the counties for road purposes. He hoped that when the Bill went into Committee some proposal would be made to meet such cases.

Sir WILLIAM CUNINGHAME said, he differed from one or two observations which had been made by hon. Members opposite, though, as he came from a district in which the abolition of tolls was not popular, perhaps he would not be expected to defend the Bill of the Government cordially. With regard to the remarks of the hon. Member for Falkirk (Mr. Ramsay) on the assessments, he thought the hon. Member hardly understood the principle of the Bill. The hon. Gentleman appeared to be under the impression that the assessments would be levied in equal proportions in all parts of counties. That, however, was not the Bill as he himself read it. The Bill provided that counties being divided into districts and trusts, each trust would have to levy a rate for itself; and this being so, one trust might possibly have to levy a considerable rate, while another might levy a very small one. In that case the inference which the hon. Member for Falkirk seemed to draw from the Government proposal with regard to Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire hardly held water. The extension of the period to 10 years struck him (Sir William Cuninghame) as one of the most valuable proposals in the Bill—because it gave time to counties and burghs to settle the very difficult and intricate negotiations which would be raised between themselves. He also thought that the clauses of the Bill were well devised which referred those points on which differences of opinion were likely to arise to arbitration, or finally to provisional orders. With respect to the observations of the hon. Member for Forfar (Mr. J. W. Barclay), it must be remembered that the landlords were much more permanently interested in the proper management of the roads than the tenants could be. Although they paid half of the assessment during the time they were on the farms, their interest in the matter ceased when they left their holdings. It was natural to suppose that those who had a permanent interest in the proper upholding of the roads would take care to look after them better than those who were merely temporary occupiers. Practically, also, a large portion of this assessment, which was paid by

the tenants, would come out of the landlord's pocket, as part of, if not the whole of, the expense paid by the tenant would be deducted from the rent that the landlord received. Under these circumstances, the landlord would practically pay the larger part of the assessment. Therefore the landlord was entitled to a larger share in the representation on the County Board. It had been wisely and properly said that those who used the roads should pay for them. Looking at the Bill as brought forward by the Home Secretary, he certainly thought the right hon. and learned Gentleman could not himself hold that principle. Whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman did so or not, the Bill did not hold that principle—at all events, that would not be the effect of the Bill as he understood it. Take a farm 10 miles from a market and another five miles off, the two farms being in every other respect equal in value. On the principle that those who used the roads should pay for them, the most distant farm ought to pay twice as much as the near one. That, however, would not be the effect of the Bill. The farm nearer the market town would, in all probability, be on that part of the road where the traffic over it was the heaviest. It would therefore have to pay a larger amount of assessment though it used the road the least. The reply probably would be that it could not be avoided, and that this was the case in all assessments such as the poor rates. He admitted that, but there was no alternative in the assessment to poor rates. It was not so in regard to roads. At all events, there was the alternative of tolls, and he contended if it was impossible to make an equitable assessment that they ought to continue to maintain tolls. One farther defect, and that a serious defect, he saw in the Bill. It appeared to him that of all Governments a Conservative Government ought to be the last to interfere with contracts between man and man. Take the case of a farm let for 21 years. The landlord let the farm to the tenant practically with the stipulation that the tenant should pay the whole cost of the upholding of the roads during the currency of his lease in the shape of tolls. He, for one, could not understand on what principle the Government could say in this Bill that in the future the landlord was to pay half of the expense. It appeared to him that this was taking part of the

charge which the tenant had contracted to bear from his shoulders and placing it on those of the landlord. That was a principle as to which some amendment ought to be made in the Bill. In this respect the Government had gone in the face of the recommendation of the Royal Commission, which properly and equitably advised that during the currency of the leases the tenant should, as now, pay the whole of the charge.

Mr. M'LAREN said, he was sorry to see that so little improvement had been made in the Bill since last Session. Admitting that it bore evidence of great care having been taken on minor points, yet in the general features of the Bill it was just as bad as ever. At the close of last Session, two or three hon. Members opposed the renewal of the county trusts, and he remembered that one argument was that no trust that had expired in England was renewed without hearing evidence and having all questions settled; whereas in Scotland, trusts that had expired 20 years ago, and some 40 years ago, had been renewed without one word being heard on the subject. That was pressed very strongly. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary said he saw the injustice at once, and said that this system would not be allowed hereafter, and he would take care that a change should be made before these Scotch trusts were renewed again. But what did this Bill do? It provided that all the principal clauses of the bad Acts which had expired should be renewed for 10 years, so that those trusts which were now renewed year by year would be enforced for 10 years. With that clause in the Bill, he would far rather have had no Bill at all. As one of the Commissioners who had inquired into the subject, he knew that they recommended that the boundaries of burghs and counties should be fixed at once. But what did this Bill do? It provided that the body which

device to prevent the Bill from coming into operation that would be effectual. Burghs and large cities, such as Glasgow, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dundee, had no power to apply to the Secretary of State to put the Act in operation. Well, Edinburgh had three times as large a population as the county, and had three times the wealth of the county, and paid far more than three times the taxation of the county, and yet it had no power to put the Act in operation. He looked upon the Bill as it now stood as an incomplete measure. It was no enacting Bill at all. It was merely a permissive Bill, and yet was, in some respects, a prohibitory Bill. Many of the parishes of Scotland, as everybody knew, were very small. Yet each had two members, while the burghs under 10,000 were to have only one. A great deal was known in Scotland about the shutting-up of roads, so that the people durst not walk on them. In place of preventing that sort of thing, this Bill would make bad worse. In large towns like Glasgow and Edinburgh, there were perhaps 20 miles of road separating the burgh from the county, and in common fairness it would be admitted that the two should bear the burden equally. But what did the Bill say? That when the road was the boundary between county and burgh, the burgh should maintain it all. He could go further into details, but would merely revert again to the fact that the Bill could not be put into operation except by the Commissioners of Supply.

MR. ANDERSON said, the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) had touched on the blots of the Bill so well, that it was almost unnecessary for him to say anything, except that he agreed with what the hon. Member had said. The Bill would throw all the power into the hands of the landlords, for not only was the initiative entirely with the Commissioners of Supply, who were the landlords, and their eldest sons, but the whole subsequent management

Mr. R. W. DUFF said, he was very glad the Government had introduced this Bill, and he was certainly prepared to give it his support. Last year he laid one or two Amendments to the Bill upon the Table, the effect of which was to enable counties which had no Bills of their own to adopt portions of it. It was particularly useful to counties which had bridges in common. Last year his right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate agreed to these Amendments; and he trusted he would permit this Bill—not the whole Bill, but such portion of the Bill as the Commissioners might agree upon, to be incorporated instead of the whole Act. That was the principal Amendment, he suggested, so far as regarded counties that had not Bills. Though he was prepared to support this Bill, he sympathized with the observations of the hon. Baronet the Member for Ayr (Sir William Cuninghame), about the burdens placed on land. If they would look at the Returns he got two years ago as to the financial accounts of Scotch counties, they would see what the assessments were. He would not trouble them with details, but in the county of Aberdeen, where the valuation of the county was £700,000 a-year, the cost that had been placed upon that county was £20,000 a-year. That was a very heavy assessment undoubtedly; but he was not prepared to maintain that the maintenance of roads was not a legitimate burden to put upon land. He thought it was a legitimate burden; but, on the other hand, they so often found in this House burdens placed on the land which were not legitimate, that one was almost inclined to resist those which were legitimate. Whenever there was in this House any proposal to relieve the land, the invariable argument was that the landlords got their property with these burdens, which they must bear. That was an argument he had heard over and over again, when there was any proposal to relieve the land. What had Parliament done within the last six or seven years in Scotland? It had imposed an assessment for education—they would find in some counties it amounted to so much as 10*d.* in the pound, while the assessments for roads reached 7*d.* or 8*d.* a pound—and they were perpetually accumulating burdens on land, while there was never anything proposed, such as the Bill of his

hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren), for doing away with church rates; but everybody was shocked at the proposal of relieving the land from not only the maintenance of the Church, but of relieving it of anything. Although he was not prepared to offer any opposition to this Bill, he hoped the Government would feel that having placed the burden of repairing roads entirely on the land, under the system they contemplated, they would relieve the landlords by throwing on other shoulders the maintenance of some of those county burdens.

Mr. YEAMAN thanked the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate, and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, for introducing this Bill at so early a period. There were, no doubt, many great defects in the Bill which must be dealt with when it came into Committee. But he thought this was a Bill that could be passed in a proper shape, so as generally to please the people of Scotland. This roads and bridges matter had agitated Scotland for a great number of years past. He was quite sure when the Bill came into Committee, many of its provisions would be rectified. He had no doubt that the Lord Advocate would give them some statement in regard to the clauses of this Bill, which differed from that introduced last year, when the Bill came into Committee. He thought the Bill would generally be acceptable, with the Amendments that would be made on it in passing through Committee.

THE LORD ADVOCATE: Sir, whilst it is very obvious, from the course of the discussion that has taken place to-night, that Scotch Members generally approve of the principle of this Bill, in so far as that principle consists of the abolition of tolls, and the maintenance of roads by an assessment upon owners and occupiers of land, it is equally obvious that in regard to some, and these not unimportant, details of the measure, there is a considerable amount of difference of opinion amongst Scotch Members; and in the course of this discussion it can hardly have failed to be remarked that what some hon. Gentlemen have selected as the leading defects of the Bill have been studiously dwelt upon by others as the prominent merits of the measure. I think it is

rather unfortunate, seeing that there has been Notice given that at a future stage some attempt will be made to object to the principle of the Bill, that we should have been discussing nothing to-night except matters most proper for discussion in Committee of this House. Well, in regard to that which is the proper subject of discussion at this stage of the Bill—namely, its principle—we have only had one faint note of objection, not carried to any practical conclusion, by the hon. Member the Representative of the Ayr Burghs (Sir William Cunninghame). I do not intend to enter into a discussion upon these parts of the Bill which have been mooted to-night. I am quite aware that the measure will be discussed, and very fairly discussed, and I trust that after discussion in Committee the Bill will form a measure which will prove suitable to the wants of the people of Scotland. I know that the question as to the time when it should come into operation is a delicate one, but there are many considerations in connection with that point which must not be disregarded in disposing of the question. There are counties in Scotland, many of them, which are very peculiar in their circumstances, and I can honestly say that if one were legislating for Aberdeen and Forfar alone, there are many difficult problems which must be dealt with in this Bill; but which, in the case of these counties, it would not be necessary to deal with at all. But there are mining and other counties north of the Tweed in which contracts have been entered into on the faith of certain existing arrangements, which would be prejudicially effected by the instant adoption of this Bill in a compulsory form, unless some steps were taken to guard them against that disturbance. As to the question of tolls, I admit that that is a difficult subject, if it is to be put in the power of counties to postpone the adoption of the Bill. But these roads must in the meantime be provided for, because in Scotland we have not the power as you have in England of levying a local rate, and the result would be that the ratepayers, when the Bill was adopted, would find the roads useless, if the means of maintaining them were not to be had meanwhile by levying a toll. Then there is the question of the Road Board, which has been raised by the hon. Mem-

ber for Forfar (Mr. J. W. Barclay). I do not intend to argue that question with him to-night, but I wish to point out to the House that the functions and character of that Board are not precisely what he seems to apprehend. Following the example shown in the local Acts which have been referred to—that for Aberdeenshire in particular—the administration of the roads in county districts is to be given to a District Committee, and not to the Road Board. This Board, consisting of 30 members, is merely to be a Standing Committee. In some counties, if it were otherwise provided, you would have an unwieldy Committee, consisting of many hundred trustees. The Road Board, as you will see by referring to the 15th section of the Bill, must act subject in all respects to the directions and instructions of the general body of trustees. They have not the power of appointing district trustees. They have not the power of levying assessments. They have no power, other than of doing the work which may be deputed to them, subject to the direction of the general body of trustees. Then there is the question of Glasgow and the adjoining counties, a question which, though a local one, is, I admit, of great importance. There is no clause in the Bill dealing with that part of the subject, but I trust to be able to communicate to those interested in this question clauses bearing upon it, and designed to settle the question; and I also must, at the same time that I make the intimation, express a hope, and a very confident hope, that from such great bodies as the municipality of Glasgow and the corporations of those numerous burghs that lie upon the outskirts of that great city, together with the two counties, I will receive a considerable measure of assistance in framing clauses for the purpose of adjusting that which may fairly and reasonably be made matter of settlement between them. Failing that, I must endeavour to lay before the House such clauses as I consider just, in order that they may be disposed of by Parliament. Then, as far as regards small burghs, I content myself by saying, in answer to the observations made by the hon. Member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs (Sir George Campbell), that the provisions of this Bill are in reality of the same character as those contained in the previous Bill. I am not aware of any

substantial alteration made upon them. Reference has been made by the hon. the senior Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) as to certain clauses conferring powers to shut up roads. I have simply to say in regard to these that the only roads comprehended in this Bill are turnpike roads and statute labour roads, and that the general Acts which regulate these highways in Scotland contain powers exactly similar to those which it is proposed to confer upon the trustees under the Roads and Bridges Act. I am not aware that by the trustees these powers have ever been made matter of abuse or complaint. I am quite aware that complaints have been made of roads being shut up in Scotland; but the senior Member for Edinburgh can hardly fail to be aware that there are in these Scottish glens he referred to, a great number of rights of way, the property of the community, which are neither turnpike nor statute labour roads, and there is no power to shut them up except they are disused by the people. I do not propose to deal with that question at all. There have been competitions between the public and proprietors as to rights of way; but, so far as I understand the law of Scotland, such rights of way which are acquired by public uses cannot be shut up by the trustees of turnpike or statute labour roads. They may be disused for 40 years, and the public lose their rights. I do not propose to give power to shut up these, and the present Bill does nothing except to transfer from the existing trustees the powers which they already possess. I have avoided as much as possible any controversial matters in the remarks which I have addressed to the House, and in bringing these observations to a close, I have only to express the hope that the salient points upon which Scotch Members differ will be discussed and decided on an early day in Committee of the House.

COLONEL MURE asked when the Bill was likely to go into Committee?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, I am unable to give a definite answer to the Question at present, but I hope to be able to state to-morrow (Friday) when the measure will be proceeded with. One word as to an observation which fell from the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren). The hon. Gentleman has referred to certain remarks

which I made upon a particular occasion; but I would like to point out to him that when the remarks were uttered to which he referred, I was speaking of the Turnpike Acts Continuance Bill, and of that measure simply and entirely.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed for To-morrow.*

#### MARRIAGE PRELIMINARIES (SCOTLAND)

##### BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to encourage regular Marriages in Scotland, *ordered to be brought in* by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. BAXTER, Mr. M'LAREN, Mr. ERNEST NOEL, and Mr. EDWARD JENKINS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 86.]

#### HOUSE OCCUPIERS DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to relieve certain occupiers of Dwelling Houses in Scotland from being disqualified from the right of voting in the Election of Members to serve in Parliament by reason of their underletting such Dwelling Houses for short terms, *ordered to be brought in* by Dr. CAMERON, Sir HENRY WOLFF, Mr. VANS AGNEW, Sir WILLIAM FRASER, Mr. MACKINTOSH, and Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 87.]

#### BAR EDUCATION AND DISCIPLINE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, Bill for constituting and empowering a Council of Education and Discipline for the Bar, *ordered to be brought in* by Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 88.]

#### IRISH LAND ACT (1870).

Select Committee *appointed*, "to inquire into the working and results of the 44th, 45th, and 47th Clauses of 'The Irish Land Act, 1870,' and to report whether any further facilities should be given for promoting the purchase of land by occupying tenants." — (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

And, on February 7, Committee *nominated* as follows:—Mr. PLUNKET, Mr. JOHN BRIGHT, Mr. HEYGATE, Mr. BRUN, Mr. LAW, Mr. WILSON, Mr. DOWNING, Mr. PLUNKETT, Sir WALTER BARTLELOT, Major NOLAN, Mr. CHAINE, Mr. ERRINGTON, Viscount CRICHTON, The O'CONOR DON, Mr. VERNER, Mr. RICHARD SMYTH, Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA, Sir JOHN LESLIE, and Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

House adjourned at a quarter after Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 25th January, 1878.*

## SAT FIRST.

Arthur Fitzgerald, The Lord Kinnaird—was introduced by virtue of a special limitation in the patent dated 1st September 1860, and sat first in Parliament after the death of his brother George William Fox Lord Kinnaird (Lord Rossie and Lord Kinnaird in the Peerage of the United Kingdom), and took the Oath.

## THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE DARDANELLES—MOVEMENT OF THE FLEET—RESIGNATION OF MINISTERS—QUESTION.

THE EARL OF SANDWICH: My Lords, perhaps the noble Earl at the head of the Government will permit me to ask him a Question respecting the rumours which have reached the House as to the movements of the Fleet. I do not attach too much importance to rumours, because there are some rumours which are false as well as rumours which are true. Still, I think it right to ask the noble Earl the Prime Minister, if he will feel it his duty to state in his place in Parliament whether orders have been given to the Mediterranean Fleet to move to the Dardanelles; and, if so, what further orders have been given to the Admiral?

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, Her Majesty's Government not having received any information respecting the negotiations between the belligerents, and the Russian forces were making considerable advances in a direction where British interests were deeply involved, and as we had been informed by the Sultan that there was no security for life and property in Constantinople owing to the state of disorder and disorganization there—Her Majesty's Government thought it their duty to order the Fleet from the Bay of Smyrna to proceed to the mouth of the Dardanelles, and if the Admiral did not receive orders there contrary to the first direction, to proceed thence through the Dardanelles to Constantinople. At the same time that we

came to that resolution we prepared a telegraphic despatch to the Powers, including, of course, Russia and the Porte, stating that in the course we were pursuing there was not the slightest deviation from the policy of neutrality which we had from the first maintained, and had always announced that it was our hope and intention to maintain. The intention of sending the Fleet in that direction was that it should defend the lives and properties of British subjects in Constantinople, and take care of British interests in the Straits. The same communication was also made to the Admiral. But since we came to the resolution to take these steps we have become acquainted with the conditions—the proposed conditions—of peace, and having those conditions of peace before us we are of opinion that they furnish a basis for an armistice; and therefore we have given directions to the Admiral to remain in Besika Bay and not to enter into the Straits; and we have not thought it our duty, under these circumstances, to circulate throughout Europe the telegraphic despatches to which I have referred.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON\*: My Lords, I feel it my duty, and a painful one, to ask your Lordships' indulgence for a short time while I make a personal explanation. My Lords, I have found it my duty to tender my humble resignation of the office with which Her Majesty has been pleased to honour me, and that resignation has been accepted; therefore, I only hold office until my successor is appointed, and speak from my accustomed seat on this bench. What the noble Earl the Prime Minister has just stated, affects of course the explanation which I wish to make to your Lordships; but I do not think it modifies materially anything I am about to say.

My Lords, explanations of this sort are painful to make. It is necessary, on the one hand, for a Minister to say enough to justify himself in the course which he feels it his duty to adopt; and, on the other hand, it is equally incumbent on him not only to avoid saying anything that can embarrass Her Majesty's Government at a period of critical negotiations, but as far as is possible to say nothing that can give reasonable offence, or that seems to impute unnecessary blame to those who have been his

Colleagues and his Friends. My Lords, in the peculiar position in which I am placed, I am precluded from entering into one important branch of that self-justification, because, looking to the critical nature of present or possible negotiations, I do not consider it right to say a single word with regard to those communications of a confidential character which have passed between Her Majesty's Government and foreign nations. If, therefore, the course of my conduct, as now explained by me, seems incomplete, I shall be content to accept the burden and responsibility of that incompleteness.

There are two reasons which have induced me to adopt the step I have taken—first, the order that was given for the Fleet to proceed to the Dardanelles, on which I will say a few words presently; secondly, and taken in conjunction with this order, the Vote for an extraordinary sum which my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has given Notice of moving on Monday. My Lords, I will not anticipate anything my right hon. Friend may state, nor do I desire to attempt to controvert the arguments which he may then use. I will only say this—In common with everyone else, I understood my right hon. Friend, on the first night of this Session, to say that he would not make any money proposals on the part of the Government until the conditions of peace were received, or unless those conditions were unsatisfactory. My Lords, at the time that my right hon. Friend gave that Notice in the House of Commons the conditions of peace were not in the hands of Her Majesty's Government, and they could not have known whether they were satisfactory or unsatisfactory. I am glad now to hear from the noble Earl the Prime Minister that the conditions are in the hands of the Government, and the expression of his opinion that they indicate, at all events, a satisfactory basis. It was always my expectation that by delaying the order to the Fleet for a few hours the Government would have been satisfied that even from their own point of view that order was unnecessary.

With these observations I will now endeavour to make my own position clear by referring to one or two matters which have passed with relation to myself. I have no desire to go back to

past differences which may have existed on the subject of the Eastern War. In every Cabinet there must be differences. It is impossible to place 10 or 12 men round a table to discuss so grave and complicated a subject without a variety of opinions; but in order to justify my own conduct, it is necessary to refer to matters with which I have been personally concerned. On the 2nd of this month, as some of your Lordships may remember, I addressed a reply to a deputation which waited upon me in reference to certain questions, in which I spoke of the war and the general attitude of Her Majesty's Government. My Lords, I do not desire to repeat what I stated upon that occasion; it is sufficient for my purpose to say that on the following day a Cabinet Council was held, and—I have Her Majesty's gracious permission for any statement that I may think it necessary to make on the subject—on that day, in the Cabinet, the noble Earl the Prime Minister thought himself at liberty to condemn very severely the language that I had used. My Lords, I need not re-state the terms of that controversy on either side; I took time to consider the course that it was my duty to take; and then, in a memorandum which I had drawn up, but with which I think it unnecessary to trouble the House, I recapitulated what had passed, and having vindicated the position I had taken, I re-affirmed, in the hearing of my Colleagues, and without any contradiction, the propositions that I had then laid down. The noble Earl the Prime Minister was good enough to ask me for a copy of it, and so this matter ended; but no public or private disavowal was uttered or hinted at with regard to what I then said. I have therefore felt myself justified, and I still feel myself justified, in believing that, when no such disavowal was uttered, I had not misrepresented the opinion of Her Majesty's Government at the time.

My Lords, the next episode to which I must allude occurred about a fortnight later. On the 12th of January the question was discussed in the Cabinet as to whether it was desirable to send the Fleet into the Dardanelles, and I expressed a very decided opinion against it. No decision, as I understood, was then come to, but on the 15th the discussion was renewed, and it was then decided to move the Fleet into the Dar-



danelles. My Lords, I entertained the strongest objection to that course, both with reference to the time at which it was proposed to adopt the measure, and to the proceeding itself; and on the following day I wrote to the Prime Minister requesting him to submit my resignation to the Queen as soon as the Fleet should sail. Meanwhile circumstances seem to have occurred to change his mind, and on the following day I learned that the order to the Fleet was cancelled. In order to make this clear I will read the following letter which I addressed to the Prime Minister:—

“16, Bruton Street,  
“January 18.

“My dear Lord,—On Monday last, the 14th inst [this should be Tuesday, 15th], I wrote to you requesting you to be good enough to submit my resignation to the Queen as soon as the order for moving the Fleet to the Dardanelles should be given. I afterwards received a message from you through Mr. M. Corry, to the effect that subsequent telegrams had induced you to change your mind, and on attending the Cabinet on Tuesday [Wednesday, 16th], the following day—as I did to prevent any rumours which might be injurious to the Government arising—I understood that they, as well as you, saw reason to abandon the course which had been agreed upon. I am very glad that so sound a decision has been come to, whatever the reasons upon which it may have been founded; but, looking to the fact that my resignation, though provisional, is in your hands, and to the serious nature of such a fact, I think it is my duty to state, in a manner which cannot be mistaken, what I conceive to be my position.

“When at the last Cabinet held I stated the course which I had taken in placing my conditional resignation in your hands, no opinion was expressed or comment made by you or, as far as I remember, by any other Member of the Cabinet, and therefore it is the more necessary that there should be no room for misapprehension as to my past or present action. I have no desire to separate myself from Colleagues with whom I have acted on terms of great personal regard and goodwill. I am sensible of the public inconvenience which would arise from discord or open difference of opinion at this moment, and I am ready now, as I hope I have been on former occasions, to modify or concede my views on doubtful points in detail to secure a general harmony of action among the Members of the Government. But I have been led to consider carefully the events of the last few weeks with respect to the divergences of opinion which have unfortunately developed themselves amongst us, and I cannot conceal from myself that those differences have been very considerable on a question where it is of the utmost importance to the country that the Government should be one and undivided.

“Taking, therefore, all this into account, I avail myself of this opportunity to place clearly on paper the opinion—even though you and my

Colleagues are already familiar with it—that I am not prepared in present circumstances, or in circumstances similar to them, to agree to any armed intervention, or any course of a similar nature. I see no reason as yet why the questions at issue should pass out of the sphere of diplomacy. Further, the Vote of Credit or increase in the Army and Navy Estimates, whichever it may be, is a measure which I consider useful as a means of strengthening our diplomacy at this juncture; but I do not contemplate the application of any aid granted by Parliament to the purposes of a foreign expedition unless circumstances should change in a manner and to a degree wholly beyond my present anticipations. The anxiety which I own to have felt on this subject has been greatly relieved by the explicit language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he explained that the Government would not, until it was clear that the Russian conditions are unsatisfactory, make any proposals for the increase of armaments.

“Relying, therefore, upon this as a trustworthy exposition of the views of the Government, I feel that I may for the present content myself with the statement which I have endeavoured to express as clearly as possible in reference to my own position. But it remains for you to consider whether this view, which is satisfactory to me, and on which my continuance in office depends, is also satisfactory to you and my Colleagues. I shall be glad to hear from you at your convenience, and meanwhile

“I remain, my dear Lord,  
“Yours faithfully,  
“CARNARVON.”

To this, my Lords, the noble Earl the Prime Minister replied in a courteous and friendly letter, with which, unless he desires it, I shall not trouble the House. It was marked private, but it concluded with the following words:—

“I shall not, therefore, submit your resignation to Her Majesty. Such a step would deprive me of a Colleague I value, and at any rate should be reserved for a period when there is an important difference between us, which at present does not seem to be the case.”

My letter was written on the 18th, as was also the Prime Minister's answer on the same day—the day after the meeting of Parliament. I thought, therefore, I might safely conclude that the proposal to send the Fleet into Turkish waters was abandoned; but on the 23rd the proposal was made in the Cabinet to send the Fleet not only within the Dardanelles, but to Constantinople, and after discussion it was decided that the Fleet should be sent there. Your Lordships will, I think, agree that I had then but one course to pursue. I had endeavoured to state in as clear a manner as I could in my letter that such a course

would necessitate my resignation, and I accordingly wrote the following letter:—

“Bruton Street,

“January 24, 1878.

“Dear Lord Beaconsfield,—The Cabinet yesterday afternoon decided to give immediate instructions to the Admiral to take the Fleet up to Constantinople, and to invite the House of Commons to grant a large sum to the Government for the increase of armaments. My objections to such a course were fully stated a short time since with reference to a similar proposal, and my resignation was tendered if, as seemed then probable, the proposal should be definitely adopted. For various reasons it was not adopted, but now that it has been renewed and accepted by the Cabinet—believing, as I do, that circumstances have not so changed in the interval as to render it necessary—I see no alternative, though with deepest personal regret in separating myself from my Colleagues, but to request you to submit to the Queen my humble resignation of the office with which Her Majesty has been pleased to honour me.

“I remain, dear Lord Beaconsfield,

“Yours very faithfully,

“CARNARVON.”

That letter was written yesterday, and to-day I received a letter from the Prime Minister, of which the following is the first and the only paragraph I need read:—

“10 Downing Street,

“January 24, 1878.

“Dear Lord Carnarvon,—I have the honour to inform you that the Queen has accepted your resignation of the office of Secretary of State, and has been graciously pleased to grant to you Her Majesty’s permission to make any statement of what passed in the Privy Council which you may think necessary to elucidate your conduct.”

Meanwhile, however, as the noble Earl has informed us this evening, an order has been sent to the Admiral to countermand the sailing of the Fleet to Constantinople. Your Lordships will thus observe that three times within three weeks it has been my misfortune to be at material variance on a matter of the highest importance with my Colleagues; and that twice during that interval I have felt myself constrained to place my resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister on this particular subject. Twice the order which has been given for the Fleet to proceed to Constantinople has been cancelled, but—it is essential to observe—not because we had come to an agreement of principle, but owing to some more or less fortunate accident which interposed at the last moment.

I rejoice at the soundness of the decision not to send the Fleet into Turkish waters. I am also glad that if I have the misfortune to separate myself from my Colleagues, it will be from a difference of feeling, and even of principle, rather than in consequence of any direct act which they have taken, and which I must have condemned; but what I have stated to your Lordships shows that there have been for a considerable time wide divergences of opinion as to the principles upon which our policy should be conducted. My object, therefore, in making this statement has been twofold—first, to show your Lordships that I have not been guilty of caprice or precipitation in now tendering my resignation; and, in the next place, I think it just to acquit the noble Earl the Prime Minister of having hastily snatched at my resignation when offered to him. He has, looking to the wide differences of opinion subsisting between us, treated my opposition with forbearance.

My Lords, as the question of the moving of the Fleet is no longer at issue, it relieves me from the necessity of fully arguing the point; and I will, therefore, only say that my objection to the moving of the Fleet, whatever explanations or declarations of neutrality might accompany it, is based upon a variety of grounds. I say nothing of the strategical demerits and risks of the scheme if it was to be considered from a military point of view; but politically it seemed to me to lead to a wide departure from that neutrality to which we had pledged ourselves, and the conditions of which we declared at the meeting of Parliament neither of the belligerents had infringed; and as far as I could see, no circumstances had arisen between the 17th of January and the 23rd when this decision was taken, to induce the Government to vary its conduct in so essential a matter. I also thought that the time at which this movement was proposed was unfortunately chosen. It was a time in the midst of negotiations that had now reached their most critical point; when intervention on our part was liable to every sort of misconstruction; when it might encourage Turkey fatally as regards her own interests; when it might not unnaturally be construed as a menace to Russia, and when it might embarrass the Porte itself in the conduct of its negotiations, imposing thereby on us a

responsibility which, from an honourable point of view, it would be hard to bear. I also thought it was an unwise policy to place the English Fleet in a position where at any moment the contingencies of war might provoke a collision that might lead us into difficulties which no one could foresee or measure.

My Lords, it seems to me that, in adopting such a course, we were exchanging our former attitude of observation for an attitude of menace; that we were exchanging the position of a neutral for the position of a belligerent; that we were making a distinct step in the direction of war. We could enter the Dardanelles only as allies or as opponents of the Porte. If we enter with the consent of the Sultan, we enter, disguise it as we may, as allies intervening at the last moment between him and his enemy; and if we enter without his consent, the position would become an almost absurd one, because we should be setting at naught those Treaties which we have professed it our object to uphold. I believe the policy which, up to this time, has been adopted by my noble Friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, has been wise and consistent. We have avoided the use of threats upon the one hand, and of promises upon the other. We have spoken plainly to both belligerents—firmly to Russia, clearly to Turkey; we have endeavoured to define, or rather to specify, the points of British interests which might become affected in the progress of the war; and we have, above all, declared our intention to observe a strict, though, of course, a conditional neutrality. We have also said, in the clearest language, that we shall deem it our duty to assert our voice in the final settlement of the question so far as it affects British interests. I do not swerve in the slightest degree from any of these propositions; and till we know that it is the intention of one of the belligerents to do that which he has over and over again declared that there is no intention of doing, I am slow, as a matter of international courtesy and of sound diplomacy, to assume that these assurances have been deliberately false.

My Lords, if the House will permit me, I desire to take this opportunity to refer to a matter which is connected with the present question, and on which I have apparently become exposed to some misconception. To the deputation

to which I alluded, I was, by a singular mistake, supposed to have spoken of the Crimean War as an "insane" war. I never thought or said anything of the kind. What I did say was that England and Russia had drifted, to use an expression which has become historical, into that war; that I did not think anyone could now look back with satisfaction upon it, and that I did not believe anyone, whether Englishman or Russian, was insane enough deliberately to desire a repetition of it. That statement was a very different one from what is imputed to me.

I am the last to forget all that has touched the feelings, the pride, the sorrow, the sympathies of persons and families in the Crimean War. It was my fortune when quite a young man to go over the battle-fields with one who played a most distinguished part in the war, the late Lord Lyons; and no lapse of time has effaced from my memory the scenes where English courage was illustrated from the soldier who fought at Inkerman to the lady who in her devotion tended the sick and wounded in the hospitals of Scutari. It was a page of European history filled with British achievements; but wars are not to be measured by heroic deeds and the death-roll of those who have fallen; and now, after 20 years, we may reasonably ask what have been the political value and the results of that war. I confess, even though I may be in a minority, I fail to see the political value of those results, and I point to the present war in the East as the evidence of that opinion.

My Lords, it is with much regret that I have come to the decision to separate myself from my Colleagues. There are some amongst them to whom I am bound not merely by ties of political alliance, but by bonds of almost life-long friendship; and your Lordships will believe me it is not without an acute feeling of pain that I have brought myself to such a separation. A Cabinet must in the nature of things be maintained on a principle of "give and take;" it differs in this from no other body of men constituted for a particular object. I know, therefore, that in every Cabinet there will be many questions on which its Members must agree to differ; but there are also questions in which the lives and welfare of others are so deeply

involved, that a Minister dare not waive his convictions at whatever cost or sacrifice to himself. Such has been the case here. I will not say whether I have been right or wrong. I must leave that to the judgment of others. Nor do I blame my Colleagues for the course they have adopted, and the views they have maintained. I am sensible of the forbearance which I have received at their hands, and I take this opportunity of expressing the hope that I have never pressed my own unwelcome doctrines on them with undue earnestness.

I have foreseen for some time that this issue must come. We have been travelling on the road together until we have reached a spot at which the path diverges; but I venture with all deference to them to say that I have consistently held on to the right path, although they naturally will contend that I have turned aside. But this is a matter in which everyone must be guided by his own conscience, and by a sense of his own personal honour; and this I know, that when a man walks in that light, his countrymen will not be stern to mark his errors of judgment. One thing further I must say—that it is of the highest importance at this moment that Her Majesty's Government should be united, and if my departure removes one of the obstacles to harmony, my resignation will at least have had one good effect. It is not fair that one individual should constantly check the action of many; nor is it right that he himself should be drawn on by a desire for compromise to approve of measures in which he cannot agree.

As regards the office with which Her Majesty has been pleased to honour me, it would be affectation on my part to say that I do not regret to leave it. I regret to leave many questions incomplete and unsettled. I beyond measure regret to leave it when clouds, for the time at least, are gathering over one of the most important Dependencies of the Empire. I could well have wished to meet those difficulties, and to have endeavoured to overcome them. At the same time, I can look back with satisfaction to much which has passed within the last four years. I have been fortunate in four years of not uneventful administration; I have been fortunate in the able men, both within and without the Colonial Office, who have given me their time,

and labour, and skill; I have been fortunate in the friends who have helped me by their counsel, and fortunate also in the generous support of political opponents. The least that I can do is to place at the disposal of my Successor any experience I may have gathered; and if I can do anything to smooth his path and remove difficulties, I need not say that every assistance in my power shall be rendered to Her Majesty's Government, so far as I may, with the utmost cheerfulness and unreserve.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, it is not my intention to follow the noble Earl through all his observations; but I must say that I am at a loss to comprehend the sufficient reason for his quitting the Councils of Her Majesty's Government. My noble Friend informed the House that this is not the first occasion on which he has thought it his duty to tender his resignation; and he did me no more than justice when he expressed his opinion that there was no eagerness on my part to accept it. He told us to-night that he was prepared, and is still prepared, to support an increase in our Naval and Military armaments; but he says that in proposing that Her Majesty's Fleet should go into Turkish waters for purposes which I do not wish to conceal—though I may not dwell on them at length on this occasion—we have deviated from the policy which we have hitherto pursued; and that although that action on our part was accompanied by a renewed declaration of our neutrality he could not believe that the declaration would be credited. My Lords, this appears to me really to be a case of much simplicity. The charter of our policy with regard to Eastern Europe is the despatch of May. And what is the despatch of May? A declaration of neutrality on our part—neutrality conditional on the due observance of British interests, which were chiefly, though not entirely, indicated in that despatch. Among the points enumerated in that despatch as points to which our attention would be directed were the city of Constantinople, the Treaties respecting the Straits, and the position of the Dardanelles. These were specifically mentioned. In that despatch we declared, in language of the utmost courtesy, but, at the same time, in language which could not be mistaken, which has not been mistaken, and which cannot be mistaken in any negotiations and

communications with Foreign Powers, that the occupation of the city of Constantinople would not be viewed by us with indifference; that the existing Treaty regulations as to the navigation of the Straits were what we wished to maintain; and we referred to the Dardanelles as a point the condition of which, and the circumstances under which it was held, were of the highest interest to this country. Well, my Lords, what has been the object which we have had before us in recommending Her Majesty to send the Fleet, under certain circumstances, into Turkish waters? It has been to guard and maintain those interests so specifically mentioned in the despatch to which I have referred. Why, is it to be believed—as it would be believed unless we acted—that that despatch consisted only of words? It was well considered; and, when we assented to it, I myself, and I believe all my Colleagues, were resolved, although prepared to observe a strict neutrality, that if that neutrality were violated with respect to any of those points we should do our best in fulfilment of our duty to our Sovereign and to the country to maintain the policy which we had laid down so distinctly, and which had received general approval. There are other points in that despatch. There was an important reference to Egypt. In respect of that it has been said that we referred to points which could hardly enter into controversy. If those who make those observations—and they are very common observations—had had the experience which I and my Colleagues have had on the subject of Egypt during the last year; if they had had to listen to all the propositions, bold, perilous, and even unprincipled, which have been made on that subject, they would find that we have only done our duty as prudent counsellors in the despatch of last May. And we have succeeded in our object—in guarding Egypt from invasion, and in preventing it being brought into this controversy, although the Khedive, as a vassal of the Porte, has felt it his duty to support his Suzerain in the struggle. I can only repeat what I said in the House on the first night of the Session, and what was expressed with equal precision by my noble Friend the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), that our policy has never changed from the beginning, and that

there never has been the slightest division in the Cabinet respecting it. There never has been an occasion when any Member of the Cabinet stated an opinion that it was our duty to deviate from that policy. How that policy should be carried into effect is a question open to discussion, and one on which naturally there must be difference of opinion; but as to the great principle of the policy—namely, the neutrality of this country, a neutrality which was to be strictly observed, provided its observance did not injure the national interests which it was our duty to guard—there has been no deviation of opinion at any time or under any circumstances. I deeply regret that my noble Friend should have thought that the mode in which we attempted to vindicate the national interests in reference to Constantinople, the Straits, and the Dardanelles was such as should deprive us of his valuable services and companionship; but I must vindicate myself and my Colleagues when I say that we were not conscious that in the advice which we gave to the Sovereign to send the Fleet into Turkish waters we were doing anything but supporting that policy which we had frankly expounded to this and the other House of Parliament, which Parliament had adopted frankly, and which the country has contentedly, up to this moment, upheld us in maintaining. It is a source of great disappointment to me that the noble Earl should have felt it necessary to make the statement he has addressed to your Lordships to-night. I would candidly put it to the House, if we have entered into an engagement with Parliament and the country that we should defend certain British interests—and among these prevent a change in the occupation of Constantinople, the present arrangement respecting the Straits, and the position of the Dardanelles—the interests which I believe are accepted by the country as of the highest importance to England—would the country be satisfied in the present state of affairs if they found Her Majesty's Government doing nothing? There may be an opinion that the measures which we have taken may not have been adequate—it may be thought that they may not have been those most adapted to the circumstances; but, so far as I understood my noble Friend, he objects to any action whatever. My Lords, I shall be perfectly

*The Earl of Beaconsfield*

prepared, when the proper opportunity arrives, to vindicate those measures. I believe that in the circumstances they were the best to be adopted. And that course, we thought, would have—and it has had—a salutary effect. Although I deeply regret that proposing these measures should have deprived me of such a Colleague as the noble Earl, I must tell the House frankly that they are part of the consistent policy of Her Majesty's Government; that we are resolved to pursue the policy which we originally announced, and that we are prepared to observe that neutrality which we have loudly proclaimed, and which has been generally accepted. But if neutrality depends on holding that the great interests of the country are not to be maintained and vindicated, then I am no longer in favour of neutrality, but in favour of the interests of the country and the honour of the Sovereign.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** My Lords, I rise, not for the purpose of continuing the discussion, which can have no object, but simply to ask certain Questions of which I have already given Notice this afternoon to the noble Earl. Some of those Questions have been answered by what has taken place in the House already. I wish to know whether it is true that an armistice has been signed; and, if so, at what date? I also wish to know whether Her Majesty's Government have received information as to the nature of the terms of the armistice?—if one has been agreed to. There is another point on which I also desire information. I wish to know whether Her Majesty's Government intend to make any real statement in this House, and to lay Papers on the Table, or will give your Lordships any real information as to the state of things which has lately arisen, and that which at present exists? There are two other Questions of which I have given the noble Earl Notice. One is, whether it is true, as rumoured, that warlike instructions have lately been given to the Commander of the Fleet? I have been anticipated on that subject by the noble Earl below the Gangway (the Earl of Sandwich), who asked the Question, and by the Answer given by the First Lord of the Treasury. The last Question of which I gave Notice was, whether the rumour is true that one or more Members of Her Majesty's Government had tendered their resignation?

With regard to a portion of that Question an Answer has been given. It has been given in the very clear statement of the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon), which, although the First Lord of the Treasury said he could not understand it, I imagine the country at large will understand and appreciate. My Lords, I am not going to follow the noble Earl the Prime Minister in his remarks. I will leave it to the calm judgment of the country whether the ordering of the Fleet to the Dardanelles, of which we have been informed for the first time this evening, was or was not, under the circumstances, a breach of neutrality, which was not in any way communicated to Parliament when we met a week ago, and which was certainly not consistent with the language held by the Government on that occasion. We have not had any statement made to the House up to this moment as to what are the dangers to British interests which have occurred, and which necessitated on the 23rd of this month the decision to take so grave, so important a step as the ordering of the Fleet to enter the Dardanelles. With regard to this question, the country will judge between the two noble Earls who have addressed us. The Question of which I gave Notice, as to whether one or more Members of Her Majesty's Government have resigned, has been partly answered; and therefore the only Question which I desire to have answered—if the noble Earl is at liberty to answer it—is whether or not, as has been stated, any other resignation has been tendered? I trust the noble Earl will not think that any public inconvenience will arise from his replying to that Question.

**THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD:** I will, as far as I can, answer the Questions which the noble Earl has put to me. There are three Questions respecting the armistice. The noble Earl wishes to know the date of the armistice, the date of the signature of the armistice, and he wishes for information as to the terms of the armistice, and whether they can be communicated to the House. Now, so far as Her Majesty's Government are informed, no such instrument is in existence. We know of no armistice; and therefore, of course, it is impossible that we can give the noble Earl the information which he desires. Again, the noble Earl wishes

to know whether an opportunity will be given for a general discussion, and whether Papers, as a basis for such discussion, will be laid upon the Table of this House. The noble Earl has had great experience in public affairs, and he knows that there are few things more difficult than to supply Parliament with information on diplomatic matters where the production of Papers are required for such a purpose. In this country, where we are used to publicity, in every possible mode, and in all forms and fashions, everybody expects to be well informed on the conduct of public affairs, and to be supplied with any information which he may desire. But that is not the temper of the Government of every country; and I am sorry to say that there is a growing reluctance on the part of foreign Governments to communicate with the Government of Her Majesty, except on the condition that the terms of their despatches and propositions should not be placed in that peculiar form of literature known on the Continent under the name of "Blue Books." And, therefore, when it sometimes happens that information is not given to the House, the noble Earl will understand it arises from no wish on the part of the Government to refuse information on diplomatic subjects. All I can promise is that such Papers as we can place on the Table of the House shall be placed there as soon as possible. I think the noble Earl then proceeded to remark upon the breach of neutrality which would have occurred if the British Fleet had entered into Turkish waters. I do not think this is a convenient occasion to enter into a discussion of that subject—a subject, no doubt, well worthy of debate. I and my Colleagues will be prepared to vindicate our course if that issue is fairly brought before the House. But the noble Earl is, I must say, completely in error in supposing that when we met a week ago, and I and my noble Friend near me (the Marquess of Salisbury) addressed the House on this subject, we were concealing from your Lordships any matter connected with this incident of the Fleet entering into Turkish waters. The fact is, it was only decided upon last Wednesday, and this is Friday—only two days ago; and therefore we are free from that charge which the noble Earl very properly, as the Leader of the Opposition, has made

*The Earl of Beaconsfield*

against us. There is one remark in the speech of the noble Earl, in reference to that of the noble Earl the late Secretary for the Colonies, that I wish to correct. The noble Earl said I had stated that I could not understand my noble Friend's remarks. That would have been a very discourteous observation for me to have made, particularly in the case of one who is so skilful and practised an orator as the noble Earl. I perfectly comprehended what he said; but I did not comprehend that he had made out a sufficient case for the resignation of his office, and I am still of that opinion. The noble Earl, while deploring also, I believe, the resignation of the noble Lord, wished to know whether any other of my Colleagues had resigned, or what Members of the Government had resigned. I need not say that I myself am still in a responsible position; but with regard to any other of my Colleagues, I may say it has always been considered a valuable and highly-cherished privilege for a Minister who felt it his duty to retire from the Councils of his Sovereign to claim the right of himself first declaring it to the House of Parliament in which he sits, and upon that privilege I will not trench.

EARL GRANVILLE: One Answer which the noble Earl has given appears to me singularly unsatisfactory—I allude to the way in which the noble Earl answered my Question as to the terms of the armistice. The noble Earl said he did not know there was such a document, and therefore he could not say whether it had been signed.

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: We do not know of an armistice; we have no knowledge of anything of the kind.

EARL GRANVILLE: Has the noble Earl no knowledge of the general terms of the armistice? Was it in ignorance of its terms that the Government countermanded the order for the movement of the Fleet?—or was it in consequence of the terms of peace?

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: The armistice and the terms of the projected Treaty of Peace are two very different things. I mentioned, in answer to the noble Earl (the Earl of Sandwich), at the beginning of this evening, that we are now acquainted with the terms and conditions of peace, without the slightest reference to the armistice. I repeat that we have no knowledge whatever that

any armistice has been negotiated; nor can we in any way suppose what is the form of the armistice or what are its conditions. It was only a few hours after we addressed the House last evening that we received—but not officially received—information of what may be looked upon, I suppose, as the proposed conditions of peace; but of the armistice we know nothing.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** I will not quarrel with the noble Earl as to the difference between an armistice and terms of peace which have been agreed upon. What the country wishes to know is, what are the bases of peace which have been agreed upon between Turkey and Russia and which have induced Her Majesty's Government to countermand the ordering of the Fleet to the Dardanelles?

**THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD:** I really have no authentic information on the subject which I could place before the House. We know what we believe to be the proposals of the Russian Government, but we have no information with respect to the Porte. The information we have has not been given to us officially, but confidentially; and, though I was extremely anxious to let the House have such information as we do possess, I wrote to the quarter from which that information had been confidentially obtained, and asked permission to communicate it to the House, but I have not obtained permission. I have a note in my hand, but that note does not give me that permission; and without such permission it is not in my power to communicate to the House what we understand are the proposals of the Russian Government.

**LORD DUNSANY** said, that the command of the Fleet could not be in more skilful hands than at present; but he feared the Fleet had been ordered to a dangerous anchorage in Besika Bay, and he hoped that a large discretion had been given to Admiral Hornby to withdraw to another position if necessary. He was sorry to hear the disparaging observations which had been made by the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) as to the Fleet proceeding to Gallipoli. Would the noble Earl be better pleased to see the Russian Armies than the British Fleet there? He could not conceive a fact which would be more degrading and humiliating to this country than the

presence of a Russian force at Gallipoli would be. That would be to allow the door to be shut in our face, and it would make naval or military operations out of the question. If we were in possession of Gallipoli, we would have secured one of the padlocks of the Straits, and might regard with comparative indifference the possession of the other padlock by any other Power, and it would diminish very much the importance to Russia even of the possession of Constantinople itself. He could not imagine, if nature had intended to make a place which could be safely held by a naval force, a better place than Gallipoli. It was the Gibraltar of the East, and the Power in possession of it would be pretty well master of the situation.

#### FUNERAL OF VICTOR EMMANUEL.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

**LORD DORCHESTER** rose to ask the noble Earl at the head of Her Majesty's Government a Question of which he had given Notice a day or two ago—namely, Whether the recent mission of the Earl of Roden to Rome to attend the funeral of the late King Victor Emmanuel II. was intended as a tribute of Her Most Gracious Majesty's personal respect, or whether it was meant to represent the feeling of Her Majesty's Government and of this Empire towards a Monarch of Her Majesty's House, the Sovereign of a great Constitutional country, and our faithful Ally during the Crimean War? Considering how that matter affected the susceptibilities of a great nation, some explanation was, he thought, required. He had reason to believe that very distinguished individuals belonging to the English Army would have been willing to attend the funeral. The Crown Prince of Germany and a Marshal of France who was with the Italian Army in the Crimean War, together with the son of her President, were sent to represent their respective countries, while this country was represented by a Member of the Royal Household. He was quite sure that no slight to the Italian nation was intended by that fact; but that it arose in deference to precedents and time-honoured customs which were too much respected in this country. He admitted that, if a Peer were to be selected, no more fitting Member



of their Lordships' House than the Earl of Roden could have been chosen; but it had been represented to him that the Italians resident in London and the English resident in Italy felt deeply the fact that at the funeral of the first King of United Italy—the first King of Liberal and Constitutional Italy—the first King, he might almost say, of Protestant Italy, as compared with another Power that ruled in the same Kingdom—England was not represented by a Member of the Royal House or by some of those gallant and distinguished soldiers who wore the Star of Italy on their breast. The fact that the duty had been intrusted to a simple Lord of the Bed Chamber—although a more amiable and better-hearted Peer could not be found—required some explanation. The late King had died full of honours and in the prime of manhood, and his death was as deeply lamented throughout Italy as that of the great and good Prince who died some years ago in this country.

**THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD :** My Lords, no Notice appears on the Paper with regard to the subject which the noble Lord has introduced, although I saw a Notice in reference to it some days since. I am not, therefore, prepared to enter into the question at any length, but will give your Lordships such information in respect of it as I possess. I believe that all the strict rules of etiquette observed and expected on such an occasion as that referred to were observed in the appointment of a Peer, a Member of the Royal Household, to fill the functions which fell to the lot of the Earl of Roden. The noble Lord who has just spoken seems to think that it was a duty which should have been entrusted rather to a Prince of the Blood or some one equally distinguished. I would observe that ceremonials such as Royal funerals, marriages, and coronations are now very numerous among foreign nations, and attendance is expected at them by those who are Representatives of Royalty in a far greater degree than in any preceding generation—a fact which probably may be attributed to the rapid means of communication which now prevail; and if we laid down as a rule that on occasions of this kind Princes of the Blood only should represent Her Majesty it would be quite impossible, unless the

Royal Family was far more numerous than they are at present in England, to fulfil the wishes of the noble Lord. I think I need hardly say or assure your Lordships that nothing could be further from the thoughts of Her Majesty and the Government than the idea of treating the memory of the late King Victor Emmanuel with indifference. The late King was not only a personal friend of the Queen, but her faithful Ally, and a Sovereign whose memory Her Majesty faithfully cherishes, and who in life she delighted to honour. So far from there being any feeling of dissatisfaction with the appointment—under, of course, the advice of the Government—of the Earl of Roden, a Member of the Royal Household, to be Her Majesty's Representative, I can inform the House that, on the contrary, Her Majesty has conferred upon the new King of Italy the greatest distinction in her power—namely, the Order of the Garter—and that that high distinction received from so illustrious a Monarch as our own has been appreciated by the King of Italy in the most marked manner. That will show that no feeling of the kind suggested can subsist between the two Royal Families, and I believe the sentiments of the Royal Families respectively represent the feelings of the two nations.

## MANAGEMENT OF RAILWAYS.

### QUESTION.

**THE DUKE OF ST. ALBANS** asked Her Majesty's Government, If it is their intention to introduce any measure to deal with the management of Railways during the present Session; and, if so, whether such legislation would be in accordance with the recommendations of the Royal Commission?

**LORD HENNIKER :** The noble Duke is aware that the powers of the Railway Commission will cease at the end of the next Session of Parliament. Under these circumstances, I can give him no more definite reply than that the question of renewing the powers of the Commission must very shortly come under the consideration of the Government; and that the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Railway Accidents will, necessarily, be connected with this subject, and considered at the same time.

*Lord Dorchester*

LORD CARLINGFORD said, that the Answer of the noble Lord could not be considered at all satisfactory, as it seemed like agreeing to read a Bill a second time that day six months; or, at any rate, dealing with the question at an indefinite time. He remembered that last year the noble Earl at the head of the Government told them that the Government were waiting with anxiety the Report of the Royal Commission; and although he was not able to go as far as his noble Friend behind him (the Duke of St. Albans), and ask the Government to adopt the Report *en bloc*, yet there were some very valuable recommendations in it which were capable of being framed into a practical measure, and he trusted that before the end of the Session some measure based on them would be introduced. He saw no reason that the Government could give for shelving the Report of the Royal Commission, unless they were able to state that the Railway Companies themselves were taking effectual measures to bring about the state of things which the Royal Commission recommended.

LORD HENNIKER: I must say as to railway brakes, to which the noble Lord opposite has referred, that a Circular issued by the Board of Trade to the different Railway Companies has not yet been answered. When all the answers have been received, it is hoped they may be of so satisfactory a nature as to make it unnecessary to bring forward any legislative measure on the subject. I have to say, further, that the Government have under their consideration not only the question of the liability of Railway Companies for injuries to those employed by them; but the general question of the relation of employer to employed in this respect.

House adjourned at half-past Six o'clock,  
to Monday next, a quarter  
before Five o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 25th January, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—For Marlborough, *c.* Lord Ernest Bruce, now Marquess of Ailesbury.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Resolution in Committee — Ordered—First Reading—*Bills of Sale \* [90].  
*Ordered—First Reading—*Bankruptcy Act (1869) Amendment \* [89]; Judicature Acts Amendment \* [91].  
*First Reading—*Criminal Appeals \* [92].  
*Second Reading —*Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870) Amendment [43], *put off.*  
*Select Committee—*Parliamentary and Municipal Registration \* [73], *nominated.*  
*Committee—*House Occupiers Disqualification Removal \* [45]—*R.F.*

## QUESTIONS.

### EXPLORATION OF AFRICA. QUESTION.

MR. H. B. SAMUELSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Austria, France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal have granted or promised public money for the purpose of exploring and civilizing certain parts of Africa; and, whether Her Majesty's Government intend to devote any portion of the national resources to the same useful object?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, that, as far as he understood, Her Majesty's Government had received no official information on this subject to show that either Austria, France, Germany, or Italy had granted or promised public money for the purpose of exploring and civilizing certain parts of Africa; but as regarded Portugal, he understood from Her Majesty's Minister at Lisbon that last year a geographical society had been formed in that country, and had taken in hand the subject of exploration; and, further, that the Portuguese Colonial Minister had asked for a grant to organize an expedition which was to start on an early day. An Italian expedition was also to start for the same object; but whether it was fitted out by the Italian Government or not, he was unable to say. Her Majesty's Government had not granted or promised any sum for African exploration, but would always be ready, in other respects, as hitherto, to afford assistance to the exploration and civilization of Africa.

### THE IRISH CONSTABULARY — PAYMENTS FOR SPECIAL SERVICES.

#### QUESTION.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether it is a fact that

a sum of over £1,700 was recently paid by the Great Southern Railway Company of Ireland to the constabulary authorities for services in connection with the late strike of milesmen on their line; whether the police performed any, and, if so, what services on that occasion beyond those incidental to their duty of preserving the public peace; whether the money has been yet distributed; whether a demand has been made upon the Company by the authorities for £300 more; and, whether the constabulary authorities subsequent to the payment by the Company of the above sum of £1,700 have demanded back from the men a gratuity or payment of £3 each granted to them by the Government for their extra services on the occasion; what is the total amount of that gratuity or payment; and whether it has yet been refunded?

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH:** Sir, in answer to the Question of the hon. Member, I may state that I have ascertained by inquiry of the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary that the services rendered by the Constabulary during the late strike on the Great Southern Railway were only such as were proper to their office, consisting of constant patrols on the line of the Company for the protection of life and property. No charge for the services rendered could have been legally made on the Company, nor was any such charge attempted to be made; but the Directors of the Company at the close of the strike voluntarily and spontaneously offered to the Inspector General of Constabulary a certain sum of money to recompense the men who were so employed for their extra expense, and wear and tear of necessaries. The ordinary rules of the Constabulary Force would not have admitted of those men, who had been summoned from a distance, being compensated by the Treasury for expenses of this nature in so very exceptional a case, and it was decided that the offer of the Directors should be accepted. Accordingly the sum of £1,700 was paid by the Company to the Inspector General for this purpose towards the end of December, before the precise amount required could be accurately ascertained, in order that it might be included in the accounts of the Company up to the 31st of December, 1877. The sum thus forwarded was based on a rough estimate of what

would probably be necessary; but, on further inquiry, it has been found that in order to carry out the wishes of the Directors a further sum will be required, and when this is known it will be notified to the Company, but by no means in the shape of a demand. The £1,700 paid has, of course, not yet been distributed. With reference to the last paragraph of the Question the facts are these—In the departmental audit of the Constabulary accounts in the Inspector General's office, it was discovered in the accounts of one county that the allowances payable only to men living out of barracks had been improperly paid to men who were accommodated therein while engaged on this duty, and that, contrary to the regulations, such payments had been passed unquestioned by the county Inspector. They were not allowed by law, and the Inspector General, as accounting officer for the Vote, was compelled to disallow them against the officer in default. In doing so, he expressly informed that officer that he could not assist him in recovering them; but it appeared from the cash accounts of that officer recently sent in that these payments had been recovered by him. The Inspector General has intimated to the county Inspector his strong disapproval of what was done; the matter is still under consideration, and it is my intention to make further inquiry into it.

#### GREECE — DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS.—QUESTION.

**MR. W. CARTWRIGHT** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the version be substantially correct, which stands in the "Daily News" of January 24th, of a Despatch from the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Greek Chargé d'Affaires in London, bearing date September 22nd 1877, with instructions to lodge a Copy with Lord Derby, purporting to be a Reply to various representations (some having been apparently made under date of September 4th, September 11th, September 20th, and September 21st), addressed by Mr. Wyndham to the Greek Government under instructions from Lord Derby, and especially to a declaration said to have been made in virtue of the right of Great Britain as a Guaranteeing Power to expect the Greek Go-

*Mr. Gray*

vernment to adopt a specified line of action in its relations with Turkey; and, whether, in the event of a Despatch of this character having been received, it is still considered expedient by Her Majesty's Government, in presence of the partial publicity that has been thus given to a portion of the Correspondence between England and Greece, to persist in declining to lay before Parliament any Papers having reference to the action Her Majesty's Government may have seen fit to bring to bear upon Greece with the view of influencing her attitude towards Turkey?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, in reply to the first part of the Question of the hon. Member, I have to state that I understand that the version of the despatch of the Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, M. Tricoupi, is substantially correct. In reply to the latter part of the hon. Member's Question, I have further to state that the reason which has induced Her Majesty's Government to withhold the Papers containing the communications which have passed between our Government and that of Greece referring to the relations existing between Turkey and Greece is, that they are afraid that the publication of those Papers might be embarrassing to the Governments of Turkey and Greece. There will, however, be no objection on the part of Her Majesty's Government to lay them on the Table if the two Governments referred to will give their sanction to their doing so.

#### NAVY—THE MEDITERRANEAN SQUADRON.—QUESTION.

MR. GOURLEY asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If he will be good enough to inform the House the names of the vessels at present comprising the Mediterranean Squadron; also the nature of the manœuvres and exercises in which the ships, officers, and men have been engaged during the last six months; and, whether the officers and men have been educated and exercised in the working of torpedoes alike from the shore and the ships?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, it would be misleading if I were to state the names of the vessels composing the Mediterranean Squadron, unless I also entered into a lengthened statement as to the

strength and character of those vessels' and under present circumstances it is undesirable that I should do so. I trust, therefore, that the hon. Member will excuse my declining to answer the first part of his Question. In reply to the second part of his Question, I have to state that the Fleet has been maintained in a condition of efficiency by constant exercise; but it would be necessary that I should refer to the Commander-in-Chief before I could state the particulars of that exercise.

MR. GOURLEY asked, Whether the right hon. Gentleman could state the whereabouts of the different vessels?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has to answer some Questions of which Notice has been given by the noble Lord the Member for Radnor, and perhaps it would be better if the Chancellor of the Exchequer should make his statement.

#### INDIA—KHELAT—OCCUPATION OF QUETTAH.—QUESTION.

MR. FAWCETT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, What is the amount of the annual charge now thrown upon the revenues of India by the military occupation of Quettah; whether the following statement, contained in a letter to the "Times" of Wednesday last, from Major-General Sir John Adye, is correct:—

"It is understood that we are building a residency and a fortified cantonment; that a telegraph has been established; and a Railway is to be made to the entrance of the Pass (Parliamentary Paper, 'Beloochistan,' No. 2, 1877);"

and, if these works are being or to be constructed, he can inform the House what is their estimated cost?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in reply, said, that as far as he was aware, the occupation of Quettah would entail no increase in the Military Estimates of the Government of India. There was a certain apparent increase in the political charges, and, probably, an increase of salaries on account of Major Sandeman and his establishment. The salaries of Major Sandeman and his Staff were stated at page 336, Parliamentary Blue Book No. 2 (Beloochistan). A house had been built at Quettah for the occupation of the agent of the Governor

General; but, as he stated the other day, no other buildings but of a temporary character, and such as were necessary for stores, had been erected. Telegraphic communication had been established between Quettah and British India, as was the case with all troops that might be on detachment duty. No expenditure has been sanctioned or incurred in the construction of a railway to the entrance of the Bolan Pass.

#### INDIA—BENGAL—ENHANCEMENT OF RENT.—QUESTION.

MR. ERNEST NOEL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether Copies of the Correspondence relative to the draft Law on the enhancement of Rent in Bengal are to be laid upon the Table of the House?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in reply, said, if the hon. Gentleman would move for the Correspondence relative to the draft law on the enhancement of rent in Bengal there would be no objection to produce it.

#### POST OFFICE—PRIVATE LETTER BAGS, EDINBURGH.—QUESTION.

MR. M'LAREN asked the Postmaster-General, If he will state the reasons why the charge for private letter bags in Edinburgh has recently been increased from one pound to three pounds; and if he will lay upon the Table a list of the other towns in the United Kingdom, in which the same increased charge has taken place?

LORD JOHN MANNERS: It is a fact, Sir, that the fee has been raised to three guineas; and the same has taken place at Glasgow—putting Edinburgh and Glasgow in the same position as London, Liverpool, and Manchester. It is in consequence of the greater cost for accommodation and service. The greater increased charge has not taken place in any other town. But in about 70 other towns the fee has been raised from one guinea to two guineas. I do not know whether the hon. Member would like to have a list of those; but if he chooses to move for it, he can have it.

#### TURKEY—THE REPORTS OF CONSULAR OFFICERS.—QUESTION.

In reply to Mr. J. HOLMS,  
MR. BOURKE said: Full and ample accounts, Sir, of the state of affairs in

those parts of Turkey where Consular officers are stationed, have been presented to Parliament in Blue Book Turkey No. 1, which contains Correspondence to the end of December. This country has had no Consular officer for some time at Slivno; but the hon. Member will find in the Blue Book a Report from Consul Blount, in which he enters in great detail into the state of affairs with regard to that part of Turkey. Since then I find that no authentic report has been received with regard to the transactions which has taken place there.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—PRESENT POSITION OF H.M. GOVERNMENT.

##### QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I have been under the necessity of communicating to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer the fact that I should think it my duty to put several Questions to him this evening upon several important subjects. The first of those Questions is, Whether the terms of peace demanded by Russia have arrived, and are known to the Government? and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will also be able to state at what hour they arrived yesterday? and also, whether Her Majesty's Government were aware that those terms were before the Porte, and were under the consideration of the Porte, at the time that the Notice which the Government gave yesterday was given? Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman may also be able to state, whether there is any foundation for the rumour, which I believe has within the last hour or two been spread, that preliminaries of peace or an armistice have actually been signed by the Porte? Sir, I have further to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether he can inform the House whether any steps have been taken, or any instructions have been given, for measures to be taken, which have not yet been communicated to Parliament? And, Sir, I have further to ask—and this Question, I must admit, is based upon nothing but popular rumour and newspaper statements; rumours and statements which, however, I think it would be mere affectation to despise—whether there is any foundation for the report that more than one influential

*Lord George Hamilton*

Member of Her Majesty's Government has thought it necessary to tender his resignation? Sir, I do hope that the House will believe that in putting these Questions I am not actuated by any idle curiosity. On the contrary, I think it must be evident to the House that, if there is any foundation for such a statement, it must have a most important bearing upon the character of the measure which the Chancellor of the Exchequer yesterday announced it was his intention to propose for the consideration of the House on Monday. I have only, I think, one further Question to put to the right hon. Gentleman; but it is one as to which I shall have to ask the House to allow me to enter upon a very short explanation. I must repeat the Question which I put to the right hon. Gentleman yesterday, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to lay upon the Table of the House any further Papers relating to their communications with foreign Powers? I thought that the object of the Question I put yesterday must have been perfectly obvious; but from the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer it appeared to me that he did not altogether quite comprehend the object I had in view in putting the Question to him. Sir, the right hon. Gentleman told us the other day that it was a time to speak frankly. I entirely agree with him, and I shall endeavour to speak shortly, and at the same time frankly. The House and the public are, in my opinion, very much mistaken if it is not the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that some of the conditions upon which the neutrality of this country depends are at this moment being imperilled, and the country believes those conditions are conditions which relate to the occupation of Constantinople and the question of the navigation of the Dardanelles. Now, Sir, I am not about to discuss those conditions, but I must say that side by side with the declaration which was made upon these points last year was the declaration that those were conditions not solely of English, but of European interest. Now, Sir, it appears to me that what the House has a right to know before the Government commits us to a course which may possibly—although I hope not—lead us to go to war, is what are the relations of the Government with the other Powers

of Europe, in regard especially to those points upon which our conditional neutrality depends. The House has a right to be told whether the action which the Government proposes to take is taken with the knowledge of and with the assent of the other Powers; and if it is not so taken, the House has a right, in my opinion, to know how it has come to pass that those conditions which last year were asserted to be not questions of English interest only, but of European interest, have come to be entrusted solely to British guardianship. Sir, the necessity for the production of Papers which will throw some light upon those points is, of course, greatly increased if there is any truth in the rumours to which I have before alluded. I could conceive circumstances under which the Government might come down to the House and make an appeal to Parliament, and state that communications had passed between themselves and the other Powers of Europe, but which it was not in their power at present to submit to Parliament; and they might say that they trusted that Parliament, if it had any confidence in the Government at all, would believe that they would not make such an appeal as they were about to make without sufficient necessity and without the communications being of such a character that it would not be for the benefit of the country that they should be divulged. But the case would be very greatly altered if there is any foundation for those rumours which I have referred to. In that case, it would appear that some of their own Members—men not ignorant, as we are, of what is going on, but possessing the same knowledge as the Government themselves—consider that the action contemplated by the Government was not necessary. It is incumbent, therefore, I think, upon the Government to lay upon the Table of the House without delay such information as would enable the House to judge what is the condition of their relations with foreign Powers, and whether the action which they propose now to take is to be an isolated action, and if it is to be an isolated action, what are the grounds which have made isolated action on our part necessary. It has been pointed out to me that the Supplementary Estimate has not yet been laid upon the Table. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will be

able to state when it will be in the possession of hon. Members.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Speaker, the noble Lord was good enough to make a communication to me this afternoon of his intention to put Questions of the character he has now addressed to me, and I will endeavour, so far as I can, to answer those Questions; but the noble Lord and the House must bear in mind that upon some of those points it is difficult, or indeed impossible, for me to speak fully and to answer every Question that has been put to me, because many of the points that have been raised by the noble Lord relate to matters of which we are not at liberty to speak fully without the assent of other Governments. Now, with regard to the first Question—or group of Questions, if I may so describe it—put by the noble Lord, I think they were these—He wished to know, whether the terms submitted by Russia, or offered by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries, have arrived in this country, and have been made known to Her Majesty's Government? He further goes on—assuming the Answer to the Question in a manner which I am rather surprised at—he goes on to ask at what time those conditions arrived yesterday, and whether the Government were aware of them, and were aware that they were under the consideration of the Turkish Plenipotentiaries at the time when I gave the Notice I did?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: That is not quite correct. I asked whether terms of peace were not at that time under the consideration of the Turkish Government.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I beg pardon. I understood your Question to be, whether Her Majesty's Government were aware that those terms were under the consideration of the Porte at the time that I made the announcement in this House of the Government's intention to propose a Vote?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The right hon. Gentleman is not quite accurate. What I asked him was whether the Government were aware that terms of peace were under the consideration of the Porte at the time he made his statement.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I beg the noble Lord's pardon,

*The Marquess of Hartington*

but of course I do not pretend to quote the language in which the noble Lord's Questions were couched, as he has not given me in handwriting the terms of them. However, I think with regard to one or two of these Questions I hardly ought to have been asked them. With regard to the circumstances under which I spoke, I think the House would hardly suppose that I should have been guilty, or that Her Majesty's Government would have been guilty of such a suppression, and even more than a suppression, of the truth as would have been involved in coming forward and giving the Notice which we did give, and explaining it as I subsequently did explain it, and yet making no allusion to such a remarkable fact, as that we were well aware that terms of peace had been communicated by the Russian Government to the Porte and were under consideration by the Porte. Sir, the Government had no knowledge that anything of the kind had occurred. And now with reference to the Questions the noble Lord put, I am really unable even now to answer positively the Question whether the terms of peace have arrived and are known to the Government. Certainly last night nothing of that sort had occurred. Last night, up to the time the House had met, we had not had communicated to us the terms, and we were not in a condition to say what were the terms, or even whether terms had been communicated to Turkey. Nay, further, we are not even now in the position of saying that those terms have been communicated to us. The Russian Ambassador, I believe, had previous to the time when I came down to the House been in communication with my noble Friend Lord Derby, and we were aware that no communication of the terms had been made. Well, in the course of yesterday evening certain communications of a private, and not of an authentic or formal character, were made to us on the subject of those terms. We received them by communications from abroad, and those communications certainly led to the impression that matters had gone further than we had been informed of before. But those communications, as I have said, were not of an authentic character; and they have been supplemented by others which show that they were not altogether quite accurate, and that they were not at that time fully or tho-

roughly known. This morning my noble noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Derby) has received a communication from the Russian Ambassador, and the heads of certain bases have been communicated to Lord Derby; but whether we are in a position to make any communication with regard to them I am not able at this moment to say. They were privately given, and it rests, therefore, with the Russian Ambassador to say whether we are to make any use of his communication. With respect to the next Question of the noble Lord—namely, whether we are aware that an armistice has been actually concluded, or preliminaries of peace agreed to by the Porte, I have to say that we are not aware of anything of the sort. That is the situation of affairs, so far as I am able to state them. The next Question put by the noble Lord was, whether any instructions have been given by Her Majesty's Government for steps to be taken which have not yet been communicated to Parliament. Well, I suppose I can divine to what particular kind of instructions the noble Lord refers. I presume it is to the movement of the Fleet—[The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Hear, hear!]  
—which has been, I perceive, a matter of general comment. The case is this—On Wednesday evening we decided that orders should be sent to the Fleet to proceed to the Dardanelles to keep open the water-way and to protect British life and property in the event of tumults at Constantinople. But, Sir, in consequence of the communications to which I have referred—those private communications which we received late last night, a further telegram was despatched to the Fleet, ordering the Fleet, if they were at the mouth of the Dardanelles, where they had been directed to call for orders, to wait until they received further instructions. That is the position of affairs at the present moment. The noble Lord has put a Question to me with regard to other rumours which are afloat and as to the position of Members of Her Majesty's Government. The noble Lord has experience in those matters, and he will bear me out in saying, or will not be surprised at my saying, that I am not authorized to make any communication on that subject. With respect to the Question of the noble Lord as to the production of Papers, I said last night

that we would see whether there were any more Papers which could properly be presented. But the noble Lord now supplements that Question by indicating the kind of Papers which he thinks the House ought to be supplied with. With regard to those Papers, I may say that we have, of course, had many communications with foreign Powers of a confidential character, and it would be impossible, without the consent of other Powers, to publish Papers of that description. The noble Lord and the hon. Gentlemen who sit near him must be perfectly well aware how difficult it is to carry on diplomatic correspondence if you are liable at all times to be called upon to produce everything. So far as Her Majesty's Government, however, are concerned, there is not a line that they have written which they would have the slightest objection to produce. But the matter is not in our hands alone, and it would not be right to present anything without communicating with foreign Powers. The noble Lord asked one other Question—namely, as to the Supplementary Estimate. The actual details of the Estimate are at the present moment being drawn up by those who are conversant with the Departments concerned; but I may state to the House generally that the Estimate itself will be laid on the Table this evening, together with particulars, and it may be convenient that I should say at once that the amount which will be asked for is £6,000,000.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to put another Question which arises out of his statement. I understood him to say that orders had been given to the Fleet—which have now been, at all events, suspended—to enter the Dardanelles. I am under the impression that under the Treaty that step would be an infraction of the Treaty, unless it were taken with the consent of the Porte; and I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether he is able to state that the consent of the Porte was obtained before that order was given? Perhaps I might be allowed to say one word in explanation. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that I conveyed some imputation upon him for want of candour in keeping back information when he made his announcement yesterday. I can assure the right



hon. Gentleman and the House that I had no such intention. A statement, however, has been published in all the Papers to-day, apparently on good authority, that yesterday afternoon the terms of peace, having been remitted by the Turkish Plenipotentiaries to Constantinople, were under the consideration of the Porte. I do not understand the right hon. Gentleman to deny now the accuracy of that statement; and if it was the fact, surely it was not unnatural to suppose that the right hon. Gentleman might yesterday afternoon have been informed of it through our Ambassador at Constantinople? Neither did I suppose that he would be chargeable with keeping back anything which it was essential for the House to know when he did not make that communication yesterday. The right hon. Gentleman, as I understand, is aware now that terms are or have been under the consideration of the Porte; but I do not understand him to have said it makes any difference in the line of policy which Her Majesty's Government have announced their intention to take on Monday next.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: As to the last observation of the noble Lord, it has certainly made no difference in the line of policy which Her Majesty's Government feel it their duty to take in proposing the Supplementary Vote, but it did make a difference in regard to moving the Fleet. But I think it better to refrain from saying more on that point until I have an opportunity on Monday of explaining the reasons which induced Her Majesty's Government to give their Notice for Monday next. With reference to the point which the noble Lord raised as to the bearing of Treaty obligations on the admission of the Fleet to the Dardanelles, of course it is one which has not escaped the observation of Her Majesty's Government. But I think it will be more convenient if I abstain at present from answering the Question that he put until I have an opportunity of making my statement on Monday. I would repeat again that I had not the information referred to at the time I made the statement yesterday, and that I should myself have considered it a want of candour, especially as the Question was asked, if I had refrained from mentioning it.

*The Marquess of Hartington*

MR. CHILDERS: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to put a Question to him in order to elucidate his previous Answer. The right hon. Gentleman said yesterday that he was about to place on the Table a Supplementary Estimate, and he has now stated that it would amount to £6,000,000. Now, a Supplementary Estimate must be an Estimate which is supplementary to some other Estimate; and what I have to ask is, whether this is an Estimate for the current year, 1877-8, or is to be supplementary to Estimates for next year which are not yet before us? On inquiry of the Clerk at the Table I find that there are no Estimates either for this or for the next year on the Table. Is the Estimate which is about to be presented one for the current year?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: It is a Supplementary Estimate in the proper sense for the Naval and Military Services of the year 1877-8—that is to say, it is not additional to anything which has not been presented, but an addition to the Votes which were passed in the last Session of Parliament in the Appropriation Act for the Naval and Military Services of the country. A further sum is required for those Services, and the details will be mentioned in the Estimates.

MR. CHILDERS: I must apologize to the House, but my only object is to clear up the matter. Does the right hon. Gentleman mean, in one word, that before the 31st of March next the Government propose to spend £6,000,000?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: It is not a question of whether it will require to be spent or not. It is a question of what the Government ask to have placed at their disposal for the purposes of the Naval and Military expenses of the country. This will be the heading—"For a sum required beyond the ordinary grants by Parliament towards defraying the expenses which may be incurred in immediately increasing the Naval and Military Services in the present crisis of the war between Russia and Turkey, including the cost of a further addition to the number of Land Forces during the year ending the 31st March, 1878." I think we had better defer the further discussion of the matter.

## CEYLON—ECCELESIASTICAL GRANTS.

## QUESTION. EXPLANATION.

**Mr. J. LOWTHER:** With the permission of the House, I desire to make a correction of an Answer I gave a few evenings ago to a Question put to me by one of the hon. Members for Lambeth (Mr. Alderman M'Arthur) relating to ecclesiastical grants in Ceylon. I find I am reported, and quite correctly, to have said that "Lord Carnarvon has communicated personally with Sir William Gregory on this as on other subjects connected with Ceylon." I have since received a letter from Sir William Gregory, from which it appears that my noble Friend was mistaken in his impression that this was among the subjects upon which they had privately conversed. I mention this, as Sir William Gregory is anxious I should do so. The decision, however, arrived at by Her Majesty's Government is as originally stated by me—namely, to continue the existing grants.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.



## SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

## INDIA—THE SALT TAX. . .

## RESOLUTION.

**SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL**, in rising to call attention to the Taxation of India, and to the injustice of placing new burdens on the food of the poor while the rich are not taxed in due proportion; and to move—

"That the total taxation on salt in India being already excessive should not be increased, and especially a very large additional burden on an article so essential to life and health should not be placed on the populations of Madras and Bombay at a time when they are enfeebled and emaciated by a very prolonged and severe famine,"

said, he feared that the question might seem tame in these times, but it intimately concerned the welfare of 180,000,000 of the poorest of our fellow subjects, and was of special consequence at a time when, India and England being partners, both countries

might be plunged into a greatly increased expenditure. In such an event, the mode of taxation in India would be of the utmost importance; we had heard the measures which were proposed, and he trusted that this matter, so urgent from an Indian point of view, would command the attention of the House. The principal aim and object of his Motion was that in his judgment—and he trusted it would appear, also, in the judgment of the House—it was unfair and inexpedient that the additional taxation which it had been found necessary to impose on the Indian people, should be imposed on the poor and not on the rich; and more especially so since it would be imposed in a very objectionable form of taxation on the food of the poorer classes. Upon that point he might claim the sympathy of those hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House who represented the financial policy inaugurated by the late Sir Robert Peel and adopted by his successors, the effect of that policy being to remove the taxes on food, and substitute a fair, proportionate tax on the income of the rich. That was the policy at present pursued in England, but not in India, where the example of a few oligarchical colonies had been copied. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had often denounced the Government of the East India Company; but those censures came rather ill from him, as, whatever might have been the failings of the Company, it had, at any rate, protected the poor, and had done its best for the masses of the people. Undoubtedly the present Financial Minister of India (Sir John Strachey), was an able man, and nothing could be more true than his retrospect of the circumstances which had given rise to the present necessity; but when he dealt with the prospects of the future, he took the position rather of an advocate than of a statesman, so that the Indian journals gave him credit for abandoning his own views in deference to public opinion. The Budget was, he believed, in this respect, rather Lord Lytton's than Sir John Strachey's, especially with reference to the salt duty. Sir John Strachey had unfortunately allowed himself to give a view colouring to the future which was possible enough in a small Assembly, though not possible in a place where statements

were narrowly criticized. He was compelled to agree with the Government of India that some serious addition to the taxation of that country was unfortunately necessary. Perhaps retrenchment might effect a saving; but, as a matter of fact, the authorities both of India and of England had tried to make reductions without much success. As regarded the military charges, that, he believed, was eminently the case, and the best way to guard against the increase of those charges was to abstain from a mischievous activity on the North-western frontier. Again, so far as the additional taxation which it was proposed to impose on India, there was, he thought, in that portion of the Budget extreme vagueness of statement, as well as a considerable inadequacy in the measures proposed. It was stated that a very heavy debt had been incurred on account of the Famine, and that it was deemed necessary to levy additional taxation to meet those recurring disasters. Out of the £1,500,000 a-year to be provided, only £700,000 per annum would be available from the new taxation proposed to be raised, and that was held out as available for material improvements rather than for paying the costs of the famine. It was not a large sum, and it was inadequate to meet the requirements of the case. Now, the famine tax which it was proposed to impose on land had his approval; while as to the tax on traders and artisans, he was in favour of the principle on which the Government had determined to proceed, provided the tax were justly and equally imposed upon all classes. He was ready to admit that up to the limit of £1,000 a-year, which would be represented by a £20 tax, the charge was a fair one; but his complaint was not of the mode of its imposition as a substitute for a regular income tax on the middle classes; but that, contrary to the practice in the case of such a tax, it was to be imposed on the very humblest and poorest artisans down apparently to men earning £5 a-year, while the very rich were left practically untaxed. Companies making £100,000 a-year of profit were to be taxed only on £1,000 a-year, and the same rule applied to the rich merchants and millionaires of India. The Government of India were afraid of

touching these great Companies and rich men, because of the unpopularity it would cause, and because of the complaints that would appear in the newspapers. In agreeing to increase the salt tax, Lord Lytton, he was grieved and ashamed to say, had yielded to a selfish demand on the part of the rich for exemption from taxation; and he could not help expressing his opinion that it was a base and unjust thing for the Government of India to seek popularity on such terms. The net increase of the salt tax was only £300,000. If the Government extended the principle of the licence tax to the very rich, and taxed the rich for their servants, elephants, and horses, they would raise a much larger sum than they gained by this iniquitous tax on the food of the poor. He thought there should be a limit to the constant increase of this tax. The Government was getting dangerously near the point at which the camel's back would be broken; and it was desirable that a little of the burden imposed by this tax should be removed and laid upon different shoulders. By no man had that opinion been more strongly held than by the late Lord Mayo, assisted by the present Finance Minister, Sir John Strachey. It had also been held by Lord Lawrence, and Lord Hobart, and many others, and last year the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) had stated that the Secretary of State for India was of opinion that some means should be taken for reducing the tax. The statistics of the operation of the tax showed one or two very remarkable results. The consumers of rice and ragi in the South of India used a much larger proportion of salt than the population of the wheat-consuming country in the North of India. Among the latter the consumption was only 6lb. a-head; whereas in the South of India it amounted to 15lb. or 16lb. a-head. The tax would thus press most heavily on the population which was compelled to use the poorest class of grain, and a population impoverished, too, by the late Famine. It was a striking fact that, during the Famine, when food was scarce or of an inferior quality, the consumption of salt was greater than when it was plentiful and good, as the people used it as a kind of stimulant. The proposal to raise the salt tax 40 per.

*Sir George Campbell*

cent in Madras and Bombay, and reduce it only 4 per cent in Bengal, would result in a very considerable increase as a whole. Equalization was no reason for raising the whole tax. He regretted that Sir John Strachey had attempted to justify the action which had been taken in regard to the imposition of the salt tax in the way he had. The proposal was said to be of a temporary character, and stress was laid on the benefit that would result from its decrease in future years; but that was a fallacy, for the proposed increase must result in a substantial increase of the tax. The increase of 40 per cent in Madras and Bombay was unjustifiable, for already the population of these Provinces paid a higher rate of taxation per head in the shape of salt duties than any other part of India. The inhabitants of Madras and Bombay already paid £2,000,000 net of the salt tax of India. They contained less than one-third of the population of the country, but they paid more than one-third of the salt tax, and those Presidencies had naturally protested against any increase of the tax. This increased tax was unjust and inexpedient. It was unjust, because the rich in India were not taxed in due proportion, whilst it was a very heavy tax on the poor. The salt tax was, in reality, a food tax in its worst form; and whilst the poor in India were heavily taxed, the rich in that country, since the abolition of the income tax, were the most lightly taxed people on the face of the earth. Deducting the land tax, and opium, and other similar sources of income, the real taxation of India amounted to some £12,000,000, one-half of which was derived from salt, leaving only £6,000,000 to be paid by the country generally, and by far the greater part of that sum was paid by the poor. If additional taxation was to be imposed on India, it was only right and proper that a fair share of it should be imposed on the rich. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the total taxation of salt in India being already excessive should not be increased, and especially a very large additional burden on an article so essential to life and health should not be placed on the populations of Madras and

Bombay at a time when they are enfeebled and emaciated by a very prolonged and severe famine,"—(*Sir George Campbell*),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, that the hon. Gentleman opposite had moved a very ingenious Amendment against a Budget which was not in possession of the House; but it was impossible for the House, unless it was in possession of the full scope and bearing of Sir John Strachey's scheme, to understand why in one portion of India he had been obliged to increase the tax on a particular commodity. The hon. Member had jumped to the conclusion that Sir John Strachey had preferred to put all taxation on the poor and to abolish the taxes on the rich; but he could not understand how anyone who was in full possession of the scheme could make such a statement. The statement of Sir John Strachey only reached this country a few days back. He (Lord George Hamilton) might say, without exaggeration, that Sir John Strachey had made a most comprehensive, most able, and statesmanlike exposition of the finances of India. It was true that he proposed additional taxation, but he coupled it with a large number of important administrative and financial reforms. Lord Mayo had not only established an equilibrium between revenue and expenditure, but had bequeathed a considerable surplus to his successor. Lord Northbrook had enlarged the surplus to such an extent that he thought it right to abolish the income tax. He thought the abolition of that tax was a matter to be regretted; but it had been abolished under peculiar circumstances, and it was one thing to abolish a tax and another to re-impose it. From the period at which the income tax was abolished up to the present time, there had been long-continued famines in one part of India or another, which had entailed an expenditure of £16,000,000, adding £360,000 to the permanent expenditure of that country. The fall in the value of silver had imposed another charge, which could not be estimated at less than £1,500,000. There had also been an increased expenditure for military organization. Taking these amounts

altogether, India had during the last four or five years to meet additional charges amounting to £3,000,000, and that had eaten up the whole of the surplus. Sir John Strachey had pointed out how they would obtain a surplus of £500,000, which was insisted upon by the Secretary of State, and also an insurance fund of £1,500,000 per annum to provide against famine. He proposed to do this by a series of wise administrative changes, and giving the Local Government greater control over the Civil Service. He in this way saved in this year and the next £400,000. That would leave £1,100,000 to be provided for, and he proposed to raise by land cess £450,000, and by licence taxes £650,000; Madras and Bombay being exempted from the land cess. He further proposed to hand over to the Local Government additional means to construct irrigation works and railways. He proposed to lay the foundation of a great fiscal and financial reform—namely, an equalization of the salt duty in India. The salt duty of India was said to be crushing; but where? Not in Madras and Bombay, but in Bengal. At the present moment the rate in Bengal was 52 annas per maund. The rate in the North-west and other parts of India was 48 annas. In Bombay and Madras it was 29 annas. It was the duty of the Government to equalize, not by levelling up, but by levelling down. But it was impossible to level down to the level of Bombay and Madras without sacrificing a very large part of the revenue. Were we, then, to sit still and never attempt to equalize the duties of India? There was one course that might be adopted—namely, that of raising, to a certain extent, the duty in Madras and Bombay and to level the duty in Bengal down to that which was proposed in Madras and Bombay. That was what Sir John Strachey proposed. He proposed to exempt Bombay and Madras from the land tax. It would be reversing the principle of local rule and responsibility to lay down a rule that when a locality suffered a calamity all others were to bear the taxation necessary for its relief; yet that would be the result of Sir John Strachey's proposals if he had not put additional taxation upon Madras and Bombay. He objected to put it in the shape of a land cess, because the land revenue was high, and impoverished

people would have difficulty in paying a land cess, which would become payable at certain stated intervals. Therefore he proposed to bring the salt duty in Madras and Bombay to the level which he proposed for the whole of India—namely, 2 rupees 8 annas. An increase of 12 annas was, no doubt, a considerable one; but the raised duty would still be below the present rate in Bengal, which was to be reduced by 2 annas, while that of the North-west Provinces and elsewhere would be reduced by 4 annas. These changes were not made capriciously simply to increase taxation, but they were made to accomplish reforms and equalization, and to facilitate the abolition of the inner Customs' line of 2,000 miles, which reflected little credit on our administration. It would not be possible to carry out these reforms with a lower duty on salt. Negotiations were being carried on with the Native Princes on the other side of the line, and when these were completed there would be a uniform duty on salt throughout India. All other forms of taxation had been considered, and preference given to the increase of the salt duties, which amounted to only 2*d.* a-head, and would not be payable all at one time; while the change embodied the germ of a great fiscal reform and furnished the means by which Madras and Bombay would contribute their fair share towards a famine insurance fund. If the Amendment should be accepted the whole equilibrium of the Budget would be destroyed, and the most important of the reforms proposed would be indefinitely postponed. Notwithstanding all the criticism indulged in, no alternative was offered; yet it was proposed that the House should incur the serious responsibility of interfering with the functions of the Indian Government, which after mature deliberation had adopted a form of taxation preferred by the people, of whom 147,000,000 were now paying a tax higher than that proposed, which would be an advance to 45,000,000. He had always taken a sanguine view of the salt tax, and believed that reduction of the tax would be followed by increase of consumption. If that anticipation were realized, the Finance Minister would be able to reduce the rate for all India to the present rate for Madras and Bombay. Sir John Strachey had sketched reforms

*Lord George Hamilton*

which would be of great utility, and he hoped the House would not, on a plausible Motion directed to the weakest part of the Budget, postpone indefinitely reforms which would confer great benefits on the people of India.

MR. LYON PLAYFAIR: The subject upon which we are asked to pronounce an opinion by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy is one of no ordinary importance. I agree with the noble Lord who has just spoken that we ought to discuss the Budget with moderation, for there is no doubt that Sir John Strachey, in his recent able speech on Indian finance, has proved the need of increased taxation with the view of forming a famine insurance fund. That is to amount to £1,500,000, and he derives that sum by taxes on land and licences on trade. In addition to this sum, however, he proposes to raise £500,000 as a surplus on revenue in ordinary years. This £500,000 is to be obtained by raising the tax on salt in Madras and Bombay about 40 per cent on its present amount. He takes credit that while he thus largely augments the tax on these Presidencies, containing 47,000,000 of people, he actually reduces the tax in Bengal and Northern India, containing 137,000,000 of people. This is a taking statement, but as my hon. Friend shows, it in reality means that a heavy tax is made more heavy in Madras and Bombay, by at least 10*d.* per family, while it is lightened in other districts by about 3*d.* A salt tax is not peculiar to India. It is an ancient form of tax, established by the Romans, and has existed in almost every land. But since science showed how essential salt is as a necessary of life, the tax has been growing into disfavour, and when it was found to cramp the growth of manufacture, England long ago abandoned it as a source of revenue. Sir John Strachey adduces France as an example of a country which has increased the salt tax in recent years. France may be used as a warning, but scarcely as an example for imitation, as the history of her salt tax has always been lamentable. Its oppressiveness did more than any other single cause to bring on the Great Revolution, and its incidence in modern times has prevented the growth of manufactures in France. One strong objection to a salt tax is that it forms a poll tax of the worst description. The old poll

tax did discriminate persons according to their ability to pay, but a salt tax presses on every man, woman, and child in the same way. The beggar must pay just as much of it as the Prince or rich trader; for salt is as necessary to human existence as air or water. It is more oppressive than ordinary taxes on food. A tax might be levied on every cultivated food, and still the poor man, unable to pay it, might live on herbs, or slugs, or caterpillars; but there are three things he must have—air, water, and salt—and in India we tax heavily one of these three essentials of life. The blood cannot be formed without salt, which indeed forms more than 50 per cent of its incombustible ingredients. All the animal juices likewise contain it. Hence every human being must consume a definite quantity each year, so that a salt tax becomes a universal poll tax. And it is upon this absolute essential to life that there is to be an increase of 40 per cent of tax levied from the inhabitants of Bombay and Madras. The famine in these districts has scarcely passed away, and upon their weakened populations this increased tax is to be levied. A tax on salt is especially heavy on a population like that of India, which chiefly lives on starchy food. Less salt is necessary with an animal diet than with one which has for its staple such food as rice or potatoes. We recollect how much salt the Irish used with their food before the potato famine, and the same requirement is felt by the rice-feeding people of India. If the supply of salt be stinted in such conditions, the health of the population suffers materially. In the districts of France, which purchased immunity from the *Grande Gabelle*, the consumption of salt was 18lb per head. But in the taxed districts it was slightly over 9lb. This experience has also occurred in India. Formerly the consumption in India is said to have been 15 to 16lb per head; in Bengal it is now 10 to 11lb. In Bombay, under the discontent of a severe law, it sank down a few years ago to the minimum of 9.7lb. Below that even the new tax can scarcely depress it. But diminished consumption means diminished health of the people, so that the expected surplus of £500,000 may soon vanish in the heavy charges which result from a decreased productive power of a population. I

would point to another fact, which shows that no worse means could be found for increasing revenue than an augmentation of the salt tax. Salt is one of the most important materials of manufacturing industry. The products coming from it are essential for the bleaching of cotton goods, for the manufacture of soap, of glass, of earthenware, and many other industries. If any Chancellor of the Exchequer ventured to re-impose so low a duty as 5s. per ton on salt in England, he would produce such agitation among the leading industries of this country that he could not hold his office for three weeks. The new equalized duty in India is not 5s. but 140s. per ton. How can India be expected to gain any industrial or commercial prosperity while she is burdened by such a tax? Even the curing of food cannot be properly carried on in India; and I observe in the last Report on the material condition of India that complaints are made of the Madras people eating imperfectly cured fish in order to save salt, and a timid proposal is made that a few yards in Madras might be opened for curing fish with salt supplied by the Government at a cheap rate. Sir John Strachey refers us to France, and I would remind the House that France liberates her salt for curing food, for the purposes of agriculture, and for the feeding of cattle. But India is very timid in all these matters. I see that the Bengal Government allows salt to be imported into Calcutta for earthenware, and this is a step in the right direction. But manufactures in India are of less importance than formerly. Where are now the exports which once were so characteristic of Bengal? In the last Report on India only three-quarters of a page is given to the whole subject of manufacture. If the old manufactures of India ceased to be in demand in the markets of Europe, surely it was the duty of the Indian Government to stimulate the growth of fresh industries. But this is impossible with a heavy salt tax, producing one-sixth or seventh of the whole revenue. The cotton growth in India might be made into saleable goods, were it not for the enormous tax on the salt, which is required to produce the soda, the soap, and the chlorine to bleach it. India has ample materials for glass and earthenware, but the salt tax again strangles these industries. It is quite true that

the larger subject of the tax of £6,000,000 upon salt is scarcely raised upon the present issue of increasing it by £500,000. But the impolicy of the tax forces itself upon our attention when it is again used as a means of augmenting the revenue. The whole sum is a small one, and might surely have been provided from a less objectionable source. Considerably more than that amount has been saved since the time of Lord Mayo by improvements in provincial administration. Surely economy in other directions might have prevented the imposition of £500,000 on the salt consumed by famine-stricken populations. We have now the opportunity of expressing our disapproval of this proceeding, and such an expression of opinion may in the future have an effect in mitigating the severity of a tax which now diminishes the free use of this necessary of life, and which stunts the growth of manufactures in India.

MR. ONSLOW suggested that hon. Members were entering into discussion of these matters rather in the dark, seeing that the Budget of Sir John Strachey was not yet officially before the House. The hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had used very hard words against the salt tax; but this was not the only tax in India against which hard words had been uttered. The opium tax had also come in for its share of reprobation; but if those taxes were reduced or done away with, he feared the finances of India would not long be in even so satisfactory a position as they were in now. This was an exceptional time in India; the finances of that country had been stretched to a great degree. Sir John Strachey had thought it advisable to raise additional taxation, and the question was, how that additional taxation should be raised—whether by again imposing an income tax, by a universal licence tax, or by enhancing the duties on Customs. This salt tax was a portion of a great scheme. No doubt it did affect a large portion of the people of India; but in such an emergency as the present, it was the duty of everyone, high and low, to assist Her Majesty's Government in extricating the finances of India from their present state. It was the duty of everyone, whether in India or in this country, to contribute something towards the maintenance of the State. It, therefore, seemed to him right to enhance, to a

certain extent, the duty on salt. It should, however, be remembered that the tax would be decreased with reference to the majority and enhanced only on the minority. As to the rich not being taxed, it should be remembered that during the last few years local taxation in India had increased to an enormous extent, and that these local taxes hardly touched the poorer classes in the different Local Governments, but fell almost exclusively on the rich. [SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: No, no!] It was said that Lord Lytton feared the Press; but if that was so he was the first Viceroy of India that ever did. He could not help thinking that Sir John Strachey had exercised a wise discretion in proposing this additional small burden on what might be called the necessities of the poorer classes; and he trusted that the hon. Gentleman opposite would not, in the absence of Sir John Strachey's Budget or official information, think this the proper time to press his Motion.

MR. GRANT DUFF, after pointing out that Sir John Strachey had been a most zealous advocate of various schemes for increasing the supply of salt, and referring to a speech which, when travelling in India, he had heard Sir John Strachey deliver at Sambhar, regretted that this moment had been chosen for raising the salt question, and said that while agreeing with all that had been said by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Lyon Playfair) as to the importance of salt to the Natives in India and to manufactures, he felt sure that the Budget of Sir John Strachey had been absolutely dictated by circumstances. There was a very large deficit to fill, and how was it to be filled? His hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy had shown that it could not be filled merely by a diminution of expenditure; and with that he himself entirely agreed, very little remaining to be done in that way. Well, then, was the income tax to be revived? His hon. Friend did not say in so many words that it ought; but his whole speech pointed in that direction. He himself had never hesitated to declare his opinion in favour of a light income tax as a permanent source of revenue in India; but, surely, this would have been a particularly unlucky moment to have chosen for renewing the income tax. No one would suggest that it

should be imposed merely upon the rich Natives. They could imagine what an outcry would be raised if that had been proposed; nor was it a time to impose it on the European population, which had lately suffered greatly from the rates of exchange. Were we, then, to have a tobacco tax? He did not think his hon. Friend would be prepared to propose such a tax at a sufficiently high rate to fill this deficit. There were other taxes to be proposed, but they were considered one by one by Sir John Strachey and rightly put aside. Were we to fall back on an increase on the Customs duties? We had lately listened to denunciations of Customs duties upon cotton, with which he (Mr. Grant Duff) entirely sympathized, and were Sir John Strachey to propose an increase, he would be likely to hear a good deal against it. Nothing could be done in the circumstances, he thought, but by this slight addition to the salt tax and the other taxes proposed, to which he did not understand his hon. Friend to object. Although by this Budget the price of salt would be considerably augmented to a portion of the people, it would be slightly diminished to a much larger number; and he conceived that the measure, as a whole, was intended to arrive at that equalization of the salt tax, which was one of the things that every person who had seriously considered Indian finance desired to arrive at as soon as possible. He conscientiously believed that both Sir John Strachey and Lord Lytton, in all their dealings in this matter, did what they believed was best for India, and were not in any way actuated by fear of Press attacks. He had the pleasure of knowing personally both of those gentlemen, and he was sure that they were not men who would be turned away from any course which they thought right and just by the clamour of the Indian or any other Press. With regard to the conduct of Lord Lytton, he had come to a conclusion very different to that which his hon. Friend had formed. He had read State Papers his Lordship had written; he had narrowly observed his conduct; and had been struck—he might almost say surprised, considering that his previous training had been diplomatic and literary—at the great amount of administrative ability exhibited therein.



GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) to apply his intelligence and influence to some measure for obtaining additional revenue from a new source, and that new source he might find in a field already open to him—namely, in encouraging the cultivation of waste land, of which there were some 20,000,000 acres in the Madras Presidency. The noble Lord had forgotten that while the consumption of salt in Bengal was only 10lb per head, in Madras it was 18lb per head, for the simple reason that the food used in the two Presidencies differed so greatly. The surplus revenue of the Madras Presidency was at least £3,000,000, which was used for constructing railroads and other public works in different parts of India. He was of opinion that we had in every way insulted the Madras Presidency, which had always been loyal to this country. We had lowered the Army, taxed the people, and done all kinds of things that were wrong. At one time even the very dancing girls were taxed. With regard to the famine, he hoped the Secretary of State would take into consideration the question of taxing the Madras people for a famine which was owing to the neglect of the Government of India, for the money uselessly spent at Madras might have saved the people from such a visitation, if it had been expended carefully on proper means of providing an abundant supply of water. As to salt, nothing was more important to the health of the people of India than salt supplied at a cheap price.

MR. HIBBERT, although he could not quite agree in all the strong remarks which had been made against Sir John Strachey's proposals with respect to the salt tax, nevertheless regretted that gentleman had not sought to provide in some other way the £500,000 which he proposed to obtain by an increase of that tax. He could not understand why, when he had an opportunity of levying the amount he required by an Excise duty on cotton goods manufactured in India, that opportunity had not been used. That was no new idea. Lord Northbrook had suggested that if it was impossible to take off the import duty on Lancashire cotton goods sent to India, it might become expedient to impose an Excise duty on similar goods manufac-

tured in India. Now, he did not see much present chance of the repeal of the 5 per cent duty on English cotton goods imported into India, which yielded £700,000 or £800,000 per annum; and, therefore, they might fairly raise an Excise duty on similar goods manufactured in India, where the millowners not only increased the number of their mills every year, but exported their goods to other places in competition with the manufacturers of this country.

#### QUEEN'S SPEECH — HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (LORD HENRY SOMERSET) reported Her Majesty's Answer to the Address, as followeth:—

"I thank you for your loyal and dutiful Address.

"I rely with confidence upon your hearty co-operation and assistance in My endeavours to advance the best interests of My Empire, and to promote the happiness and prosperity of all classes of My People."

#### SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. LAING, resuming the debate, observed that the question relative to an income tax for India was by no means so simple and easy as some persons supposed it to be; it was a question which must be decided very much in this country by the weight of authority. Viceroy after Viceroy, and Finance Minister after Finance Minister had gone out to India greatly prepossessed in favour of an income tax; but a very short experience had convinced them that an income tax in that country was a very great evil, and a thing only to be resorted to in the last emergency. He was himself in that position, having gone to India with all his prepossessions in favour of the system of direct taxation which Sir Robert Peel had made the means of relieving the springs of industry at home; but he had not been six months in India before he was converted by the weight of authority, and the solid arguments which were brought to bear against an income tax for that country. Lord Canning, who was a most courageous and conscientious states-

man, and about the last man in the world to yield to mere clamour, came deliberately to the conclusion that, right or wrong, an income tax in India was so excessively unpopular with the Natives that its imposition constituted a great political danger. A remarkable saying of Lord Canning to himself on that subject was that, danger for danger, he would rather govern India with 40,000 European troops without an income tax, than govern it with 80,000 with an income tax. Lord Northbrook had also come to the same conclusion. That arose mainly from the extreme difference between Indian society and English society. In India the circumstances of a Native were rarely known. They might see a man in the street who to all appearance looked like a beggar, and yet they would be told that he was almost a millionaire or had a large fortune. They had no means of ascertaining in the great majority of cases what a man's property or income was without a great amount of inquisition; and if there was one thing which an Oriental detested more than another, it was an inquisition of that kind. Cases were said to have occurred in which Natives had hanged themselves through fear and alarm of an inquisition into their private affairs. It was all very well to say that statesmen could legislate in these matters on abstract principles; but he maintained that they should not ignore the feelings or even the prejudices of a great nation, and no wise statesman would enforce abstract considerations of political economy so as to exasperate the feelings of the mass of the community. Again, in levying an income tax, they must rely to a very great extent on Native officials, who would in many instances make the tax an instrument of extortion. But the most cogent argument, perhaps, against an income tax in India was that it produced a miserably small sum. If he were responsible as Finance Minister, and could raise £6,000,000 or £7,000,000 by an income tax, and get rid of the salt duty altogether, he was not prepared to say that he would not brave the unpopularity of such a measure. But there they had the maximum of unpopularity with the minimum of result, for no income tax in India had given them over £1,000,000, and they could

not expect more from it—for the sake of such a sum it was not worth while imposing a tax, which, as Lord Canning said, was such a political danger that they must govern with a large Army to guard against it. The question, in fact, was political as well as fiscal. He did not say that the import duty or the salt tax was good, but it would be difficult to get rid of either of them without imposing the income tax or letting the deficit run on. In his own mind he doubted whether any hon. Member who had spoken against the salt tax would venture to take it off if he had on his own responsibility to find a substitute. His experience in these matters was that it was best to support the Government unless they made any palpable and considerable blunder.

MR. O'DONNELL called attention to the social and political drawbacks attending the income tax, the land tax, the salt tax, and the opium tax. The first three crippled the resources of the country, the land tax being also a hindrance to any effective steps being taken to check the recurrence of famine; while the opium tax was likely to involve us in hostility with China, a Power whose military strength had been too much underrated. The time was, he considered, come for re-casting the whole system of Indian taxation, and reducing the expenditure of the Government.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL intimated his willingness not to press his Amendment at the present moment, when hon. Members were not in full possession of the Papers. He stated that he would have no objection to a licence or tax on trades, provided the Government met the deficiency without resorting to the salt tax.

MR. FAWCETT agreed with the Under Secretary for India that the House could not consider this question properly unless it was in possession of the whole of Sir John Strachey's financial proposals. He wished to ask the noble Lord whether, if he moved as an unopposed Return for Sir John Strachey's speech, there would be any objection to produce it?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he intended to lay on the Table of the House not only the Financial Statement of Sir John Strachey, but the whole of the discussions upon it in the Indian

Council, but he should prefer that no Motion was made on the subject.

Amendment and Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Committee deferred till Monday next.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)  
ACT (1870) AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Crawford, Mr. Richard Smyth, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Daniel Taylor.*)

[BILL 43.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. SHARMAN CRAWFORD proceeded to move the second reading of the Bill, which, he said, had been so many times before the House that it was unnecessary for him to enter into any lengthened explanation of its provisions. The Bill was drawn entirely within the lines of the Act of 1870, and since its first introduction the principles which it contained had been admitted in more than one measure. The custom of tenant-right was one of very old standing. For two centuries and a-half the Ulster tenant-right had been existent in the North of Ireland, and its extension under the Act of 1870, though denounced at first as spoliation of the landlords, had been productive of the most satisfactory results. The tenants were able to lay out their capital without the fear of its being lost. The effect of that had been to increase rents, improve the value of land, and promote the welfare and happiness of the tenantry. He desired to extend to the whole of Ireland the security possessed by the tenant farmers of the North; and, having explained the sections of his Bill fully on previous occasions, he would not detain the House further, but would merely move that the Bill be read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Sharmam Crawford.*)

MR. MARTEN expressed himself at a loss to know how the success of the Bill of 1870 could furnish an argument in favour of the present Bill, the prin-

ciple of which was altogether different. So far from proceeding on the principle that the Ulster tenant-right custom was to be admitted in cases where it was proved to exist, the Bill unsettled all that had been done by the Act of 1870. It proceeded upon the principle that it should be assumed, not that the general Ulster custom existed, but that the particular right defined in the Bill existed, unless the landlord could establish to the contrary. The Bill would establish an arbitrary and novel custom, altogether opposed to the interest of the landlord. It would tie the hands of the landlord; for while the existence of the custom was to be presumed, he would be wholly debarred from disproving the presumption.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. MARTEN said, another objection to the Bill was that it would enable a tenant, if he were about to be ejected or otherwise disturbed in his possession, or if he was desirous of quitting his holding, to sell his so-called right; and thus the landlord would have thrust upon him tenants not of his own choosing and whom he might consider very undesirable. It was true that the tenant to whom the holding was sold must be one to whom the landlord could not reasonably object; but why was he to be placed in a position not only of objecting to a tenant, but of supporting his objection as a reasonable one before some tribunal? It was true that in different parts of England assignments of leases might be freely made, but in most cases of agricultural holdings there was complete restriction in that respect placed upon the tenant. To impose restrictions unnecessarily upon freedom of contract was, in the highest degree, unphilosophical, and opposed to the first principles of political economy. The Bill as it stood presented features of a novel character in an attempt at legislation. A Bill similar to this was rejected two years ago by a decisive majority, and he hoped this one embodying as it did a principle, which, if carried out, involved a policy of confiscation and general interference with freedom of contract, and which would set an evil precedent, would also be rejected by a large majority. He

*Lord George Hamilton*

moved that the Bill be read a second time on that day six months.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Alfred Marten.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, he thought that the Bill had hardly had the attention it deserved from the Members of Parliament for Ireland. They had had two attempts at a count-out, and he only saw three hon. Members from the North of Ireland take part in the effort to avert this premature termination of the discussion. Was there anything of a confiscating or revolutionary policy in the Bill? He thought not. Its first object was to set up and confirm the Ulster custom. That custom was not a legal custom before the Land Act of Mr. Gladstone, and one of the leading objects of that Act was to give it a legal status. But when that Act was discussed in the Courts of Law in Ireland, it was held that the words of the Act did not give the custom the validity intended by its framers, and the first object of the Bill was to cure the defect, and to carry out the intention of the Act of 1870. Its object was therefore by no means so alarming as it had seemed to the hon. and learned Member for Cambridge (*Mr. Marten*). The arguments of the hon. and learned Member on this point were indeed inconsistent, for while in one breath he had described the custom as one easy of proof, in another he had spoken of it as so vague as not to be the basis of legal right. If there were, as he believed there were, estates on which tenant-right had never existed, it would be easy for a landlord to prove this. No injustice would, therefore, be done him by this Bill. The second part of the measure related to the valuation of the land for rent as between landlord and tenant. Well, that principle was recognized by the Land Act, which provided that if a landlord desired to turn out his tenant the tenant should receive compensation for his holding, a Court of Law determining on the fairness of the rent. That was intended to check capricious eviction, and if it had failed to produce that effect, the Legislature ought to make better provision. The hon. and learned Member seemed to hope that

they would that night hear the last of this Bill. But he could assure him that in that respect his expectations would be disappointed. The tenants of the North of Ireland would never fail to receive the assistance of hon. Members from the South of Ireland in maintaining the excellent institution of tenant-right. He hoped the House would recognize the justice of the moderate demand of the hon. Member for Down (*Mr. Crawford*) and give the Bill a second reading.

MR. WHEELHOUSE observed that while liberty of assignment might be of great use, if not carried too far, the present Bill was far from fair as between landlord and tenant. Totally irrespective of the rights of the landlord, a tenant was to be empowered to offer for sale his interest in the tenancy to anyone he chose; and this was nothing less than confiscation of the property of the so-called landlord, to whom it was no protection that he could offer a "reasonable objection," the nature of which was undefined. The Bill was an attempt to take away from the landlord the last remnant of right that had been left to him. It was an interference with freedom of contract between man and man, which had worked so well for our grandfathers, who were surely not all fools, and its operation would do much to diminish friendly feeling between landlords and tenants whose relations were satisfactorily defined by written agreements, and produce a state of things which at the present moment could hardly be foreseen to its full extent.

MR. DICKSON said, he supported the second reading of the Bill, which, as a settlement of the question of tenant-right, was looked forward to with great interest in Ulster. The prosperity of Ulster depended very much upon the matter being satisfactorily settled. He supposed no Irish Member could be found courageous enough to move the rejection of the Bill, and therefore the hon. and learned Member for Cambridge (*Mr. Marten*) had been selected to do so. This, together with the two attempts that had been made to count out the House, spoke volumes in favour of the Bill. It was fair and moderate what was asked, that the burden of proof should rest upon the landlord, and not be left to the tenant to prove that the custom of tenant-right existed or not. As to leaseholds, tenants were now in a worse position than they were prior to the Act of

1870; for, owing to that Act being so ill-defined, some Judges gave decision in one way and some in another. Then, as to free sale, the Act of 1870 admitted that the tenant had a right in his property. If so, why should he not get full value for his property in whatever way he wished to sell it? The result of "office rules" and restrictions were that a poor farm on which no money had been expended would bring an equal price with that upon which a large amount had been expended. He knew farms in Ulster valued at £20 to £30 an acre owing to the tenants improvements; but if the tenant wished to sell he would only obtain £10 an acre, and in many cases only £5. If the farmers were to invest their money in land instead of putting it in savings banks as they did at present, there must be some improvement in the land laws of Ulster; for they knew that if they now invested their money in land there was an increase of rent upon their own improvements. There was not a single Conservative Member from Ulster but knew the importance of tenant-right, and that it was a question of absorbing interest. The hon. and learned Member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse) observed that the tenants wanted to sell the rights of the landlord. The farmers of Ulster had no anxiety to interfere with the rights of the landlord. They wished to be able to sell their own rights. The improvements upon property and farms in Ulster were not effected by the landlords. They did not spend 1s. upon their properties. At the Election of 1874 every Ulster Member knew it was the chief question that was debated. In the addresses of every Ulster Member the question of tenant-right was put first, and some of the Members who sit on that side of the House were so anxious to make their position secure that they issued a second address. But where were the Ulster Members to-night? Not one of them was present to fulfil their pledges of 1874 except the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney); but the time was coming when they would be called to account for their unredeemed pledges. He believed that at the next General Election the tenant farmers would show their appreciation of their conduct in having now upon a question of great importance deserted them and their interests.

*Mr. Dickson*

MR. O'REILLY thought it was only fair that the onus of proof as to the non-existence of the custom of tenant-right should be thrown on the landlord. The question whether tenant-right subsisted during a lease or was destroyed by it would be settled by this Bill. The presumption of law was that the lease extinguished tenant-right. Many tenants when asked by some sharp landlord's agent whether they would not like a lease, never dreamt that by taking it they gave up their tenant-right, and his hon. Friend proposed that the mere existence of a lease should not be legal evidence that the tenant-right had been given up. The Bill also provided that if there was any particular limitation on the right of the tenant to sell his tenant-right, the burden of proof should fall upon the landlord. That was equitable, while the provision which required that for the future no contract should sweep away the tenant-right, unless such contract was in writing, was only an extension of the Statute of Frauds. With respect to compensation for improvements, the Bill dealt with the practical working of the Act of 1870. The intention of that Act was perfectly plain—that the tenant should be entitled to compensation for improvements, and that that right could only be abolished under certain conditions. But on this point legal quibbles had been raised, and any change in the tenure and any change in the rent, even from pounds to guineas, was held to deprive the right of the tenant to compensation. This Bill provided that no such quibbles should deprive the tenant of his right; and, believing it was an honest attempt to carry out the intention of the Act of 1870, he should cordially support it, and he hoped it would meet with the approval of the House.

MR. MACARTNEY trusted that the Bill would be read a second time. He regretted that some additions had been made to the provisions of the measure of 1874 and 1875, as those additions might make the second reading more difficult; but he held that the main provisions of this Bill, which were those which the tenants in Ulster were most anxious to obtain, might be accepted without sacrificing the just rights of the landlord. Those main provisions he took to be the obtaining of tenant-right at the expiration of a lease, the power

to sell the tenant-right at the fair market value, and, in cases of dispute as to tenant-right, the throwing of the burden of proof on the landlord. He thought it would be wise to read the Bill a second time, and that the passing of the measure would produce increased contentment and loyalty throughout Ireland. If there were any objections to the Bill, they might be brought forward in Committee, when it could be amended.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that if the Government opposed this Bill, they would find that some of their most ardent supporters would vote against them. He understood, for instance, that the hon. Member who had last spoken had been elected as a champion of tenant-right in its fullest sense. The hon. Members for Ulster were in favour of tenant-right there, and he supposed that when the same hon. Members came to vote for similar rights in the South and South-west of Ireland, they would be in favour of giving the tenants there the tenant-right of Ulster. That custom in Ulster meant that the tenant had rights as assured as those of the landlord; but the question could not be dealt with properly from a purely English point of view. It was necessary to remember that when James I. formed the Plantation of Ulster he stipulated for perpetuity of tenure for the tenants, and in the North of Ireland for many years there were very few cases of hardship, the sturdy Ulsterman being, better able to defend himself than the simpler and more pliable Celt, and tenant-right was never interfered with; but the Land Act of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) gave to an unscrupulous landlord an unsuspected power of getting out of his obligations. Hence the necessity for this Bill. The hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) had wished to introduce the Ulster custom into parts of the country where it had not previously existed; but he had found it impossible to engraft an old practice on new circumstances—a failure which was, however, no reason for not reverting to the old law that a tenant should remain undisturbed so long as he paid rent and submitted from time to time to a reasonable increase of it. He trusted that the measure now before the House would become law—as of a Land Bill especially it might be said, *vires acquirit*

*undo*. The constant discussion of the land laws was leading people to think that everybody had a right to the land, and they were beginning to adopt the philosophers' view—at any rate of the type of John Stuart Mill. If reasonable demands, such as the Bill contained, were not conceded, wild views would take root, and do much mischief, and the longer a reform was postponed the more unpalatable it would ultimately become.

MR. KAVANAGH opposed the Bill as an old enemy, the object of which was to hand over to the tenant rights which he had never possessed, and which had not been known in the South of Ireland. He did not like the Bill when first he saw it, and he liked it no more now. He objected to the measure, because he believed it held out a direct premium to tenants to raise disputes with their landlords. The only clause of the Bill which he could cordially support was that which provided that it should extend to no other country.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS said, that although he was perfectly unpledged with regard to this Bill, he should vote for the second reading, because he regarded its two leading provisions as reasonable—namely, that which shifted the onus of proof from the tenant to the landlord, and that which did away with the rule, acted upon by some Judges, that at the termination of his lease the tenant should not have the advantage of the same Ulster custom as he would if he held only from year to year. The main provisions of the Bill were requisite, and their enactment would put an end to a great deal of ill-feeling in Ireland. Its provisions would not violate any rule or principle of justice, and because he believed it to be the wish of every landlord and tenant in the North of Ireland to settle the question at issue on these principles he should support the Bill.

MR. LAW thought it unfortunate that so few of those hon. Members for Ulster counties were now present who, from their own personal experience, could have supplied to their Friends on the opposite benches much of the information that seemed to be so sadly wanted. Several objections had been stated which could not possibly have been raised by hon. Members acquainted with the subject, because they were founded on an entire misapprehension as to the nature of the

Ulster tenant-right custom that had been legalized by the Land Act. For example, the effect of the most important clause in the Bill now before the House—namely, the second—had been entirely misunderstood by both his hon. and learned Friends opposite. The enactment of that clause would not extend or alter in the very least the right which an Ulster tenant had this moment, wherever the custom existed, even in its most restricted form. The landlord could not now raise the rent as much as he pleased, nor object to a purchaser of the tenant's interest, without showing reasonable grounds for doing so. The reason was obvious. If he could increase the rent *ad libitum*, or object to any and every purchaser, he might thus destroy those rights which had been brought within the protection of the law, and which were entitled to that protection just as much as his own. Too much had been made of the varieties of form which this Ulster custom assumed on different estates. Whatever might be the regulations of rent-offices as to the sale, they all agreed in this—indeed, such regulations implied it—that there was a right of sale in the occupying tenant. Now, the principle of the Bill before the House was simply this—that, as the Land Act had declared that the tenant-right custom, that is to say the qualified right of sale already described, was prevalent throughout the Province of Ulster, and as it was notorious that this declaration was in accordance with the fact, it should in every case be presumed that the holding was subject to the custom; but, of course, only *prima facie*, and until the contrary was proved. In other words, the Bill proposed to throw the burthen of proof, in accordance with common sense and common justice, on the man who denied rather than on the man who affirmed a custom, the prevalence of which had been recognized by law; to make the presumption in favour of what was general rather than what was exceptional; in favour of the weaker rather than the stronger party; and in favour of the tenant, who could not have that access to evidence which the landlord had. The hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt), in introducing his Land Tenure Bill two years ago, had stated, that if the landlords of Ireland had been actuated by a desire to carry out the intentions of the Legislature, as

embodied in the Land Act, there would probably have been no necessity for him to propose that somewhat sweeping measure. He (Mr. Law) must say he feared there was solid ground for that complaint. "Difficulties have arisen," as this Bill recited, in carrying into effect the provisions of the Land Act for enforcing the Ulster tenant-right custom. Much of the difficulty was attributable to the feeling which now appeared unhappily to actuate some landlords and induced them, when any land claims were made, to put their tenants at arm's length, obliging them to prove everything, no matter how notorious; whilst they, assisted by ingenious lawyers, took advantage of all the impediments thus placed in the tenants' way. For his own part, he sincerely desired to see the best possible feeling between landlords and tenants. He thought, however, that the landlords, speaking generally, had displayed much less than their usual prudence in not frankly accepting the Act as it was, and abstaining from all attempts to obstruct any of its provisions. Of late the Chairmen or Judges of the Land Courts had spoken of the altered demeanour of landlords and their agents since 1870. For example, the Chairman of one Ulster county had publicly stated that when he first presided there, he was constantly told that the tenant-right practically settled all controversies; so that if he observed upon the number of ejectments, the answer was sure to be—"Oh, you must not be startled by that, we arrange everything here by means of the tenant-right;" whereas now since 1870 he had found the very existence of tenant-right as constantly denied, and the tenants put to proof of the custom that was before not only admitted, but put forward by those representing the landlords as the excuse and explanation of everything. Again, the Chairman of another Ulster county, giving judgment lately in a land case, had said that, whilst from the large estates and old proprietors, he had not had much difficulty placed in his way, assistance being given him by the production of the office books and otherwise; yet, to quote his words—"In the case of recent purchases, and with new proprietors, particularly of small estates, I almost invariably find efforts made to baffle and render nugatory the Land Act of 1870." Considering, then, the exist-

ence of this state of things, and the increasing difficulties arising from the breaking-up of large estates by sale and from the lapse of time, he (Mr. Law) thought this proposal of his hon. Friend was perfectly just and reasonable. With respect to the clause dealing with leasehold tenant-right, the propriety of that had been so often admitted—even by hon. Members opposite—that he should say nothing more than this, that it seemed hardly fair to his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Cambridge (Mr. Marten) to put him forward to move the rejection of the Bill without giving him some more accurate information on that and other parts of the measure. There was, however, a clause which required more particular notice—namely, the proposed abolition of “office rules,” as they were called, purporting to prescribe the price of tenant-right or otherwise regulating the sale. He (Mr. Law) had before contended, and must still contend, that such restrictions were as indefensible in principle as they had always been notoriously disregarded in practice, and should therefore be declared inoperative. The Legislature had in effect provided that the Ulster tenant’s interest in his holding should be regarded as a legal interest, and that interest was chiefly a right of sale. It must, then, be obvious that arbitrary restrictions of the price to a sum far less than the real value of the thing to be sold, must be unjust as well as futile. Accordingly, even before 1870, however the landlord or agent of an estate on which these office rules had been imposed might affect to ignore the fact, they as well as everybody else knew that on every sale the full price was paid; the only difference being that, instead of the whole of it passing through the office, only the “regulation” price was so paid, the rest being paid elsewhere. So much, indeed, was this recognized, that if the landlord of one of these “regulation” estates himself took up a holding from the tenant, he paid the fair market price of the tenant right, or was regarded as having acted unfairly and in violation of the custom. Would hon. Members allow him (Mr. Law) to illustrate this by an analogous case with which they were all familiar? They would recollect that a great many years ago “regulation prices” were fixed by the proper authorities for commissions in the Army. It was, on the one hand, made a criminal offence for any officer

to give or take more than the sum prescribed by the War Office; and, on the other hand, it was required that the officer selling, and the officer buying, and their commanding officer also, should all make declarations “on their honour” that this sum had not been exceeded. Well we knew how far these statutory and official attempts were successful. Notwithstanding the formidable checks referred to, the full competition price or value of the commission was in fact paid. The military authorities affected to ignore the practice just as these “regulation” landlords or agents in Ulster affected to ignore what was notorious to all the world; and the end of the matter was, that when the sale of commissions was wholly abolished, and Parliament came to determine what compensation should be given to existing officers who had themselves purchased, that compensation was based not on the restricted or regulation price of the War Office, but on the full market price that had been paid, though such payment had been in fact illegal and even criminal according to the law of the land. He (Mr. Law) submitted that the Ulster tenants were at least equally well entitled to have these futile restrictions on the price of their interests declared to be invalid. Again, with respect to the attempts to prevent sale of the tenant-right by auction, it had been strongly urged, and with great show of reason, that this was, generally speaking, useless, as it no doubt was irritating, where such regulation was attempted. It, of course, hampered and impeded the tenant in his efforts to get the full market price for his interest; but he often, as it seemed, managed to get it in the end, though after much needless delay and needless trouble. In such cases—as he (Mr. Law) had been informed—the matter was arranged by leaving a sheet of paper or a book open on a desk for a week or a month if necessary, in which anyone who desired to bid wrote down his name, and the amount he would give, calling in, of course, frequently to see if his offer had been exceeded, and, if so, increasing it accordingly. The result, then, was said to be that in the end the farm was sold, whilst the landlord got nothing by his interference, beyond the certainty that he had vexed and annoyed his tenants. But, however this might be, he (Mr. Law) could not for a moment admit that the proposal to let the tenant



sell by auction if he liked, furnished any sufficient ground for the total rejection of the Bill. There was now but one other provision on which he wished to say a word. It was the clause to facilitate the ascertainment of a fair rent, when that alone was in controversy between the parties. Whether it was tenant-right as in Ulster, or the right to be paid for improvements there or elsewhere, it was plain that this interest vested by law in the tenant ought to be protected against encroachment on the occasion of any revision of the rent. All were agreed on that. Now, in almost every case in which the landlord served a notice to quit, it was only for the purpose of getting the tenant to agree to an increase of the rent. Accordingly, the notice to quit was accompanied by another notice explaining its real object, and thus the parties were at issue. But suppose that they honestly differed as to what the new rent should be, the end of it now was that they came before the Chairman of the county—the landlord with his ejectment, and the tenant with his land claim. Sometimes the controversy was then settled at the last moment either between themselves or by a reference to arbitration; but otherwise the case must go on in the ordinary way, and the landlord be obliged to evict a tenant he did not want to evict, and besides that probably have to pay a substantial amount of compensation, which the tenant would gladly have foregone if he could only have remained on in his farm at a fair rent. For the Chairman had now no jurisdiction to determine this, the only real controversy between the parties. And yet, strange to say, though he could not determine it for them, he must determine it for himself before he could decide whether the tenant was entitled to compensation; for this, in the case supposed, depended on whether the rent demanded by the landlord was a “fair rent” or not. The provision, then, of this Bill, which he (Mr. Law) was now considering, sought to enable the parties, if they so desired, to submit this question of rent directly to the Chairman for his decision. It would interfere in no way with the landlord’s power of serving notice to quit, and putting out the tenant if he liked; but would save him from the disagreeable necessity of being obliged to proceed as if for eviction when he did not desire it. He (Mr. Law) would not

further try the patience of hon. Members, but content himself with saying he considered the main objects of the measure good, and for that reason should give it his support; whilst he hoped that the Conservative Ulster Members, if they appeared at all, would vote for and not as before against the Bill.

Mr. BIGGAR expressed his intention of supporting the Bill; but was afraid it would fail to do as much good as those who wished to see it pass anticipated. A bad landlord, after it passed, would still have the power of being a bad landlord. He suggested that the Bill should contain a definition of the Ulster tenant-right, which should be legalized throughout the whole of Ireland. He would recommend the Government to accept the principle of the measure, and then amend it in Committee.

Mr. PELL said, he hoped the House would not consent to the second reading. When the Irish Land Act of 1870 was brought in, it was understood that that Act would for some years to come settle the question with which it dealt. Under this Bill all the relations between landlord and tenant would be so upset that, in all probability, the conditions between the landlord and tenant in England would be also unsettled. He regretted, therefore, that so important a question as that should now have been raised, and he was sorry also that so few English Members on his own side should be found here to express their opinions upon the matter. Considering how much attention Parliament had given to the relations between landlord and tenant in Ireland so recently as the year 1870, he thought they ought not to venture so soon afterwards to disturb a question which they had understood had been set at rest for some considerable time.

Mr. D. TAYLOR supported the Bill, remarking that many of the best class of tenants who had a legal interest in their farms had lost their tenant-right by their inability to prove that right; and he thought it was the duty of that House to amend the Land Act of 1870, which, although it was one of the greatest benefits ever conferred upon Ireland, did not go far enough in placing safeguards against an undue rising of the rent by the landlord. It ought to be made the legal presumption that in all the farms of Ulster that tenant-right existed which was known to exist in nearly every case. To accomplish

that object was one of the chief objects of this Bill. He trusted that all hon. Members from the North of Ireland, whether Conservative or Liberal, would vote for the Bill.

MR. O'CLERY said, he thought the Bill embodied a principle of immense advantage to the tenant farmers of Ulster, and therefore he should cordially support the second reading.

MR. R. PLUNKETT said, it was thought when the Land Act of 1870 was passed, that some kind of finality had been arrived at, but now the question at issue was again re-opened. For his own part, he deprecated an annual disturbance of the arrangement then come to. It was acknowledged that in the main the landlords were willing to treat their tenants well; but if they wished to grant some advantage to their tenants they were discouraged from doing so by the prospect of fresh laws relating to land. It was, therefore, highly desirable to get rid of the irritation produced by incessant new legislation. He was glad to hear, on legal authority, that the present Bill did not deal with anything out of Ulster.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. GIBSON) said, he could not help thinking that some of the arguments which had been urged in favour of the Bill were of a very peculiar character, and especially that of the hon. Member for Cavan; who, although he did not regard the measure as a good one, urged hon. Members to vote for it, because it would take the wind out of the sails of hon. Gentlemen of the Whig persuasion. For his own part, he did not mean to say that there was not in the Bill some things which he approved, and others which he thought might be discussed; but then there was in it so many clauses so much open, in his opinion, to objection, that he thought he would be wrong in advising the House to assent to the second reading. The present, he might add, was the fourth Session in which it had been discussed, and in 1875 it had been thrown out in a full House of 450 Members by a majority of two to one, and the Leader of the Opposition, who on that occasion voted for it, pointed out that there were considerable objections to three of the six clauses, of which it then consisted, and those objections were applicable as it now stood. The usages that made up the Ulster right were various and

diverse, so much so that he believed there was not a single hon. Member for Ulster in the House who would say that there were not 100 or even 200 different usages in Ulster, and it seemed to him a strange proposal to make, that a part of the country subject to no usage whatever should be assumed to be subject to the strongest of all usages which prevailed anywhere, and that the landlord should be under the necessity of proving the contrary. Again, it was a very startling proposition to lay down, that the tenant should not only have the power of selling his holding, but of selling it by auction practically independently of the landlord. Could there be anything more repugnant to the very essence of Ulster tenant-right, one of the conditions of which was that the landlord should have a substantial power of selecting or approving a tenant? As to the limitation of price, it seemed to him not very unreasonable that a landlord, desiring to have solvent tenants, should be able to say that he would only take tenants who would not give more than three, or five, or six years' purchase, as it might be. There was a clause in the Bill for giving additional facilities to tenants for the purchase of their holdings. The present was obviously an inconvenient time for the discussion of that proposal after the re-appointment of a Committee yesterday, which would have the subject under their consideration. When that Committee had reported, he had no doubt the House would deal satisfactorily with their recommendations. The Bill would, moreover, hamper and destroy the operation of that kindly feeling which existed in many cases between the landlord and the tenant. He had no intention of going into details, but nearly every speaker had called attention to the 3rd clause of the Bill. He was not prepared to say that the subject of leasehold tenant-right did not deserve most favourable consideration. There was a Bill dealing separately with it, and when that Bill came before the House, hon. Members would have a clear and satisfactory opportunity of giving expression to their wishes on that branch of the law, free from the objections to which the present measure was subject. While he admitted that there were portions of the Bill to which he could not object and others which might fairly be discussed,

he could not advise the House to give it a second reading.

MR. SHARMAN CRAWFORD, in reply, stated that the auctions to which the right hon. and learned Gentleman so strongly objected had been repeatedly carried out in the North of Ireland, and that no evil results had attended the practice.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 66; Noes 85: Majority 19.—(Div. List, No. 4.)

Words *added*.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

#### BANKRUPTCY ACT (1869) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SAMPSON LLOYD, Bill to amend "The Bankruptcy Act, 1869," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SAMPSON LLOYD, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. WHITWELL, and Mr. RIPLEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 89.]

#### BILLS OF SALE BILL.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, that leave be given to bring in a Bill to consolidate and amend the Law relating to Bills of Sale.

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SAMPSON LLOYD, Mr. WHITWELL, Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. MONK, and Mr. RIPLEY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 90.]

#### JUDICATURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. WADDY, Bill to amend the Judicature Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WADDY, Mr. HERSHELL, and Mr. MEREWETHER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 91.]

#### PARLIAMENTARY AND MUNICIPAL REGISTRATION BILL.

*Ordered*, That the Select Committee on the Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Bill do consist of Twenty-one Members.

Committee *nominated*:—MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL, THE LORD ADVOCATE, MR. BIRLEY, MR. BOORD, MR. COTES, SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, MR. DODDS, MR. FLOYER, MR. GOURLEY, MR. HAMOND, MR. HIBBERT, MR. ROWLEY HILL, MR. ISAAC, MR. CHARLES LEWIS, MR. MELDON, THE O'DONOGHUE, MR. RATHBONE, MR. RYDER, MR. SERJEANT SIMON, MR. TORR, and MR. ALFRED MARTEN:—Five to be the quorum.

House adjourned at a quarter after  
Twelve o'clock till  
Monday next.

*The Attorney General for Ireland*

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 28th January, 1878.*

### THE EASTERN QUESTION—RUSSIA AND THE PORTE.

#### RESOLUTION.

LORD CAMPBELL, in rising to call attention to the further Papers respecting the affairs of Turkey, said: My Lords, it may be thought, in reference to the Notice I have given, that a Motion ought to have been added to it. I will certainly conclude with one, so as at least to give the debate a greater regularity. There was obvious difficulty in putting it beforehand on the Paper, in the midst of the varying events by which each day has been characterized. A Motion suitable on Friday might not be appropriate on Monday, with such rapid scenes, and none could be put down during the interval. One could hardly tell for what a Motion should provide, or engage other men—without much reservation on their part—to support it. But no one feels more strongly than myself that your Lordships ought not at a time like this to meet only with a view to listening and speaking. If an important Vote is taken in the other House of Parliament, the opinion of your Lordships might do something to enhance; if none arises, something to replace its influence in Europe.

My Lords, in so harassing a juncture the House would not be much inclined to dwell upon Blue Books, although they cannot be entirely lost sight of. The first, and most voluminous, may be passed over very quickly, as it is chiefly a mirror of reciprocal atrocities during the war, and of the weakness to which the British Embassy at Constantinople is unavoidably reduced, when it continues to advise, after Great Britain has ceased to act as a defending Power towards the object of its counsels. There is only one despatch in the second I am anxious to refer to, as it throws a vivid light on much which is engaging us. It is the admission of Prince Gortchakoff, in page 13, that Russia aims at such a peace as can only be obtained by the further progress of her arms and the prolonged inaction of this country. It is the clearest intimation of what nearly

everyone feels—that the aggression will be only checked by the obstruction which it meets with. Hope could not be more wild, credulity more fatuous, than the belief that Russia will arrest herself before Great Britain has assumed a different attitude towards her. To-night, however, she may do so. On the prospect of that event—in common, I believe, with a large majority on both sides of the House—I venture to congratulate the Government.

My Lords, the most important topic to consider at this moment would appear to be the terms of peace, which have been shadowed as an argument against preparatory measures on our part. It is true that we have no official knowledge on the subject. It is true that geographical and military details may be wanting. I refer merely to the accounts which are the most recent, the most generally credited, and that because the manner in which these propositions—exact or not—are viewed, may deeply influence opinion in the country. As far as we yet know, the Vassal Principalities which have iniquitously waged a war against their Suzerain will be rewarded for their treason at the dictation of the Empire which used to plume itself on being the scourge of revolution, and, as it were, the constable of Europe. They would thus be brought to absolute dependence upon Russia, as the only prop of their factitious nationality. Their newly-gotten right to go to war with one another—a necessary incident of freedom—they would owe to a State which in the world has always been the patron of tranquillity and order. According to the sketch, the influence which Russia is to claim on both sides of the Balkans really places Constantinople at her mercy. There is no occasion to demand—although apparently she does—the power to bombard it by control over the Dardanelles. In one point of view, too much forgotten at this moment, the encroachments traced in Asia are even more momentous. If European Turkey is held by the Sublime Porte on the most precarious of tenures, in spite of Treaties and in spite of prepossessions, the interest of Europe must suggest the birth of some new Power to guard the Bosphorus against disastrous usurpation. That such a Power should exist, if only in conception, it is essential that his Asiatic Provinces should not be wrested

from the Sultan. But the privation of Batoum and Kars, of which we hear, effaces their security. Some minds—I offer no opinion on their project—are fond of speculating on the hope of a Byzantine Empire. The Patriarch of the Greek Church might very possibly agree with them. The late Duke of Wellington, in 1828 or 1829, gave a kind of sanction to this view in a contingency which struck him, although perhaps he did not mean it to be handed to posterity. The cession of Batoum and Kars, with other sacrifices mentioned in Armenia, would be fatal to the hope of what at all events is rather difficult to execute. If men wish the Sublime Porte to be no longer European, they cannot authorize encroachments which render it impossible in Asia. Last of all, the indemnity to be exacted annihilates the hope of the ill-used, the exasperated bondholder, who is thought in no small degree to rule our Eastern policy at present.

My Lords, at this stage one cannot help reflecting on the habitual language of the Government last Session, when urged to act as far as possible, without hostilities, upon the Treaties which engage us. They said that when the war closed would be the moment to step in with overmastering authority and limit the demands of the belligerents. They seemed to think that, without sacrifice, or risk, or toil, they might achieve the ends for which those means are generally lavished. In vain it was insisted that diplomacy would hardly give an instance of advantages so cheaply bought, so pleasingly appropriated. In vain it was insisted that for political success political exertion was desirable. They admitted that historical examples might go the other way; but they contended on general and abstract grounds—as it occurred to me, far too general and abstract—that the Power which has not wasted its strength in a campaign may dictate to the two belligerents, whose treasure is reduced, whose armies are exhausted. It did not appear to them that a victorious belligerent is not entirely exhausted—that he is likely to be far beyond the operation of their counsel—that he may treat with scorn the views which they present to him. It is not, however, for the purpose of attack that I recall their calculations, but rather with a view to show that their

decision in the other House was no unnecessary proof of their consistency and rectitude.

My Lords, a Russian occupation of Constantinople has been so frequently discussed that it is worth while to say a word or two upon it. I pass over the indignity to which it would expose our country and our Sovereign, who used to be, who ought to be, the guardians of that capital. It might lead to carnage the most fearful, from the diversity of races which is found there and the hatred to which the foreign elements would be exposed. In all time it would degrade the British Embassy, while to the Russian it must secure—however brief—still more unlimited control than that which did exist before, and brought such terrible calamities upon the Empire it demoralized. But it is far more serious to recollect that we have not the slightest guarantee for such an occupation being of temporary character. Should it be permanent, as neither the Crown nor Parliament have any ground for acquiescing in it, it must involve Great Britain in hostilities with Russia, which all reflecting men are anxious to prevent, until our duty to the world compels us to resort to them. The measures necessary to avert an occupation are very different from the measures necessary to dislodge it. The measures to avert it would not involve departure from neutrality—the only point demanded even by the kind of partial agitation which is thought to check the action of the Government.

My Lords, that proposition bears so much upon the moment, that I am bound, perhaps, to shew it has not lightly been advanced. It was, indeed, insisted on by a deputation which approached the noble Earl the Secretary of State during the autumn, and it has never been replied to. It is a question of public law, on which the best authority lays down, that when a State is bound by Treaty to give support to an Ally who is in danger, it is consistent with neutrality to grant it.

EARL GRANVILLE: Can you mention the authority?

LORD CAMPBELL: *Vattel*, book 3, chapter 7, section 105. The House has heard of *Vattel* so repeatedly of late, that with a view to save them from fatigue, I was inclined to hurry over that part of the subject. Should it, however,

be the pleasure of the noble Earl the former Secretary of State and of your Lordships, I should not at all refuse to dwell upon it. But it is not only the authority of public law—the dictum of *Vattel*, which may direct us on the subject. In 1853, in a long series of communications to the Government of which he was a Member, and which are published now, Lord Palmerston exhibited this principle. War going on between Russia and the Porte, Great Britain still adhering to the position of a neutral, Lord Palmerston was urgent for two measures—the suspension of the Foreign Enlistment Act, and the movement of the British Fleet up to the Bosphorus. But the argument is not obliged to rest entirely upon *Vattel* and Lord Palmerston. The same principle has been applied on several occasions in our history. In the time of Henry VII., according to his best historian, *Lord Bacon*, the King resolved to give support to the Duke of Brittany, then an independent Prince, upon the ground of an alliance, while his neutrality towards France, the invading Power, continued as it had done. But to step at once to modern times, when in 1827, the Government of that day sent out, in virtue of engagements their well-known expedition for the defence of Portugal, whom Spain was undermining, no *casus belli* was afforded to that country, and no hostilities were threatened. The essence of the new Treaty to uphold Belgium in 1870, superadded to the former guarantee of 1839, if I have understood it, was that Great Britain should restrict herself to that task without becoming involved in further operations of the war, without entirely departing from her function as a neutral. These instances, however, are not at all required in order to maintain that Great Britain may do quite as much as Lord Palmerston advised in 1853, without giving any Power a title to hostilities.

Of course it is well known to all of us, that the Russian Party, which within a year has been established in this country, when they insist upon neutrality, really wish to bar the measures of precaution by which the Czar may be arrested in his progress to the destruction of the Treaties which are binding on us. My Lords, the answer is, that the Russian Party cannot be permitted to dictate to a State, of which they are alike indifferent

*Lord Campbell*

to the faith, the honour, and the interest. The Russian Party are, unfortunately, open to a long variety of charges, but very few of them are quite sufficient, to dispose of their authority at present. They have not attempted to fulfil the first condition of being listened to. It is obvious that the first condition upon which they could demand adherents, was ability to show that the foreign policy of Russia, as it was known in the time of Catherine II., as it betrayed itself in 1853, as it burst out in 1870, had lost the qualities by which it formerly excited vigilance among us. But they have not attempted to establish any variation in its character. They have connived at all the startling proofs of its identity which followed one another from the Crimean War to 1871, and from that time down to this moment. They begin, therefore, by proclaiming their incredible fatuity. In the next place, they have never listened to, or recognized, or tried to controvert the argument, although in many forms it has been urged upon them—that the welfare of the races subject to the Porte—the races they have patronized—depends on British influence they have done their utmost to destroy, and not on British nullity, they have now succeeded in creating on the Bosphorus. Beyond that, they have done their worst to check Ottoman reform, by blackening the Constitution which was founded to produce it, and thus have leagued themselves with all the darkest elements by which the Sultan is habitually prompted to overthrow the freedom he has sanctioned. Last of all, the Russian Party have endeavoured to deceive the public by asserting upon every occasion that those who do not follow them are advocates of war, when it has been repeatedly demonstrated they advocate the measures by which eventual war alone can be averted. My Lords, on this point, although it may arise from ignorance and passion, to which they are particularly liable, the Russian Party have been led to absolute mendacity. One thing, however, should be admitted in their favour—they are not unworthy of the feet at which they sit, or of the school in which they have been disciplined.

My Lords, I have observed, although not in this country, that when political events have gone beyond a certain line of gravity and tension, speeches of any length are felt as inappropriate, although

before that line is reached they may be welcome. It was the case in France in 1870. During the eventful weeks of August the Assemblies, still at Paris, listened with increased susceptibility. After the catastrophe of Sedan no voice was heard, although, apparently, there never was a greater scope for exposition and remonstrance. There is a strong impression—out-of-doors, at least—that on the Eastern Question our Sedan is consummated. Although I do not share it, one is bound to consult the taste of those who may be under its ascendancy. As regards the Motion which I promised, it would, I think, enable this House to double the advantage of the precautionary measure which the other House of Parliament is being invited to consider. Should that appear to be its tendency, no technical objection, at such a time, can well prevent your Lordships from adopting it. The noble Lord concluded by moving his Resolution—

*Moved to resolve, That in the opinion of this House neutrality, whether conditional or absolute, in no way prohibits Her Majesty's Government from adopting such measures as are necessary to conform to the Treaties of 1856, and to guard Constantinople against an hostile occupation.—(The Lord Stratheden and Campbell.)*

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I think the few remarks I have to make may be addressed to the House more conveniently before the noble Earl the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, whom I am glad to see present, replies to the speech of the noble Lord who has just moved his Resolution. The noble Lord gave Notice merely that he would call attention to the further Papers Nos. 1 and 2 which were laid on the Table at the opening of the Session. Your Lordships have attentively listened to the speech of the noble Lord, and you will agree with me that he hardly alluded to those Papers in the course of his observations. The noble Lord entered into the larger question. I am not surprised that he has done so, and I do not complain of the course he has taken; but having made those observations, he concluded with a Resolution of which, as far as I am aware, he had given no Notice whatever. With regard to the general question, perhaps it is not necessary for me to say much. I think it would be better for me to leave the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary to declare his acquiescence in, or his dissent

from, a doctrine, which rather startled me at first, quoted upon the great authority of *Vattel*, although the noble Lord did not give the words of that authority—namely, that if we assisted Turkey at this moment against Russia we should not be breaking our neutrality. I say I leave the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary to dispose of that assertion if he pleases to do so. But there was one remark which the noble Lord made in regard to a matter of fact to which, as a Member of the late Government, I think I ought more particularly to allude. He said that our circumstances at the present time are the same as those which existed when Her Majesty's late Government made the Treaty with regard to Belgium during the Franco-German War. My Lords, there was not the slightest profession of neutrality in that Treaty. It certainly involved great risk, and it certainly had great success; but that Treaty was not one of neutrality. It stipulated that if Germany invaded Belgium, this country would go to war against Germany with France, and if France invaded Belgium, we would join Germany in going to war against France. With regard to those recent Papers on the Eastern Question, I am not surprised that the noble Lord who preceded me left them almost entirely alone, because they afford singularly little material for making a speech or forming observations upon. The thing which struck me most in reading them was the persistent determination of Turkey to assume that the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary had said things which he had not said, and not only things which he had not said, but things which he had contradicted over and over again. As for No. 1, it is the most horrible reading I have ever attempted to go through; and as for No. 2, the sins in it are not sins of commission, but of omission. I do not remember great transactions, interesting to the whole of Europe, in respect of which Parliament has been left so completely in the dark as we have been in respect of those negotiations and of the policy of other nations, in reference to what has been going on between Russia and Turkey. When I said something on this point the other night, the noble Earl the First Lord of the Treasury made an observation in which there was some force. He said that there was an increasing objec-

tion on the part of other Governments to the publication of their diplomatic documents. But this is no new objection. Those nations have always entertained the same objection to our readiness to publish despatches. It may be remembered that the form of Government in other parts of Europe is different from ours in respect to diplomatic affairs. But the objection is not one to the publication of Blue Books generally. I absolutely and positively deny that it is so. The objection is to the publication of Papers of a confidential nature, or Papers containing observations which might prove insulting or injurious either to Sovereigns or individual statesmen. I cannot see how there can be any objection to putting Parliament in possession of full and complete knowledge of the policy being pursued by our own Government on a question of this kind, and of the opinion of foreign Governments on that policy. I merely draw the attention of the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary to that matter, and I have nothing more to say on it. But I should be very sorry to sit down without expressing the satisfaction with which I, and I am sure all your Lordships, observe the convalescence which enables the noble Earl to be present. I must say there are other reasons which make me rejoice to see him on that bench. The other day it was confidently stated and believed that Lord Carnarvon's was not the only resignation, but that the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) had resigned the office which he holds. I put a Question on the subject to the noble Earl at the head of the Government. He did not contradict the rumour; but, in his usual genial way, he answered that it was a high, useful, and ancient privilege that when a Minister of the Crown resigned office, that Minister should himself be the first to announce his resignation to Parliament. That may be; but I think it will be found that this privilege has sometimes been "more honoured in the breach than in the observance." If I remember rightly, when some few years ago the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury), the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon), and General Peel resigned office in a Government, the late Earl of Derby was the first to announce it in the House of Lords, and Mr. Disraeli was the first to announce it in the House of Commons.

But with that I do not quarrel, nor do I quarrel with the valuable privilege itself. I have not the slightest right to ask the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) for any explanation of what has passed; but, considering the great uneasiness which has been felt in the public mind on this subject, and the announcements which have been made almost, I may say, in a peculiar way with regard to it, I leave it to him whether, having in view the immense importance which at a moment like this, the country attaches to the position of Foreign Secretary, he will not think it consistent with his duty to give the House some explanation of the circumstances in which the rumour of his resignation got abroad?

LORD DORCHESTER said, that on two occasions last year he characterized the policy of the Government as wise and moderate; but he could not now say he thought that they had acted consistently throughout. Last May they agreed to a principle of conditional neutrality. The time had now arrived when they should ask what the strict terms of such neutrality meant. First, it was considered that our conditional neutrality would come to an end when the Russians were advancing on Adrianople; but we now heard of their marching to Gallipoli, and before long they might be throwing up earthworks at the mouth of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. It would not surprise a large portion of the people of this country if some day we found the British flag blocked out from the Dardanelles, and in the event of such a contingency their Lordships and the country had a right to hear more specifically what our conditional neutrality actually meant. The country had heard of more blood being shed in this war than in all the Bulgarian atrocities. The Russian Government had for the last 300 years pursued a policy of aggression, tyranny, and treachery—treachery and aggression, so far as other nations were concerned, and tyranny within her own Empire. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth she annexed Livonia, Lithuania, and Mycenæ; and had she not more recently annexed, in the most traitorous manner, the Kingdom of Poland? The action of this "Christian Power" had been far from that which we had in youth been taught to practice—"peace on earth, goodwill towards men." In their aggressive marches

Russian Armies carried the Cross before them; but were the aggression, tyranny, and treachery of Russia in keeping with the teaching of Christianity? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had said that contractors, the aristocracy, and the Army were interested in a war. He rejected with scorn the imputation that the Army was interested in a war. He only knew of two or three families which had gained pecuniarily by wars in which their relatives were engaged as British officers. But we must never forget what the true character of Russia and Russian policy was. We had heard a good deal about the Christianity of Russia, but what was the Christianity of Russia in the annexation of Poland and in her conduct with reference to the Caucasus? What was it in the Crimea when they fired on the funeral parties? It was a sad truth, but he believed it was a truth—at any rate it was a truth sustained by past history from the days of Queen Elizabeth—that the duplicity of the Russian character was too well known to require dwelling upon. With regard to Turkey, he did not believe that it was the intention or wish of this country to stand up for that country; but he believed it to be the wish of the great mass even of the Liberal party in this country that fair play should be shown, and that an independent country should exist on the borders of the Dardanelles. That independence, however, would soon cease unless we came to an understanding as to the meaning of those two words "conditional neutrality," and he did not think the country would be satisfied unless that explanation was given.

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM said, he did not think that there had been sufficient acknowledgment of the strenuous and arduous efforts of the British Government at the outset to preserve the peace of Europe—efforts which unhappily had failed in their object. As tending to that result, he regretted that the unfortunate action of the late Government in surrendering one of the most important clauses of the Treaty of 1856 had proved a direct encouragement to Russia to make further encroachments. She received a check in the Crimean War, and he wished that we had maintained a similar attitude towards her now. What was the object of the Crimean War? It was a most



sagacious and wise undertaking, and resulted in the destruction of a great naval arsenal, which was only erected for the purpose of aggression and for the supply of a powerful aggressive Fleet. He quite admitted that he should regret to see a new Crimean War, and it had been termed an insane policy which led to that war; but he was convinced that it was a still more insane policy which led to the surrender of all that we had acquired by that war at the expense of so much blood and treasure. Lord Odo Russell had contended that even without an Ally we should resist the abrogation of the Black Sea Treaty; but, unfortunately, Lord Odo Russell was not supported. The agitation respecting the Bulgarian Atrocities which was led by the late Prime Minister was to a great extent the cause of the mischief which had arisen, was the very thing Russia was waiting for, and as soon as it arose there was at once a marked change in her policy. It was a wise course, in his opinion, for the Government to join in the Conference at Constantinople; but no sooner did that Conference fail than the mobilization of the Armies of Russia took place. Then within a few days, because Turkey did not at once agree to the terms sought to be imposed upon her, war was declared without any further time being given for negotiations. No doubt, it was said, if Turkey had agreed to the terms and disarmed, war would have been avoided; but was it likely when Russia had her Armies on the frontiers that Turkey would disarm? Turkey having failed to comply with the wishes of the European Powers, it was not possible at that time to join in the defence of Turkish independence. With regard to the present situation, he believed that there would be great danger in the permanent acquisition by Russia of a large amount of territory in Armenia. The proposed payment of a large indemnity by Turkey implied in itself, in the present condition of Turkey, acquisition of territory, Turkey not being in a position to pay any large sum. Any large acquisition of territory by Russia in Armenia was not only undesirable, but might prove dangerous to the interests of England; because it would give Russia dominating influence in Asia Minor and the Euphrates Valley, which was the shortest route to India. With regard to Constantinople, he trusted that

if Bulgaria was to obtain autonomy it would not extend south of the Balkans, as that, he believed, would prove a source of danger to Constantinople. It was necessary for the security of Constantinople that Turkey should have a certain area of territory there, and should also have power over the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. That was the most serious question for this country. By the opening of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to the Russian Fleet Constantinople would be as much under the domination of Russia as if it were actually a part of that Empire. The object of Russia in regard to the Straits—seeing that she had no territory on the shores of the Mediterranean to protect—was one of aggression and not of mere commerce, and the opening of them to Russia would oblige us to keep an enormous Fleet in the Mediterranean if we wished to maintain the integrity and independence of this country and the liberties of Europe. He believed that the people of England would be prepared to make any sacrifice which might be demanded of them to maintain the integrity and the interests of England and the independence and liberties of Europe.

THE EARL OF DERBY, after a short pause, rose and said: My Lords, I have waited to see whether any other Member of your Lordships' House wished to address you; but, as that does not appear to be the case, I shall make some very brief comments upon the speech and Resolution of my noble Friend (Lord Campbell), and some of the speeches of the noble Lords which have followed his. I do not think it would be either necessary or desirable that I should follow one by one the remarks which have been made on the various subjects which have been mentioned in the course of the interesting, but somewhat discursive, conversation which we have heard. The noble and gallant Lord (Lord Dorchester) who has addressed you, spoke in the character of a representative of the British Army—a character, to which I have no doubt, he is perfectly entitled—and he asked what were the conditions of our neutrality, at the same time intimating that that neutrality has turned out to be not conditional but unconditional. Now, my answer to that is very simple. At the outbreak of the present unfortunate war

we addressed a despatch to the Powers which we laid on the Table of your Lordships' House, in which we stated the conditions of British neutrality—conditions which I will venture to say were laid down with greater precision and fullness of detail than has been usual on any former occasion of the kind. From the principles laid down in that despatch in May last we have not varied, and we do not intend to depart from them now. I come now to the few remarks made by the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville), to whom I must offer my best thanks for the personal courtesy of the expressions with which he commenced his speech. The observations of the noble Earl bore upon three points. He spoke of the apparent determination of the Turkish Government to ascribe to us intentions which we have repeatedly disclaimed, and though he did not proceed to draw what seemed to me to be the natural inference from his words, I gather from what he said that he thought there was something strange and unexplained in the manner in which the Porte persisted in hoping for military assistance from us. If the noble Earl entertains the suspicion that our formal assurances to the Porte of neutrality were in any manner counteracted by unofficial encouragement, or by hopes held out in a private manner, I can offer, in respect of such a suspicion, the most absolute assurance that it is unfounded. We have never held but one language from the beginning of the war up to the present time; and I am certain that no one connected with the British Embassy or the British Government has been or could be guilty of what, in the circumstances, would be the crime of encouraging brave men to persevere in a hopeless struggle by holding out to them fallacious expectations. The second point on which my noble Friend touched was the comparative paucity of the Papers laid upon the Table of the House. Now, my Lords, it is an invariable subject of criticism either that the Papers laid before us are so voluminous that it is difficult to get at their more material points, or that they are so few that they do not afford the information which is looked for. But, my Lords, when my noble Friend complains of the absence of information as to the conduct of Foreign Powers, I would point out this, not merely that under any circumstances we are precluded

from laying on the Table Papers which are communicated to us confidentially by foreign Powers, but also that, although the last few months have been fraught with great and important events, they have been months comparatively barren, so far as actual negotiations are concerned. It is obvious that in the earlier stages of the war no reasonable prospect existed of interposing which would have had any beneficial effect. It was not till within the last few weeks that any course could have been proposed or suggested by any of the neutral Powers which would have had the slightest chance of being acceptable at once to Russia and the Porte. So universally was that felt in Europe that, although I believe most of the Powers were earnestly desirous of seeing the war brought to a close, they abstained, as we have abstained, from making attempts which they believed would be hopeless and which would only lead to increased complication. Before I leave the subject, I may, however, add that some additional Papers are in preparation, and will be laid on the Table without delay. Now, my Lords, I come to another matter on which my noble Friend has thought fit to comment in a very pointed manner, and I am not surprised that, under the circumstances, he should have called attention to it. My noble Friend asks me whether I am willing to give any explanation of the transactions of the last few days, as respects my own personal relations with the Cabinet, of which I am a Member. My Lords, the only explanation which I have to give is so short and of so simple a character, that if I had not been invited by my noble Friend to give it, I should not have thought it necessary to have troubled your Lordships with it. An important step, my Lords, was decided upon—decided upon, no doubt, after anxious and earnest consideration—by the Cabinet, in the policy of which I did not concur as Minister for Foreign Affairs. I should have been responsible for it in a peculiar degree, and had that step been taken and the course adopted by the Cabinet been criticized in your Lordships' House, as it was certain to be, it would have been my duty, from the position I held, to undertake its defence, and I do not think that in a matter of grave national importance any man is justified in coming forward to defend a

measure which he does not in his conscience approve. My Lords, under these circumstances I had only one alternative, and I adopted it reluctantly; but from a conviction of its necessity. But, my Lords, it is a matter of daily experience in public affairs that the most perplexing emergencies often result in the most unexpected solutions, and it so happened that—before many hours had passed from the time that the step I have referred to, was agreed upon—the circumstances of the case had entirely altered; and, under the altered conditions, my Colleagues thought—and they did so quite consistently with their formerly expressed opinions—that, the circumstances having so altered, they were no longer bound to take the step to which I have alluded. The cause of difference between us, therefore, disappeared of itself, and, that being the case, I had no hesitation and no difficulty in withdrawing the tender of my resignation. My Lords, I am not afraid of being accused at the present time of being actuated by an undue desire to retain the office I have the honour to hold; but I do not think that a time of difficulty and anxiety is one at which any man holding such a position is justified in running away from it, unless under a conviction that it is his imperative duty to do so. My Lords, I now turn to a far larger and more important question—namely, that involved in the Resolution which the noble Lord who opened the discussion put before your Lordships. I think your Lordships will not be disposed to adopt that Resolution. In the first place, it is one of a purely abstract character, and, even if it were adopted, would not in any way tend to attain the object which I presume my noble Friend has at heart, as it would in no manner pledge the country or the Government to the course he thinks it desirable to take. The noble Lord asks you to say that

“neutrality, whether conditional or absolute, in no way prohibits Her Majesty’s Government from adopting such measures as are necessary to conform to the Treaties of 1856, and to guard Constantinople against an hostile occupation.”

Now whether that view be true or not, the noble Lord says nothing in his Resolution as to the policy or expediency of taking the course he recommends. The view may be a perfectly true one—I do not think it is—and yet

the Resolution, even if passed, be inoperative. Neutrality may not prevent us from doing something which upon other grounds it may be exceedingly undesirable for us to do; and what measure we could have taken within the last 12 months to enforce and give effect to the Treaties of 1856 short of going to war, I confess I cannot understand. If the noble Lord thinks that we ought to have gone to war to enforce those Treaties, that is a definite and intelligible view, and it is a view which the noble Lord has consistently maintained.

LORD CAMPBELL: My Lords, at no time and in no discussion have I ever maintained that we should go to war for that purpose.

THE EARL OF DERBY: Well, if my noble Friend does not mean that we should have gone to war, I cannot quite see what he does mean. The noble Lord is, of course, the best judge of his own opinions, and I will only say that if any man thinks we ought to have gone to war to maintain the Treaties of 1856 that is an intelligible and defensible view of the case; but it is not the view of Her Majesty’s Government or of the great majority of the public. I will not, therefore, waste your Lordships’ time in defending a course which, as far as I am aware, has met with all but universal acceptance. But when the noble Lord says we might occupy Constantinople—for to guard it against hostile occupation is, in fact, to occupy it—and do that without any violation of neutrality, it is possible the noble Lord may be technically right according to rules he has found in books on International Law; but you must look at the matter as the mass of men would regard it. When war is going on and a hostile army is approaching the capital of one of the belligerents, if a third party steps in and says—“No, you must not go to the capital; we will interfere if you do,” that is a course which, whether right or wrong, would, in the general acceptance of language, be regarded as incompatible with an attitude of neutrality. If seven years ago the Government of this country had done what some persons advised—namely, declared that if the German Armies advanced upon Paris we should interfere, it is quite clear that we should, by taking that attitude, have made ourselves parties to the war. Is there any difference in the present case? I need not

do more than say that the precedent of Belgium mentioned by the noble Lord is not at all a case in point. The question then raised was not that of occupying the territory of a belligerent. It was neutral territory that was concerned, and the Government of this country said that if that territory was violated by either party we should take part against the Power which was guilty of that violation. That precedent, therefore, does not bear on present events. I pass over much that my noble Friend has said as to the encroachments of Russia and the necessity of stopping her, the plans which are alleged to have existed, and the language which he says we ought to have used at a certain point of the struggle. I remember perfectly well the discussion to which my noble Friend refers. It was one raised by himself, and my noble Friend used the argument that if a Power does not interfere in the early stages of a war it is deprived of the power of interfering effectually at a later stage. I remember commenting on that observation, and I prefaced what I said with the remark that I referred to it in a merely speculative manner. I said if the matter was to be argued, it might be held that interference was never more effectual than when one or other of the belligerents was exhausted by the contest; but I never stated that it was our intention to interfere in that or in any other manner. I could not do so without contradicting in the most flagrant manner the language which my Colleagues had held in their despatches defining the conditions of our neutrality. I shall not trouble your Lordships with further observations. I do not think that it would be desirable I should follow my noble Friend in discussing the conditions, or, rather, the bases of peace; because we are very imperfectly informed of what those conditions are. I have seen a summary, a brief summary, but I have not had officially communicated to me the full text of the terms in question, and the abstract which I have seen, and which will shortly be in your Lordships' hands, is so brief, and, from its brevity, necessarily so obscure in many respects, that it would be impossible to discuss it, even if at the present stage of matters it were desirable to do so. There will, no doubt, be many opportunities for your Lordships to express your views on the conditions of

peace, and all I need say for the present is that, although we have not in any manner interfered, nor do we think it our duty to interfere, to prevent the Turkish Government from accepting those bases, while we can give them no help or hope of help which would justify us in interposing in any manner, we have, at the same time, stated—and a similar statement has been made by other Powers—that with regard to those matters of European concern which will be involved in the conditions of peace we claim for this country—as other countries will undoubtedly claim for themselves—the right to have a voice in the final settlement.

LORD DENMAN said, He trusted nothing that passed in that House would interfere with the establishment of a sound and solid peace. It ought not to do so, as no reports of the proceedings were authentic till reported in *Hansard's Debates*. He hoped the Turks would remain at Constantinople, and continue to be a vital Power in Europe. He could not vote for the Motion of the noble Lord, because this country should, in his opinion, take its stand on the Treaty of 1856, and we did not know how far the other two parties to the Tripartite Treaty were prepared to support it.

LORD CAMPBELL, in reply, said, that, although the House was no longer full the course of the debate imposed on him the necessity of making a few remarks in answer. As regarded the Treaty of 1870 for the maintenance of Belgium, he at once accepted the noble Earl who had framed it (Earl Granville) as its legitimate interpreter, although he (Lord Campbell) had been disposed to interpret it in a different manner. But the loss of that example—which in fact was wholly unrequired—would not all affect the proposition as to the title of a neutral to give support to an Ally. He was bound to return to his noble and gallant Friend below (Lord Dorchester) his cordial thanks for the speech he had delivered. Whether or not his noble and gallant Friend was an exponent of the Army, he had faithfully reflected a large mass of Liberal opinion on the present war, which in that House had seldom found an adequate expression. As to the noble Earl the Secretary of State, the public would learn with little satisfaction the grounds on which he had withdrawn

his resignation. They would be led to think that the greatest variance existed between the First Lord of the Treasury and the Secretary of State, and that the latter was the only obstacle to the advance of the Fleet where it had been previously directed. That the noble Earl the Secretary of State should charge him (Lord Campbell) with promoting war between Russia and Great Britain was indeed astonishing, unless his memory had been impaired. On every occasion he (Lord Campbell) had disclaimed such a tendency. He had contended always that war could only be averted by preparatory measures, as the decisive reason for adopting them. The same view had been presented—he hoped with some degree of accuracy—to the noble Earl in a prepared paper by a deputation to the Foreign Office in November. The noble Earl had not attempted an argument against the Resolution beyond the fact that it was not sufficiently explicit, and did not recommend in terms the line of action it declared to be consistent with neutrality. Would any man on earth, at least would any man in Europe doubt as to the encouragement it gave to the line of action which it sanctioned. Except in Parliament an objection of this kind would never be resorted to. If the Government declined to accede to the Motion it was impossible to carry it. He should not withdraw, but he left it to others to consider in what manner it might be least injuriously dealt with, as regarded effect beyond the limits of the House.

LORD DORCHESTER moved the Previous Question.

*Previous Question* put, “Whether the said Question shall be now put?”  
*Resolved in the Negative.*

House adjourned at a quarter-past Seven  
o'clock, till To-morrow, half-past  
Ten o'clock.

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered — First Reading —*  
County Administration [93]; Valuation of  
Property\* [94]; Highways\* [95].  
*Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—*  
Merchant Seamen [79].  
*Committee — Report — Linen and Yarn Halls*  
(Dublin)\* [2].

## QUESTIONS.

### THE ISLE OF MAN—OUTBREAK OF SMALL POX.—QUESTIONS.

SIR JAMES LAWRENCE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether information has reached him of an outbreak of small pox in the Isle of Man; if it is true that the Vaccination Laws are not in force in the Isle of Man; and, if any steps have been or are about to be taken to remedy this defect?

MR. RITCHIE called attention to the fact that the Question put by the hon. Member opposite (Sir James Lawrence) was not in the same terms as the Question of which he had given Notice, which included a reflection upon the Lieutenant Governor of the Isle of Man. The Question as it originally stood included the following:—

“Whether it is true that the Governor and his family have left the Island on account of the virulent character of the disease?”

He should like to ask, Whether there was any foundation for the rumour?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, he was quite sure that anybody who knew the character of the Governor would not think for a moment that he was capable of deserting his post at a time of danger. It was utterly untrue that he had left the Island. With regard to the outbreak of small-pox, it was quite true there had been a violent outbreak of that disease; but stringent measures had been adopted to localize it, if possible, and it was now limited to only a few cases. It had undoubtedly spread owing to the vaccination law not being in force in the Island. But a Bill had now passed through the local Legislature, and it would have received the Royal Assent at the present but for a

INDIA—THE NIZAM—MR. OLIPHANT.  
QUESTION.

MR. CHAPLIN asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If it is true that Mr. Oliphant, Private Secretary to Sir Salar Jung, was summarily dismissed by order of the Indian Government, in opposition to the wishes of Sir Salar Jung; and, if so, whether he will state to the House the reasons for that course of proceeding, and will lay upon the Table the Papers and Correspondence relating to his dismissal?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, by a well-known Treaty, negotiated in 1798, between the British Government and the Government of the Nizam, no European is permitted to enter into the service of the Nizam, or to remain in Hyderabad territory, except with the consent of the British Government. Subject to these provisions, Mr. Oliphant became some time back Sir Salar Jung's secretary. The Government of India having recently reason to believe that Mr. Oliphant's presence at Hyderabad was not conducive to a good understanding between the two Governments considered it necessary to withdraw the sanction previously given to his employment. The Secretary of State does not consider this a matter upon which, with advantage to public interests, Papers could be laid upon the Table of the House.

H.M. DOCKYARDS—WRITERS.  
QUESTION.

MR. GORST asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether any arrangement has yet been made for treating the Mechanic Writers of Her Majesty's Dockyards as salaried clerks, or whether they are still to be treated as ordinary workmen at day pay?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, the Question to which my hon. and learned Friend has referred is part of the larger one of the clerical establishments of the Dockyards, which are now being considered by a Committee. I admit there is a great deal to be said in favour of the proposition; but I am unable to deal with it until I have the Report of the Committee; and I may also add that Treasury approval will be required for any change in the status of the persons employed.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE WAR—  
THE SUEZ CANAL.—QUESTION.

MR. GOURLEY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If any and what communications have been received from M. de Lesseps relative to the neutralisation of the navigation of the Suez Canal since those of the 16th May 1877, contained in Correspondence "Egypt, No. 1;" if so, whether he will be good enough to place the same upon the Table of the House; and, further, to inquire if any communications have been received from the French or other Foreign Governments relative to the future navigation and government of the Canal in times of war?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, there has been no communication on the subject beyond what appears in the Papers before the House.

THE METROPOLITAN BOARD OF  
WORKS AND THE WATER COMPANIES.  
QUESTION.

COLONEL BERESFORD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will use his influence to postpone the consideration of the Bill promoted by the Metropolitan Board of Works for the purchase of the Water Companies at a cost of many millions sterling, until that Board have, in accordance with the spirit of his recent reply to the Board, taken the necessary steps to prevent the recurrence of Floods on the Surrey side of the water?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, he had not done so, neither did he see what right he had to take the course suggested by the hon. and gallant Gentleman. He might take that opportunity of stating that he had received from the Metropolitan Board of Works, in answer to a letter which he had sent to them some time ago, a communication which induced him to hope that the arrangements they intended to make on the subject would be satisfactory.

THE MEDICAL PROFESSION—LEGIS-  
LATION.—QUESTION.

MR. MILLS asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce into Parliament during the present Session any measure for providing an uniform

test of admission to the Medical Profession in England, Scotland, and Ireland?

VISCOUNT SANDON, in reply, said, the subject was one of great importance, and it had been under the consideration of the Government; but he was not at present able to state whether they would be prepared to bring in a measure dealing with it this Session.

#### METROPOLIS—PAROCHIAL (METROPOLITAN) CHARITIES.—QUESTION.

MR. JAMES asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What steps the Government intend to take with respect to the Parochial Charities of the City of London; and whether it is their intention to introduce any legislative measure for the purpose of extending existing jurisdictions for the re-appropriation of these funds, in accordance with the recommendations of the last Report of the Charity Commissioners?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that he had several times during the Recess called the attention of the authorities who had the guardianship of these charities to the Report of the Commissioners. During the past week he had received a memorial from many persons interested in these charities, pointing out in some way how, in their opinion, they could be dealt with. At present he was not prepared to advise the Government to take any steps in the matter.

#### IRELAND—LORD JUSTICE CHRISTIAN. QUESTION.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether the New Irish Court of Appeal, constituted by the Irish Judicature Act, held its first sitting last week in Dublin to hear an Appeal of great importance; and, whether Lord Justice Christian, one of the permanent members of the Court, declined to attend the sittings; and, if so, on what grounds did he so decline?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, I have been informed that it is an error to suggest that Lord Justice Christian declined to attend the sittings of the Court of Appeal; he was merely absent from one particular case, which was heard by four Appellate Judges. I do not consider it to be my duty to inquire what

were the grounds of his absence. The Government do not expect from the Judges any account of their attendance in particular cases, and I should be sorry to take any action which might be construed as a precedent for interference on the part of the Government with the independence of the Judicial Bench in Ireland.

#### POST OFFICE—SUB-POSTMASTERS.

##### QUESTION.

MR. MONK asked the Postmaster General, Whether the rules for sub-postmasters in charge of money order offices, 1877, have been published by his authority containing, among others, the following rules:—

(76.) "Officers of the Post Office may now vote at elections for Members of Parliament, the former disabilities having been removed; but they are still prohibited, under severe penalties, from exerting their influence either for or against any particular candidate, or otherwise intermeddling in elections." (77.) "This prohibition is contained in the forty-fourth section of the Act ninth Anne, chapter ten."

And, whether he is not aware that the forty-fourth section of the ninth Anne, chapter 10, was repealed in 1874 by 37 and 38 Vic. c. 22?

LORD JOHN MANNERS, in reply, said, sub-postmasters were now in possession of knowledge as to their right of voting at elections of Members of Parliament.

#### H.M.S. "BEAGLE"—JUDICIAL POWERS OF NAVAL COMMANDERS.

##### QUESTION.

MR. GORST asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether his attention has been called to the fact (as stated by the First Lord of the Admiralty) that the Officer commanding H.M.S. "Beagle" has, by order of his Commodore, held a Court at which a person, not a subject of Her Majesty, was tried by an unauthorized process for an offence not committed within Her Majesty's jurisdiction, and was, by sentence of such Court, put to death on board H.M.S. "Beagle"; whether such proceedings were warranted by the Laws of the Realm; and, if not, whether the person by whose orders the trial took place, the members of the Court, and the persons by whom the sentence of the Court was executed, are not all guilty at law of the crime of murder?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL:** Sir, when one of Her Majesty's ships of war is lying off the coast of land inhabited by savages, where no law prevails and no redress for outrages can be obtained from any Government or in any tribunal, and British subjects residing in this region are attacked and one of them is murdered by the Natives, it seems to me that the captain of such vessel is placed in the same position as is occupied by the Commander of Her Majesty's Forces in the field in time of war, and has the same duties cast upon him and possesses the same rights and powers. If this view be correct, I shall be justified in stating, in answer to the Question which is asked of me, that the person by whose orders the trial alluded to was held and the members of the Court and the persons by whom the sentence of the Court was executed were not guilty of murder or of any crime whatsoever. I should give this opinion with great confidence, were it not that the fact of the Question which appears on the Paper having been put to me induces me to believe that my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham, who has earned for himself a great reputation as a lawyer, appears to take a contrary view and to consider that some of Her Majesty's servants have committed a dreadful crime, for the perpetration of which Her Majesty's Government are bound to subject them to condign punishment.

**ARMY — THE PERAK EXPEDITION—  
ALLOWANCES TO OFFICERS, &c.**

**QUESTION.**

**MR. SERJEANT SIMON** asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the special allowances to the officers and men of the Perak expedition promised last Session have not been paid, and when they will be?

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY**, in reply, said, he was sorry that those allowances had not yet been paid. The reason of the delay on the subject was that Correspondence was obliged to be held upon it between four Departments—the War Office, the India Office, the Colonial Office, and the Admiralty. [Mr. Serjeant SIMON: Where is it now?] The matter was in the hands of the Treasury, and he had reason to believe that it would be speedily settled.

**THE EASTERN QUESTION—MOVEMENT  
OF THE FLEET.—QUESTION.**

**COLONEL MURE** said, he wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question of which he had given him private Notice—Whether, without inconvenience to the public service, he would communicate to the House the substance of the Telegram which induced Her Majesty's Government to announce their intention of sending the Fleet to the Dardanelles and Constantinople?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, I think it will be more convenient that I should answer this Question in the statement which I shall have to make presently, as I propose to do. Indeed, I believe that the reasons which induced Her Majesty's Government to take that step will be also included in the Papers laid on the Table.

**SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—THE  
MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.**

**QUESTION.**

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether after the statement to which he has referred, and which I presume he is about to make in Committee of Supply, seeing that it will probably be one of very great importance, he will be willing to agree to report Progress, after, of course, such explanations as may have been asked for have been given, more fully to explain the proposals of the Government. I wish to ask whether he will be willing to report Progress in order that the House may have some time to consider the character of that statement and the proposals of the Government?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, the statement which I shall have to make to the House as soon as the House is in Committee of Supply will be one no doubt of great importance, and one that will be seen to contain some new matter. I think it will be advantageous and convenient to the House that the course suggested by the noble Lord should be followed, on this understanding—that we should be allowed at once to go into Committee of Supply, and that I should make my statement before any discussion is raised, such, for



instance, as that suggested by the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) on the Speaker leaving the Chair. On that understanding we should be willing, after my statement and any explanations that may be necessary to elucidate our proposals to the House, to report Progress till to-morrow, in order to enable the House to consider what course it should take on those proposals. Under those circumstances, I think we should lose no time, because we cannot expect such a debate to close in one night; and I hope that hon. Gentlemen who have Notices on the Paper for to-morrow will consent to waive them to allow us to proceed with the debate.

MR. RYLANDS said, he had no hesitation at all in acceding to the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. E. S. HOWARD also promised to postpone his Motion standing in his name for to-morrow.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

*Ordered*, That the Orders of the Day subsequent to Supply and Ways and Means be postponed until after the Notice of Motion for leave to bring in a Bill respecting County Government.—(Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.



#### SUPPLY—ARMY AND NAVY SERVICES.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Raikes, although the statement which I have to make to the Committee is one of greater importance, or, all events, one touching upon a question of greater importance, than any which has been brought forward I think I may say in my time in the House of Commons, yet I feel sure I shall be consulting the wishes of the Committee, as well as my own inclinations, if I abstain from attempting to offer any prefatory remarks, and go straight to the point to which I wish to draw the attention of the Committee. I am quite sure that it is not desirable for us at such a time as this to indulge in general or exciting oratory, even if I were capable of so doing, and that it is far better that at a moment which requires careful, calm, and deliberate consideration, we should endeavour to look the facts in the face,

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

and to consider quietly and in a business-like way the proposals which have to be submitted to us. Now, Sir, I think it will be for the convenience of the Committee that I should very shortly endeavour to sum up the present situation which appears to exist between the belligerents, and I will then make some remarks upon the situation as a European one. As regards the belligerents, I think a very short description of the situation may be given. Turkey has been defeated by Russia, and the Plenipotentiaries of Turkey have been sent to the Russian head-quarters in order to ask for terms of peace and for an armistice. They have been received there, and a communication has been made to them to the effect that an armistice will be granted; but only upon conditions, amongst which will be this—that the Plenipotentiaries must agree to certain bases which shall form the foundation of a future Treaty of Peace. We need not question the propriety of such a demand on the part of Russia. It was one which she had it perfectly in her power to make, and one which it was not unnatural that she should make; because she might fairly argue with herself that an armistice granted without some undertaking as to the ultimate bases of peace might lead merely to a suspension of hostilities, which might, perhaps, give an advantage to her enemies without giving a prospect of an ultimate settlement. At all events, the demand has been made on the part of Russia that the Plenipotentiaries shall agree, before an armistice is granted, to certain terms which shall be the bases of an ultimate Treaty of Peace between the two countries. Well, we are aware that certain bases have been proposed, and that those bases have been taken into consideration by the Plenipotentiaries, and that they have been communicated by them to their Government. It has also been stated to us, with more or less authority, though it has not yet been officially communicated to us by either of the Powers—but it has been stated to us with some authority that the Government of the Porte are prepared to accept, or have accepted—for we hardly know which it is—the bases which have been so submitted to it. But although we received that statement some little time ago—several days ago—still, day after day

passes, and we do not hear that any armistice has been signed, and we therefore naturally ask ourselves—"What is the cause of the delay that has taken place?" On the part of the Government, I am not in a position to supply the reasons for that delay. We require to have recourse to conjecture, and conjecture supplies several circumstances which may have occasioned it. Among these there are some which I may mention; but, in doing so, I do not want the Committee to suppose that they are anything more than possible reasons, and in no case must any one be taken from me as the true solution. In the first place, it must be borne in mind that there is a great difference between the terms of an armistice and the terms of a peace; that it is quite possible the terms of an ultimate peace may be agreed upon, and yet that there may still be questions as to the terms of the armistice which may be the cause of difficulties. If it be true, as it seems to be, that in several particulars the bases of peace are somewhat large and elastic, and admit of more than one interpretation, it may well be that the Power to whom they are proposed may think that it is an object of importance that those bases should be discussed under conditions which will be fairly favourable for her when they come to be discussed; and there may be terms in the armistice as to the surrender of some important fortress or some important military position which seem to her to be of a character which would put her under a disadvantage and render it difficult for her to enter into that discussion—that is to say, there might be difficulties connected with the terms of an armistice distinct from those connected with the bases of peace. Or, again, there may be difficulties in regard to the bases themselves. It may not be true, as we have been told, that the bases which have been communicated to us have been accepted; or, again, it may be that the terms which have been made known to us have been accepted—either readily or reluctantly—and yet that there may be other terms of which we know nothing, other terms which may still be in the background, other terms which may be of the greatest importance, and which may still have to be considered, before the armistice is arrived at; or lastly, it is possible that

there may be some motive on the one side or on the other which may lead them to desire the protraction of these negotiations. I have now given several solutions, any of which might be suggested as a probable cause of delay. We do not pretend to be able to say which is correct; but this we certainly do see—that day after day passes in which we are always expecting to hear of the signature of the armistice, and yet we do not hear of it; and this we are now bound to consider, that so long as it is unsigned so long it is in the right of the forces of Russia to advance; and, as it is their right, so it also appears, in point of fact, to be that which they are doing. From day to day we hear of further advances by the Russian troops, now in this direction and now in that, and this both in Europe and in Asia; and I must say we await with some curiosity the time when that advance will be put a stop to by the signature of the armistice. Now, Sir, I shall have presently to make a few general observations upon the terms of peace which have been communicated to us, and of which we know something; but before I do so I wish to guard myself, lest in any observations which I may offer on them I should unwittingly seem to be giving advice to the Porte, or giving an opinion which may guide the Porte as to the course of conduct it ought to pursue in this emergency. Nothing has been further from the desire of Her Majesty's Government, and nothing would be more contrary to their feelings now, than to give, or be understood as giving, any advice to the Porte at so critical a moment as the present; because they feel that if they did so, they would incur a responsibility which it would be altogether wrong they should incur. The Porte has not consulted us with regard to these terms of peace. The Porte has exercised its own unfettered judgment so far as the influence of other Powers are concerned. It has exercised its own individual judgment upon the course that it should pursue; and if it were to consult us, it would be impossible for us to give it advice. If we said to the Porte that it should accede to the proposed terms, it would imply an approval of them which, perhaps, we might not be able to give. If, on the other hand, we said "Reject those terms," we

should take upon ourselves a great responsibility—a responsibility involving a prolongation of the war and a prolongation of the sufferings of Turkey—the responsibility, in short, of seeing her safely through all her difficulties without having to bear our part in the decision. Therefore, as things are, absolute silence, so far as the Porte is concerned, is our duty in this matter. But, at the same time, it is impossible for Her Majesty's Government to avoid expressing in their own Houses of Parliament their opinion upon the terms, such as they are, which have come to our knowledge. To avoid this would be impossible under any circumstances, but it is rendered more impossible than ever by some of the misrepresentations which have prevailed with regard to those terms; because it is said that the terms of peace are of a thoroughly satisfactory character—that they are of a moderate character; that, in fact, terms, the moderation of which are a marvel and surprise us, have been communicated to us, and that it is utterly unintelligible—accepted as we are told they have been by the Porte—how it could be for a moment in the view of the Government to suggest to Parliament that any measures of precaution, or any measures of the character which I am about to propose, should be taken. It is therefore necessary for me to make a few observations upon the details of the terms which are before us. But here I am met with a difficulty, because we have more than one statement of terms which are said to have been made. Some of them are in detail, but are not authentic, and some that are authentic do not go into much detail, and it is rather difficult for us to know upon which of all these statements we should rely. Of course, if we had an official communication, either from Russia or from the Porte, that official statement would have been sufficient to give us a text for our remarks. But we have got no such official communication, and therefore the most we can do is to take the next best communication which we have got—that, namely, made to Lord Derby by the Russian Ambassador. It was indeed, made in a form which was not official, but which was marked private; but yet it was placed in Lord Derby's hands with perfect authority to make use of it, and to give it as an authoritative, though not official,

communication from the Russian Government with regard to the terms of peace which are proposed. Among the Papers which are now laid upon the Table, and which will be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow morning, there will be found at page 14 [*Turkey No. 3, 1878*] a statement of the bases of peace communicated by Count Schouvaloff to Lord Derby on the 25th January, that is on Friday last, and these are the terms—

“Bulgaria, within the limits of the Bulgarian nationality, not less than that of the Conference, to be an autonomous tributary Principality, with a national Christian Government, a native militia, and no Turkish troops, except at some points to be determined.

“Independence of Montenegro, with an increase (of territory) equivalent to the military *status quo*; the frontier to be decided hereafter.

“Independence of Roumania, with a sufficient territorial indemnity.

“Independence of Servia, with rectification of frontiers.

“Autonomous administration, to be sufficiently guaranteed, to Bosnia and Herzegovina; or similar reforms for the other Christian provinces of Turkey in Europe.

“Indemnity to Russia for the expenses of the war; in a pecuniary, territorial, or other form to be decided hereafter.

“An ulterior understanding for safeguarding the rights and interests of Russia in the Straits.

“These being accepted, a Convention, an Armistice, and the despatch of Plenipotentiaries to develop them into preliminaries of peace.”

Now, the remark which I have to make on these terms is this, that be they good, or be they bad, they are, at all events, conditions of a very sweeping character. With regard to the first—that relating to Bulgaria—it is right that hon. Members should bear in mind the explanation given of the term Bulgaria—“Bulgaria, within the limits of the Bulgarian nationality, not less than that of the Conference.” On referring to the Conference, it will be found that this probably refers to some such definition as is given of them by Mr. Layard. That gentleman says—

“I understand the limits proposed for the new Bulgarian Principality are those mentioned in page 123 of the Correspondence on Turkey No. 2 (1877). They do not include Salonica or Kavala, but it can scarcely be doubted that they extend to the *Ægean* seaboard.”

That is to say, a glance at the map will show that Bulgaria, as referred to in that portion of the Conference, takes in the whole, or nearly the whole, of the centre of European Turkey. It extends, not only down to the Bal-

kans, but to the south of them, down almost to the Adriatic Sea and to the port of Salonica. The case may be illustrated roughly in this way—by supposing that you were to take England and set apart a portion beginning, say, with Northumberland and Durham, going right down to Devon, cutting off Wales, and perhaps Middlesex and East Anglia, and erecting this portion so set apart into an autonomous tributary Principality. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, now, I am not finding fault with these conditions of Russia; but I am desirous for a moment of putting it to the Committee whether they are not very serious conditions, raising very serious considerations. I would call its attention, in the first place, to the magnitude of the district thus spoken of, and to its position, as completely separating Constantinople and the small portion of territory immediately adjacent to it, from all the rest of the European dominions of Turkey. Now, what is to be the position of this State? It is to be erected into an autonomous tributary Principality. Now, hon. Gentlemen who have paid attention to the details of the discussions of last year—and I suppose this includes all the Members of the Committee—will remember that there were many and very warm discussions as to the meaning of the word "autonomy," and that there were great differences of opinion between some of the great European Powers as to the kind of autonomy which ought to be established. Everybody agreed, with regard to certain portions of Turkey, that it was desirable that an autonomy should be founded; but when it came to be considered what autonomy was to mean, there was found to be a considerable divergence of opinion. A phrase was then invented which was accepted, I believe, by all parties. The phrase was "administrative autonomy," by which was meant something in the nature of a system of local self-government under the direct authority of the Sultan. But in the phrase used here, it is not an "administrative autonomy" that is referred to, but the erection of an autonomous tributary Principality. That is to say, the Principality which is to be established is to be very much in the same position as Servia or Roumania occupied before the war. That is a matter, of course, of considerable gravity,

and the question would naturally arise—"Who is to be the governing Prince, and how is he to be elected? Who, in short, is to be at the head of the State?" Upon this point we have no positive information; but among other reports which have reached us, there is one which bears some appearance of authority, to the effect that the Prince is to be selected by the Emperor of Russia. Under these circumstances, you will be establishing in the heart of European Turkey a Principality of considerable extent and of considerable power, ruled by a Prince who will be devoted to the interests of the Russian Government. I am unable to say whether this is true; but it is one of the reports which have reached us. [Mr. GLADSTONE: There is no official authority for it.] My right hon. Friend seems to think I ought not to mention anything except on official authority; but as we have no official authority in regard to anything relating to the subject whatever, we are as much bound to take it into consideration as any of the other terms of peace. The bases which I have been reading, and which, of course, are to be taken as being thoroughly to be relied on so far as they go, are not given to us by the Russian Government as their official statement of the terms which they propose, but they have been communicated to us through the Russian Ambassador; and while we have no reason for doubting their correctness, we have no means of knowing whether they contain the whole of the proposals of the Russian Government. Therefore, the whole question is in a way left open to us, and there are other points besides those I have mentioned which may require consideration. I now pass from that. I say nothing as to the other portions of the Turkish Empire—the parts which hitherto have been tributary, but are now to be independent—further than to point out, and I do it with reference to what I shall have to say in a moment, that the position of Servia, the position of Montenegro, the position of Roumania, the position of Bulgaria itself—though they may be of secondary interest to us—all will be found to involve questions which will affect very great interests elsewhere, which will no doubt undergo considerable examination, and may possibly give rise to difficulties which we can hardly at present calculate. There is

one other point which I would just notice, but very briefly. Among the terms of peace which I have read there is one for an indemnity to Russia for the expenses of the war in a pecuniary, territorial, or other form to be decided hereafter. Upon that point I wish to say that it is hardly to be expected—everybody must have foreseen that it could scarcely be otherwise—that Russia, after undergoing the hardships of such a war, should not ask for an indemnity; but the condition is put in such a manner as to be very large, and vague, and open. Nothing is said as to its amount, and nothing is said—or rather, I should say, something which is more significant than silence is said—as to its form. Now, with regard to an indemnity which is to be paid by a pecuniary subsidy, that is a matter which rests between the two belligerents alone; no one else could have anything to say to that; but we all know very well that the financial position of Turkey is not such as to enable her to raise a large pecuniary indemnity. Then, even if it were in her power to comply with this condition, it might be the case, from the way in which the condition is framed, that Russia in deciding how she should receive the indemnity might, in short, elect to receive it in territory; or she might insist on having partly a pecuniary and partly a territorial compensation, which would be of the greatest possible interest not only to Turkey, but to all the other European Powers. I have nothing whatever to guide me in the matter, but as I have put other hypothetical cases, if the Committee will allow me, I will also put this one—not, I admit, in the least likely to occur, but showing what may happen. Russia might say that she would take the port of Salonica, or the port of Smyrna. [“Oh, oh!”] I am not saying that she will do this, I am only putting it as an extreme case. She may undoubtedly demand some territorial indemnity; and it may be of serious importance to Europe if she does. Therefore, in examining those conditions I am examining them, not with reference to any question between Russia and Turkey, to any intrinsic reasonableness or unreasonableness in the conditions themselves; but solely for the purpose of pointing out to the Committee that they do involve and must raise questions which may be of wider interest than

any which simply affect the two belligerents. That is the object with which I am making these observations, for I am desirous of calling the attention of the Committee to the necessity that there may be of having European concert and counsel with regard to those proposals. There is one other, and only one other, condition in the terms of peace which I think important, and to which I shall call attention. It is the last—the ulterior understanding for safeguarding the rights and interests of Russia in the Straits—that is, the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. That is a condition which may mean nothing, or may mean anything. It must, however, be borne in mind by the Committee that throughout these proceedings England has always declared that the arrangements for the navigation of the Straits are a matter of European concern, and a matter in which this country takes a deep interest—so deep an interest that even at the time we were declaring our intention to observe neutrality in the war—and we only reserved those points on which we thought it possible British interests might be affected—the question was not left out of sight, and we included the arrangements for the navigation of the Straits. But the navigation of the Straits is not a British interest only; it is a European interest. And I merely now mention and call attention to this condition for the same object with which I have called attention to the others—that is, to point out that those and other matters are all matters in which no separate understanding, and no sort of engagement or treaty between Russia or Turkey can be acknowledged or admitted by England, unless the other Powers are consulted, and they are made the subject of European agreement. We have expressed this opinion openly. We have expressed it to all the Powers of Europe. We hold to the view which we have taken up, which is based on the rights we have under Treaties which exist, and especially the last, the Treaty of London of 1871. I have no doubt we shall get the support of the other Powers in upholding that position; and in regard to Austria, I may say that the repeated declarations of that Power show that she entirely shares the views of Her Majesty's Government. I have gone through these conditions with the view of pointing out

how largely they will affect the interests, and will, or may, rouse the susceptibilities of the European Powers; and we cannot disguise from ourselves the immense importance of questions of this kind being raised at the present moment with regard to so great a change as is going on in the direction of South-eastern Europe. The key-stone of the political system of that district is at the present moment being removed from its place. We have for a century been engaged in maintaining a certain state of things in a country which is now evidently being made the theatre of the greatest and the strongest modifications. Turkey, which has been for a considerable time a great Power in the South-east of Europe, is in danger of being dismembered. Under the arrangement which existed until recently, Turkey might have been regarded as in one of two positions. She might either be regarded as a State which was strong enough to maintain herself against any single enemy which might attack her—a State, therefore, which might stand alone upon her own basis, and which might regulate her own internal affairs without reference to the advice or opinions of any other Power; or she might be regarded as a State which, though not strong enough to maintain herself without assistance from without, yet was a Sovereign State within her own borders, and was supported by the guarantee of other and stronger Powers, with the condition implied, and to some extent expressed, that they should have a right to advise her in her relations with other Powers. Well, taking a general view of the circumstances of the last few years, Turkey may be said to have acted on the assumption that she was able to do without, and to some extent disregard the advice of, the other Powers. Gallantly, and with a spirit which—however erroneous the view she took of her own prowess and capacity—we cannot but admire, however unfortunate we may think it—the spirit of a truly gallant nation—she has contended against tremendous odds and against a most formidable Power, and though vanquished yet she cannot be said to have been in a military sense humiliated. The result, however, of her defeat, the result of her prostration, is that a very great change must necessarily take place in the ar-

range of that part of Europe, and as all Europe is interested in the condition of that part of the Continent and will be obliged to have a voice in the arrangement of it, it is necessary to consider upon what footing the European Powers are to meet and discuss the subject. One thing, I think, we may very distinctly say. We must not now push forward and sacrifice the Turks by urging them to fight on for the sake of purely European objects. They have suffered enough, and it would be indeed cruel to endeavour to make them suffer still more, for the sake of objects which are European rather than Turkish. Well, then, if that is the case, what is the position of the European Powers at this moment? Russia and Turkey are engaged in the settlement of an armistice which is to include the basis of a Treaty of Peace between them. The armistice, no doubt, will sooner or later be granted, and the Treaty of Peace will be discussed and concluded, and then—but, so far as we can at present see, not till then—the Powers of Europe will be called in to consider what position they will take with regard to the terms that may be agreed upon. Well, when that time arrives we may find ourselves in a position of some disadvantage, because if Russia and Turkey came to an agreement, say, with regard to the question of the Straits or any other matter of considerable importance, the agreement between those Powers and the territorial and strategic arrangements which will be made upon that agreement may give Russia such a voice in the Council of Europe as that her voice alone will prevail, and none of the other Powers will have any chance of making their voice heard. Now, these are considerations of a very serious character, and they make it necessary for us to consider what is the position and what is the policy, and what ought to be the policy of England. I do not wish to weary the Committee by going over what is now a thrice-told tale, the policy which England has adopted throughout the contest. I need only repeat in a single sentence that our policy has been that enunciated by Lord Derby in his despatch of the 6th May—a policy of neutrality, subject to the conditions which were enumerated in that despatch with regard to points affecting British interests. Since that declaration

was put forth, we have strictly followed the lines therein laid down. We have observed neutrality, and have endeavoured, as far as possible, to keep a careful watch over the interests we have undertaken to guard, and have done what we could to prevent the extension of the war, and to prevent complications which it is undesirable should take place. I cannot help, at this point, saying one word on a particular point, which is of some interest, and which I think has been somewhat misunderstood—I mean the conduct which we have pursued with regard to Greece. There is an impression which prevails amongst hon. Gentlemen opposite that the influence of England has been used in some unfair and undue manner to prevent Greece from taking the course which she was disposed to take, and to keep her from going to war with Turkey. Well, whenever we are authorized to produce the Papers relating to Turkey and Greece—and, as I said the other day, we shall be ready to do it the moment we obtain the consent of Turkey and Greece—it will be found that all we have done has been to endeavour as far as possible to reconcile the comparatively slight difficulties which have arisen between these Powers; that, in short, there have been only differences upon points of detail, as to which we have used our good offices, as we should have done in the time of peace, and when we were actuated by a desire to prevent small sparks from kindling into a great blaze. But we have never put any pressure upon Greece to induce her to change her policy, nor have we offered any inducement in the form of bribes or encouragement with that object. The policy of Greece has been the policy she has adopted for herself, and all we have done has been to play the friend's part in endeavouring to smooth down differences of detail which have from time to time arisen. Now, I have a few words to say upon a matter to which the Question of the hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Mure) lately referred, with regard to the course the Government has followed within the last week or 10 days, and amongst other things with regard to the despatch of the Fleet to the Dardanelles and its recall. I could not without considerable difficulty, and without, perhaps, confusing the House, attempt to go through the whole of the changes

that have occurred in the political and military affairs of Turkey from day to day since the beginning of the year; but I may say generally that, since the time when the first proposals were made for peace negotiations, a complete revolution has occurred in the military situation. At the time those proposals were made, and when Russia, on December 29, expressed her willingness to entertain them, the forces of Russia were practically on the north side of the Balkans. Plevna, it is true, had fallen, but Sofia had not yet been taken. There were many troops in the field; there were serious operations still to be performed; the season was advanced and inclement; the Quadrilateral was untouched; a defence of Adrianople was in prospect—in a word, the position of the Russians was very different from what it is to-day. All the time the negotiations have been going on, and whether the delays that have occurred have been accidental, or whether they have been intentional—whether the necessity for sending the terms of peace by special messenger, instead of by telegraph, was due to something very extraordinary and exceptional in the nature of those terms—something far beyond what the *préavis* now given us would seem to indicate; whether these are the reasons, or whether the reason was to gain time for the advance of the armies, is a question into which I do not wish to enter. I only wish to point out as a matter of fact that the delay which has occurred has given the Russians an advantage, and has very materially altered the military situation in Turkey. And not only are the relations of the Russian to the Turkish Armies different, but it is a question into which it is necessary for me to enter as far as regards the relative conditions of the belligerents and the effect which may be produced upon the terms of peace which the Russians may demand on the one hand, and the Turks must agree to on the other. I draw attention to it for different reasons, and I wish to point out what was the relative position of the Russian Force at those points which we had expressly reserved as points to which attention had been directed, and in which British interests were involved. We have constantly been told—throughout all these proceedings, when we have spoken of the reservations we had made in the despatch of the 6th of

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May—we have been constantly told—“These reservations are all very fine, but they relate to those interests which are least likely to be affected.” “Nobody,” we are told, “thinks or dreams that the Suez Canal will be interfered with, or Egypt, or the Persian Gulf,” and it was a common remark—“Nobody supposes that Constantinople or the Dardanelles is threatened.” Now, with regard to Egypt, the Persian Gulf, and the Isthmus of Suez, I need not say anything at present; but in regard to Constantinople and the Dardanelles our anxiety could not be altogether set at rest when we saw the Russian Forces advancing as rapidly as they did towards those points which were vital to those places. From day to day we received information—first, that Sofia was taken; then, that the Servians had effected a junction. Then came the important news that the Shipka Force had surrendered, with a large portion of the flower of the Turkish Army; and lastly, on the 10th of January, came the news that it was not intended to defend Adrianople. Events, in fact, were marching with a rapidity enough to take one’s breath away, and at the same time came the news from one quarter and another as to the inadequacy of the defences of the lines of Boulair, the defences of Constantinople in the event of an advance upon Gallipoli, and the probability of a rapid advance being made upon the key of the Dardanelles. When these matters came to be considered, and we knew what was going on, we thought it right to place ourselves in communication with Russia on the subject; and with regard to Gallipoli in particular we made a certain declaration which I will read to the Committee. But before I do so, in order to make it clear, it is necessary that I should refer to something which took place a short time previously, as far back as the 13th of December. The Committee will bear in mind that the despatch of Lord Derby in May last was a despatch communicated to the Russian Government, in which several points were laid down, the infringement of which by Russia would affect British interests, and, amongst others, the possession of Constantinople was referred to as being a matter vital to British interests. The reply of the Russian Government to that despatch was to the effect that the acquisition of that capital was excluded

from the views of the Emperor, and that its future must be considered a matter of common interest. But there was nothing in the reply of the Emperor which indicated that he would not, if necessary for his purposes, occupy Constantinople temporarily, and the question was left open from that time until December—it being understood that we had the distinct assurance, on which we could implicitly rely, of the Emperor that it was not his intention to acquire Constantinople; but we had no pledge that he would not temporarily occupy it for military purposes. It appeared, however, to Her Majesty’s Government in December last that inconveniences and dangers might arise even from the temporary occupation of that capital; and accordingly, on the 13th of December last, Lord Derby sent to Count Schouvaloff a despatch in which, after recounting the previous Correspondence, the noble Lord went on to say—

“While appreciating the courtesy and friendly character of this answer, Her Majesty’s Government feel that it does not sufficiently meet the dangers against which they desire to guard. They are strongly of opinion—an opinion which the course of events tends still more to confirm—that the occupation of Constantinople by the Russian Forces, even though it should be of a temporary character and for military purposes only, would be an event which it would, on all accounts, be most desirable to avoid.

“They cannot conceal from themselves that if such an occupation appeared imminent, public feeling in this country, founded on a just appreciation of the consequences to be apprehended, might call for measures of precaution on the part of Great Britain from which they have hitherto felt justified in abstaining.

“It is with the view of avoiding what might endanger seriously the good relations happily maintained between the two countries that Lord Derby has been charged by the Cabinet to express to the Russian Government their earnest hope that, should the Russian armies advance to the south of the Balkans, no attempt will be made to occupy Constantinople or the Dardanelles.

“In the contrary event, Her Majesty’s Government must hold themselves free to take whatever course may appear to them necessary for the protection of British interests; but they sincerely trust and confidently believe that any such necessity will be averted by mutual understanding between the two Governments.

“In making this communication they think it right to add that they will be willing, as they have been from the first, to avail themselves of any suitable occasion that may present itself for assisting in the work of mediation and in the restoration of peace.”—[*Turkey*, No. 3 (1878), p. 1.]

An answer to that communication was received on the 16th of December. It



was a communication from Russia sent to the Russian Ambassador in this country respecting the assurance of the Emperor. [*Cries of "Read!"*] The despatch is in French, and it does not contain any expression of opinion at once; but it communicates a Memorandum, which Memorandum is to this effect—

"An acquisition of Constantinople is not now comprised any more than before the war in the intentions of His Majesty the Emperor. His Imperial Majesty continues to consider the destiny of that capital as a matter of common interest which can only be determined by a general understanding. His Imperial Majesty also holds equally to the opinion that if the possession of Constantinople should arise, it should not belong to any of the Great Powers of Europe.

"His Majesty the Emperor, at the same time, considers that it is his right and his duty to oblige Turkey to conclude a solid and real peace which shall offer effective guarantees against the return of the crises which disturb the peace of Russia and that of Europe."—[p. 3.]

It goes on to say that for that purpose it is necessary that the Russian Forces should continue to advance, and it adds that—

"if the obstinacy or the illusions of the Porte should oblige His Majesty to continue military operations,"

His Majesty will reserve to himself that full liberty of action which is the right of every belligerent. It further states that after the formal assurances which Russia has several times given, and which she now repeats, His Majesty cannot understand how the interests of England, as defined in the communications of the British Government, can be affected by the course which His Majesty is pursuing; and, finally, it asks Her Majesty's Government to state what are the interests of England which they deem likely to be so affected, in order that His Majesty may endeavour to reconcile them with those of Russia. Nothing could be fairer—nothing could be more friendly than that communication; but it left the point where it was. It left it still open to Russia, and apparently indicated that it might not improbably become the duty and the policy of Russia to advance to Constantinople. I make no complaint against Russia on the subject; she was under no engagement to us contrary with respect to it. We had asked and she had given us an undertaking that she would not acquire

Constantinople; but she had expressly reserved her right to occupy it temporarily if it should be necessary for her to do so for military purposes. I make no complaint, therefore, against Russia with regard to the terms of this Memorandum; but I say that it may become the duty of England to watch over the action of Russia with respect to Constantinople, and, having so distinct a warning, we were necessarily obliged to consider what might possibly be coming. We have always felt, and it has been one of the great difficulties we have had to contend with throughout the whole of the war, that we must take no step that would have the effect of encouraging Turkey to expect assistance from us which would not be rendered; and, therefore, it was that we found it necessary to abstain from making public any of these communications, because had we done so, we might have given Turkey the idea that she had but to withdraw her Forces and to tempt Russia to attack Constantinople to secure for herself British assistance. We were not prepared and we did not intend to offer her that assistance, and therefore we did not make the nature of these communications public. But in answering the communication from Russia, we were bound to point out to that Power what it was that made us so jealous of even a temporary occupation of Constantinople by her forces. Observing that, in the meantime, the Russian forces were advancing, and that they had not only obtained possession of Adrianople, but had advanced far beyond it, and were marching in the direction of Gallipoli, and that there were rumours that they might shortly reach that important point, we thought it right in a despatch, dated the 12th of January, to state—

"In answer to the inquiry contained in the last paragraph of Prince Gortchakoff's Memorandum of the 16th of December, Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that any operations tending to place the passage of the Dardanelles under the control of Russia would be an impediment to proper consideration of terms of the final settlement between Russia and Turkey."

That is to say, that Russia, seated at Constantinople, and holding the key of the Dardanelles, might gain such an important advantage in the discussion of terms, that we might be unable to meet her on a fair and equal footing.

"Ask Prince Gortchakoff whether he is willing to give assurance to Her Majesty's Government

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that no Russian force shall be sent to the Peninsula of Gallipoli.”—[p. 4.]

That communication was made to Prince Gortchakoff, and in reply we received a telegram from Lord Augustus Loftus to this effect—

“On receiving my note, Prince Gortchakoff deputed Baron Jomini to call on me as the bearer of a verbal reply, which was to the following effect:—‘The Russian Government have no intention of directing their military operations on Gallipoli, unless’”—[p. 6.]

[*Laughter.*] But this is important. I do not desire to imply that there was anything wrong in that statement, but to call attention to it for a reason which you shall hear in a minute. The statement proceeds thus—

“unless the Turkish regular troops should concentrate there.”

Nothing could be more reasonable than that—at all events, it is perfectly intelligible—Russia might well say—“We give you the promise you desire, that we will not direct our attacks against Gallipoli unless our enemies are concentrated there, and that it is necessary for military purposes that we should attack them.”

“They further hope that, in putting the question, Her Majesty’s Government do not contemplate an occupation of Gallipoli, which would be a departure from their neutrality and would encourage the Porte to resistance.”

In answer to that communication we replied, by a despatch dated the 21st of January, to this effect—

“Her Majesty’s Government are glad to receive the pledge thus given by the Russian Government that they have no intention of directing their military operations on Gallipoli unless Turkish regular troops should concentrate there. You are authorized to inform Prince Gortchakoff that Her Majesty’s Government do not, under present circumstances, contemplate any occupation of the position in question.”—[p. 11.]

So matters rested at that time; but, as I was remarking, the Russian advance continued, and not only did that advance continue, but the movements of the Turkish troops began to take a direction which caused us still more anxiety, and it appeared that Suleiman Pasha was retreating in a direction which might very possibly bring him to Gallipoli; and that, therefore, circumstances might lead to a state of things in which the Russians might, within the terms of their engagement, be free to direct their attack upon that place.

That was a moment, no doubt, of considerable anxiety to the Government of this country. We had, at the time we gave that warning, thought it right to inquire whether the Sultan was disposed to permit our Fleet to enter the Straits if such a movement should be necessary; but the Sultan did not encourage that idea, and accordingly, it was laid aside. On the 19th of January, however, the Sultan asked us to take the step, and orders were sent to the Fleet to move to the entrance of the Dardanelles, to be ready when necessary; and then we found things were in this state—on the one hand, the Russians were advancing with great rapidity on Gallipoli, and it seemed possible that they might direct their course towards this quarter. On the other hand, there was great alarm at Constantinople at the advance, and it was not impossible that tumults might have arisen in the town which would have endangered life and property. Under these circumstances, for the sake of keeping the waterway open, and for the sake of protecting life and property at Constantinople if tumults should arise, we thought it right to direct the Fleet to proceed to the Dardanelles. We accordingly did so, communicating the fact to the Porte, and requesting the Sultan, whose invitation we considered to be still in force, would send the necessary permission to the Fleet. Accordingly, he sent a firman to admit the Fleet into the Dardanelles. The Fleet was ordered to sail for this purpose on Wednesday evening, the 23rd instant. On the following day, I came down here for the purpose of giving Notice of the Vote which I am now about to move. At that time we knew no more than we had known for a long time past, of what was proceeding with regard to the negotiations, and we still supposed that those negotiations were entirely hanging fire, and that it was impossible to say how long the delay, which had now lasted something between three and four weeks, might be prolonged, and what might occur in the meanwhile. It was, therefore, with a view to protect those interests in the meanwhile that we felt ourselves in a position which required us to take that step with regard to the Fleet; and it was under that view, among other considerations, that I came down and gave Notice of this Vote. But the same even-

ing, and late that evening, we received a telegram which was not altogether of an authentic character, and which has proved in some particulars not to be entirely accurate, from our Ambassador at Constantinople. It contained the terms of peace as far as he had been able to ascertain them. They were to this effect—A pecuniary indemnity; a guarantee from Turkey for payment of the indemnity in the shape of territory in the east of Armenia, including Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan; the fortifications of Erzeroum to be destroyed; Roumania to be declared independent; and so forth. Finally, the question of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles to be settled, as the telegram to us said, between the Congress and the Emperor of Russia. "Such," said our Ambassador, "are the conditions which are proposed," and such was the message as it came to us; and it was entirely in accordance with the expectations which we had been led to form—that this question of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus would be reserved by Russia for discussion between the European Powers generally, and would not be made a matter of separate discussion between Russia and Turkey. It appeared afterwards, however, that there was an incorrect transmission in the telegram, and it was corrected the following day; when it appeared that the question was to be settled not between the Congress and the Emperor, but between the Sultan and the Emperor of Russia. That was entirely in accordance with what we now understand to be the aim of the Russian proposals. We have received from other quarters more or less information which throws some light upon it, and I believe I may state now without the slightest doubt—indeed, I state it on my own personal authority—that I know that the intention of the Russian proposal was that the question of the Straits—that the ulterior settlement for safeguarding the rights and interests of Russia in the Straits should be an understanding to be arrived at separately between Russia and the Porte; not, of course, excluding—because Russia could not exclude—the Powers from consequently discussing the settlement of those terms; but as between those two Powers, providing a separate arrangement could be made. So that the result would be that whenever we come to the discussion—whether in a Conference or

Congress—the Porte, if her Representatives were admitted, would be precluded from taking an independent part in the discussion, and would be bound to give her voice in the way she had already agreed to do with Russia. That is a danger which we have always thought ought to be guarded against. But, as I say, the only communication which had been made to us having been received here in the form in which it came to us—namely, that the arrangement was to be made between the Congress and the Emperor, and not between the Sultan and the Emperor—we took a different view of the matter; and understanding from the form of the telegram, that the Porte had accepted, or was ready to accept, these terms of peace, we considered that our sending up the Fleet was no longer necessary; because if the Porte had accepted the terms of peace on the basis of the armistice, it was, of course, to be presumed that there would be no further advance of Russia against Constantinople, and that there would be no danger of the tumults we had apprehended. And if the question of the navigation of the Straits was to be reserved for the consideration of a Congress, there was not the occasion which we had before imagined for the Fleet to go in and keep the waterway; and it was for that reason that we sent a counter-telegram, by which the Fleet, which had been ordered to call for orders at the entrance of the Dardanelles, was stopped, and returned from the point it had reached. That is the history which the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Renfrew, I believe, wishes me to explain to the House; and it explains the ground on which that rather unintelligible movement was made. I hope I have made the meaning as well as the order of it clear to the House. Although we knew it was a strong step, and one capable of being misunderstood and misrepresented, still it was a step which, under the circumstances, as we then understood them, we felt bound to take in order to preserve those interests which are not our own merely, but which are European also, and in order to prevent the effusion of blood and loss of property which might have been consequent on a further Russian advance. But when we believed that the necessity for such a step had passed away, when we found that

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the terms of peace had been practically accepted, and when we found ourselves coming after everything had been settled, we gladly and most readily recalled the Fleet which had been despatched. The Sultan had given an order, the firman was there, and the Fleet had entered the Dardanelles; but on receiving the order of recall, the Fleet returned to the outside of the Straits. It has been said—and it is one of the errors which have been much dwelt upon of late among the public—that we recalled the Fleet because we understood that satisfactory terms of peace had been offered by Russia and accepted by Turkey, and the question was asked—“If we had ourselves felt that the terms of peace were satisfactory, and that the necessity of sending the Fleet had so passed away, how could it be consistent with that view to persevere in moving the Vote which we are about to ask for to-night?” Sir, the two cases rest upon different grounds. The question of sending up the Fleet for the purpose of keeping the waterway, and of protecting life and property at a particular place was a question of the moment; the question of the attitude which England has to take in the Council of Nations which must shortly be expected is not a question of the moment. It is a question whether we are or are not to go into that Conference armed with the strength of a united nation, and whether we are or not to be able to speak with the voice of England as that voice ought to be heard. We hear a great deal that is very painful to hear with regard to the position—and, as some will have you believe, the humiliated and degraded position—of England. I believe myself that all this language is false—that it is as mischievous as it is false. England is not a weak country. I would challenge a comparison between the strength of England, and the strength of any other country you like to name; try it by what tests you please, and I say this, that England will come out second to none. There are points of weakness, no doubt in England; but we have great wealth, we have a great and well-appointed Navy, and we have a small but very well-appointed Army—an Army capable of great and rapid movements, and of quick and easy increase; we have positions which are of the utmost im-

portance; but, above all, we have the support of a people who are by constitution and temperament the lovers of freedom, the supporters of all that is noble, and who are ready at any time to shed their blood and expend their treasure in any cause they believe to be right. It is not because England frequently desires peace rather than war; it is not because England is slow to draw the sword, and is quick to discover any other means of advancing the interests of which she has the charge, that anyone is to be allowed to suppose either that England has no strength, or that she is afraid to use the strength she has. My belief is that, if put to the test, and roused as we might be, our strength would be found as great or greater in proportion now than it has been in former times. But, Sir, I feel there are certain sources of weakness which we must not conceal. It is a great source of weakness that we should have among us those who perpetually go about decrying and making light of the power and the spirit of the country. I am not one of those who attach great importance to what is called prestige, or who would go and engage in the expenditure of blood and of treasure for the mere purpose of keeping up the glory of the country; but what I think is even worse than the attempt by such means to increase and maintain a false prestige is the deliberate attempt to damage and destroy the proper prestige of the country. I venture to say that if by courses such as those we see on the part of some who ought, I think, to know better—if, by the course taken by such persons, England should be by degrees forced into a position which she would at once feel in her inmost heart to be a position of real humiliation—if England should once believe that she is affronted and her interests really and seriously attacked, depend upon it there would be a re-action from that feeling which would require that the humiliation should be wiped out, and wiped out in a manner we should all regret. It is not the cause of peace that is promoted by language of such description. [“Hear, hear!”] It is not the cause of peace that is promoted, if you are perpetually telling everyone that your country is afraid to go to war—[“No, no!”]—that she is too weak to go to war, that she is too divided to go to

war. ["Hear, hear!"] [An hon. MEMBER: Name!] I most respectfully decline to give names; but I would say this—that I rejoice to hear from the expression that I gather from all quarters of the House, including that from which the rather indignant cry of "Name!" proceeds, that I am expressing the sentiments, not of a Party, but of the House of Commons. It is that that we wish to ascertain. We wish it to go forth clearly to foreign countries that on one point, at all events, there are no differences of opinion. There may be differences of opinion as to whether this course or that course is the right one to take—there may be differences of opinion as to whether this interest or that interest is worth the expenditure of blood and treasure; but as to this I venture to say there is no difference—there is no difference among Englishmen that when they are satisfied as to the cause, and when they are satisfied of the importance, of entering into war—the hand of England is not shortened, and the heart of England has not grown timid. I do not desire, Sir, to pursue language of this kind; but I am glad I have strayed for a few moments into the few sentences which seem to have evoked so general an expression of opinion—an expression which, I venture to say, will be heard and do good far beyond the walls of this House. I will resume my argument only to say that if this is the position of England—if this be the real feeling, if this is the mind and wish of the English people—let us, then, when we go into the Council of Nations, be in a position to show that it is so. We are asked—"Why are you asking for this Vote; what is the object you are going to apply it to?" Sir, we ask for this money, not necessarily that that money or the greater part of it should be expended at all, provided you give us free leave and authority to expend it if we think it necessary. We have shown, I think, by our conduct that we have not been disposed, though the accusation has from time to time been made against us, to lead the country into a war from which the country would have shrunk—shrunk not from the fear of danger it might have led to; but because it would have been a war into which they could not enter with a clear conscience. But we desire that if you believe the sin-

cerity with which we ask your assistance, you should show your confidence in us by enabling us to use the force of England if the force of England it should become necessary to use. As I have said, the strength and power of England is as great as it ever was, and will stand comparison with the strength of any other Power. But you must bear in mind that the strength of England can only be measured by the power you have to make use of it. Where is the weakness of England? The weakness of England is, no doubt, in the great extent of her Dominions. If the great British Empire were concentrated, as the Empires of Russia, Germany, and France are concentrated, no doubt everyone would at once see the immense strength and power which that Empire would possess; but, in the long communications we have to guard, in the necessity we have to look after the security of our line of communication with our distant Colonies, it is, of course, rather upon our Fleet than our Army we must rely; it is upon our naval superiority, our maritime ascendancy, we must place our trust; and it is because of our great anxiety lest the changes that are taking place, or that may take place, in the East of Europe may endanger our maritime communications, and may make it necessary to spend larger sums in the maintenance and protection of our line of communications, that we are desirous of taking precautions for their proper security. We have, as I have already said, a well-appointed, though a small Land Force. That Force could never be of use, unless there should be the means of moving it as required. Everybody knows that as well as we do. Everybody knows also that, although we have brave men at home, who could, in concert with our Navy, protect those interests to which I have referred, unless you are able to place that Force wherever it may be required it would be of no avail. Everybody also knows this—that unless you have the support of the Parliament and the country of England you have no means of supporting with energy and vigour anything you undertake. Now, we are shortly, no doubt, to be parties to the great settlement that must before long be attempted. It is desirable—we consider and believe it essential—that in entering into this Council we should be able to speak with the

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

firm voice that will belong to those who not only represent a free and great and wealthy nation, but represent a nation that has confidence in them, and which will support them in whatever steps it might be necessary for them to take—we desire that we shall be armed by you with the means of so going into these negotiations. We go, we should propose to go, with no desire whatever of using force; it is not for that we ask it at all, but we desire to go armed with this, which would be, not only a Vote of Credit, but a Vote of Confidence, entitling us to speak as we should wish to speak in the Councils of Europe. If you decline to place that confidence in us, well and good; it is for you to say. We must accept your decision, but under the circumstances it would be impossible we could administer matters of so much importance any longer. We ask you to give us this Vote which we now demand with full confidence that we will not make a bad use of the trust you repose in us, and we ask you to give it to us in the full assurance that such a step on your part will not lead to the danger of war; but, on the contrary, will be the wisest and most efficient step you can take for the maintenance of peace. I am tempted before I sit down to repeat in this House a few words which I heard this morning from a foreigner of distinction—one who is not likely to take an unfriendly view towards Russia in this matter. He said—"I think what you are about to do this evening is a wise action and one that will be advantageous for the interests of Europe. We all want to be taught the lesson of prudence, and no one will be listened to unless he is strong." The right hon. Gentleman concluded by formally moving the Resolution.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £6,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the Ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, in increasing the efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey."

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:

I need not say, Sir, I do not rise to make any observations on the statement which has just been made by the right hon. Gentleman. I think the arrangement which was made at an earlier period of

the evening is a convenient one, and that any discussion which takes place had better be confined to matters of explanation; which, however, from the very clear statement of the right hon. Gentleman, I think will be hardly necessary. I rise for the purpose of making an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman. I understood the right hon. Gentleman to say he was anxious that the debate should be resumed to-morrow. Now, I was not willing to make any protest against that proposal at the time; and, in fact, the other day, when I had some conversation with the right hon. Gentleman, I said that if money were urgently wanted for the necessities of the Services, it would no doubt be better perhaps that the question should be decided without delay, and that we should proceed at once to a discussion of the proposals of the Government. But the statement which has just been made by the right hon. Gentleman, based as it is upon Papers which he has read and which are upon the Table, but not in the hands of Members, has put the matter, I think, in a totally different position. The right hon. Gentleman has very frankly stated to the House, what was apparent to everyone in the course of his speech, that the Vote which has just been proposed is the form in which the Government have decided to ask this House to pass a Vote of Confidence in them. That Vote of Confidence is based not only upon the declaration now made by the Government, but also upon their past conduct in various particulars, which have only now for the first time been unfolded to the knowledge of the House. The Papers which the right hon. Gentleman read do not appear to be voluminous; but still, if we are asked to pass a Vote of Confidence—a Vote of Confidence in this form, and based upon these Papers—in Her Majesty's Government, I think it is only respectful to Parliament that Parliament should have an opportunity of deliberating for more than one or two hours upon the real nature of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. I cannot conceive that the public service would suffer if even we should all agree that this discussion should not be proceeded with before Thursday. I cannot but think that, upon reflection, Her Majesty's Government will see that this, even to themselves, will be the most

satisfactory course. Surely it would not be satisfactory to the Government to obtain a Vote of Confidence from this House based on an *ex parte* statement and imperfectly considered Papers? If they require a Vote of Confidence, they require a Vote of Confidence which is given deliberately and after full consideration. I cannot, therefore, but think that the course I suggest is so reasonable that he will recognize the necessity of agreeing to it.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Following the example of the noble Lord, I will not now enter into a discussion of the very serious question before us; but I want to put a Question to the right hon. Gentleman. I did not wish to interfere with the course of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, although I was much tempted to ask for a particular explanation, and I hope he will be able to give it. He stated that the Government sent the Fleet into the Dardanelles with two views. One was to keep open the waterway—I do not very well understand that—and the other was to prevent tumults, disorders, and perhaps great loss of life which might possibly occur at Constantinople during the excitement in that city under the impression that the Russian Armies were near. But I want to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, at the time when a communication was made to the Sultan that the Fleet was going into the Dardanelles, and that the English Government wished it to go there, any communication of a like character was made to the Russian Government? I ask the Question because it appears to me, if the object of sending the Fleet there was only that which the right hon. Gentleman explained to the Committee, that the Russian Government, in all probability, would have been quite willing to concur in that arrangement. No doubt the Russian Government is just as anxious as our Government is—and I believe both Governments are equally anxious on that point—that there should be no tumult, or disorder, or sacrifice of life in Constantinople. The right hon. Gentleman will see that there is no reason why the Russian Government should not concur in that step; and, if that had been done, it would not have been in any degree a menace, nor would it have produced the excitement which has unfortunately been caused by it in this country. Another

point is this—I gather from the right hon. Gentleman's observations that it is intended that this Vote, if it be consented to by this House, is not to be expended for the purpose of interfering by any military force in the contest between Russia and Turkey. That, I think, is to be understood. If that be the case, then I should like to have a fair explanation whether it is necessary that England should go with shotted cannon and revolvers into a consideration of this great question with the Plenipotentiaries of the various Powers in the Conference which is intended to be held. I think we have a right to know that. I am not now objecting to the Vote, or advising the Committee as to its duty with regard to it; but I think we have a right—and the people of this country have a right—to know clearly and distinctly what are the real and ultimate objects of the Government in the proposition they have submitted.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I only wish—or at least I principally wish—to add one very easy, and as I think simple Question to the Questions put by my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham. It relates to point of interest on which I heard with surprise what fell from my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his enumeration of and his comments upon the presumed, or I may say the proposed, bases of peace. He said he had heard a rumour that there was to be a Prince of Bulgaria, to be chosen by the Emperor of Russia. I certainly listened with great surprise to that statement. Would my right hon. Friend kindly tell us what source that rumour came from? Was it transmitted home from Constantinople? I am very desirous of having in my hands the best possible means of putting a fair value on the rumour; and if I learn that it was sent home from Constantinople, I shall know pretty well what it is worth. With regard to the question raised by my noble Friend, I would venture to say one word in support of what has fallen from him. I came down to the House under the impression that we were to be asked simply for a military Vote, based on considerations connected with military subjects, and I own that I was entirely prepared to have gone forward with the debate to-night on that issue. But my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Ex-

*The Marquess of Hartington*

chequer has himself greatly widened the area of the debate. He asks for this Vote as a Vote of Confidence in the Government, and as a Vote of Confidence in the Government on the ground of the conduct of the Government in relation to this Turkish question all along. Well, Sir, it is a serious matter, even with respect to the length of the debate—and it is an extremely serious matter in other points of view—for us to determine how far it is necessary for us to enter upon that wider ground; and I put it strongly to my right hon. Friend that, if we are to be challenged to a debate the ground of which is to rest ultimately on our opinion respecting the conduct of the Government during the long and complicated transactions of the last two years and a half, we ought not to be so challenged at 24 hours' Notice. I do not speak of it as a question of convenience or inconvenience, but upon much higher considerations. I think he will feel that my noble Friend's appeal is a just and reasonable one.

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU\*: Mr. Raikes—The Chancellor of the Exchequer has not, I think, treated the House quite fairly in making this Vote of Credit a "Vote of Confidence in Her Majesty's Government." I am ready to vote as much money as the responsible Advisers of Her Majesty think it right to ask, and to vote it without delay, for defending the honour and the rights of Great Britain. But I am not prepared to endorse all the past acts of the Government, nor to express my entire confidence in them for the future. I will go farther than this, and say that I consider the whole House is pledged, by the Address on the Queen's Speech, to vote these Supplies at once. The words in the Address, which the House unanimously passed, were these—

"We thank your Majesty for informing us . . . that your Majesty cannot be blind to the fact that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent upon your Majesty to adopt measures of precaution; that such measures could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation; and that your Majesty trusts to the liberality of Parliament to supply the means which may be required for that purpose."

By voting that paragraph, Parliament committed itself to three things—First, to the possible necessity of armed inter-

vention, by Great Britain, in the East; secondly, to the Ministerial announcement that the Vote of Credit would be asked for before the unexpected necessity should arise, because the object of the Vote was stated as being to make "preparation" and to "take measures of precaution" against an unexpected danger; and, thirdly, to the expressed intention of the Government to act *motu proprio*, and without consulting Parliament, whenever they should deem it necessary to take precautions against such a danger. I am, therefore, ready to grant the necessary Supplies to Her Majesty for that object. But I am not ready to pass a Vote of Confidence in the present Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded his speech by asking for a Vote of Confidence; but he began it with very numerous assertions of ignorance; such as that "he had no positive information"; that he was "ignorant of the bases of peace"; that "he did not know whether the bases had been agreed to by the Porte"; that "he was not aware whether an armistice had been signed"; that "he had no official communications from either Russia or Turkey upon the subject"; and so forth. Yet he calls upon the House to place confidence in such a Government! To me, the concealment of all these negotiations from the British Government reveals the contempt in which we are held by Russia, and by all Europe; and the irritation and hatred which our conduct has engendered in every Mahommedan breast. The Chancellor of the Exchequer mentioned the "protracted negotiations" and the "unaccountable delays" in commencing and carrying on the negotiations for peace; and he attempted to assign causes for those delays. It seems to me that he has omitted all explicit mention of the one true cause—although, indeed, it appeared to crop up continually throughout his speech—I mean the intention of Russia to force Turkey to make a separate peace, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Russia. If anyone were to put himself in the place of Russia, and to ask himself how he would set about obtaining this end, he would at once see that he must manage to delay and prolong negotiations, which he must inaugurate between the Commanders-in-Chief; that all the while his Armies should be ad-



vancing towards strategic points; and that he must convince Turkey that she is abandoned by all Europe, and will never receive assistance from any Power. That would be the only method for forcing Turkey into a close alliance. Let us now consider what did really occur. On January 4, Lord Derby wrote a despatch (No. 16), in which, while allowing the distinction between an armistice and a peace, he said—

“It is clearly indispensable that the conditions on which it is to be granted should be discussed between the two belligerent Governments, and not between the generals in command.”

On January 8, he wrote (No. 22), that as the generals had received their instructions to negotiate—which they had not—the essential conditions had “been practically fulfilled.” It was not until the 11th, he learned that Prince Gortchakoff had not telegraphed the instructions, but had sent them by a courier—who would be a fortnight on the road—doubtless in order to create delay. But on the 10th, the Russian Commander-in-Chief, the Grand Duke Nicholas, announced (No. 32) that “the negotiations can only take place directly” between himself and the Turkish Commander, and that bases for a Treaty of Peace must first be signed before the negotiations could begin concerning an armistice. In the case of Servia, last year, and in every other case that I know of, an armistice was brought about as a step towards negotiations for a peace. In this case it was not so, for an armistice was not desired; seeing that Russia intended that her troops should advance behind the screen of protracted negotiations. Lest, however, England should regard that advance on Constantinople as a *casus belli*—for the Home Secretary, in May last in this House, said that “an attack or approach on” Constantinople should be considered as an infraction of a British interest, which we were bound to defend—lest we should move, Russia actually gave us notice on January 9th, saying that there were two conditions antecedent to negotiations—(1) That “the Russian armies should advance”—she gave us notice, so that we should not afterwards make it a *casus belli*; and (2) That “the Turks should be convinced” that England will, on no condition, give them any assistance. On the 12th, Lord Derby wrote (No. 37) to the Porte to

“convince her” most positively that no help was to be expected from England, and that England would not even act as a mediator, because Russia did not wish it. With regard to the advance of the Russian Armies, no despatch demanding explanation was ever written by Lord Derby—so said the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs the other night. How did the negotiations commence? The first thing the Russian Commander exacted was a free entrance for his troops into Adrianople; after which he said he would commence the negotiations. This was granted; and the Russians entered Adrianople, and at once advanced farther towards Constantinople, as well as towards Gallipoli—the Gibraltar of the Levant. Lest there should be any mistake as to the intention of the Russians, we were informed by telegram on January 22nd, that the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, M. de Novikoff, had endeavoured to calm the fears of the Austrian Government, by informing them that, although it was intended that the Russian Armies should occupy Constantinople, yet that the occupation should be but temporary. Delays, the “unaccountable delays,” in negotiation, then took place, during which the rapid and unceasing advance of the Russian Armies was maintained; and the conviction was, in the meanwhile, forced upon the minds of the Turks, that they must cease to look for any help from England. These steps which were taken were the very means which would be used in order to force the Porte to make a separate peace, and an offensive and defensive alliance between Russia and Islam, against England. Russia says to Turkey, as it were—“See! all your friends have abandoned you; you can hope for nothing from them; all your strong places are now in my hands, and you are completely in my power; resist me further, and I will crush you entirely; but if, on the other hand, you will join with me in alliance, I will give you the protection which Europe has denied; I will befriend you, and you shall aggrandize yourself in Persia, and extend yourself even to Hindostan; and I will always help you; and, between us, we shall rule the world, crushing the nations of the West, who have so meanly abandoned you.” This evening we have, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, been told the heads of this separate peace;

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and every single one of them is fatal to the power of England. These heads were first made known on January 25th. The first head which he mentioned was "the autonomy of Bulgaria, after the model of Servia"—of Servia, for whose good behaviour we became surety in 1867, when we persuaded Turkey to give up to her the Turkish forts. What did Servia do? Servia made a rebellion and levied war against her Suzerain in 1876; and then we saved her from destruction, and obtained for her a peace on the principle of the *status quo*, again becoming surety for her good behaviour. Within the year she again played false, and levied war on her generous Suzerain. Now, after this model, we are asked to create a Bulgarian State, which shall include the southern slopes of the Balkans—the last defence of Constantinople—as well as a port on the sea! This State is, moreover, to be ruled by a Prince selected by the Czar. This head of peace undoubtedly means that Russia shall have the power to swoop down and seize Constantinople at any moment which may suit her. The second head was "the Independence of Roumania;" and the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to think that such a provision could not be objected to by anyone. Let us look into it. There are only two Powers on the Black Sea—Russia and Turkey; Turkey with a powerful Fleet, and Russia without a Fleet. As soon as a war breaks out, the whole commerce of Southern Russia is destroyed by the ships of Turkey, and she loses the sinews of war without having the power to prevent it; for your Declaration of Paris cannot be made to apply to such a case. But constitute an independent State on the Black Sea, and Turkey can no longer stop the trade of Southern Russia as long as the Declaration of Paris is recognized; for all the Russian trade will flow through Roumania—which will remain at peace for the purpose—and be covered by the neutral flag of Roumania. The third head was "the freedom of the Dardanelles." For this, the Chancellor of the Exchequer invented a euphemistic expression, and he called it "a safeguard for the rights of Russia in the Dardanelles." [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: It was Schouvaloff's expression.] Schouvaloff's? I do not wonder; every Russian Ambassador is a great master of phrases, a weaver of

euphemistic expressions, an inventor of fallacies and amphibologies, to delude the million. But what right has Russia in the Dardanelles? Under the Treaty of 1856 Russia bound herself not to keep any ships of war in the Black Sea, except a few light ships for police purposes in the Black Sea. She chose to declare herself free from that Treaty in 1870, and Austria and Italy advised our Government to resist it by war, promising us their active alliance; even France, who was at war with Prussia, promised us her Fleet if we would resist. But England feared, because Bismarck threatened, although Prussia had her hands full with the French War. In 1871, however, Russia again bound herself by the Treaty of London. If, then, Russia has no right to ships in the Black Sea, what right has she to an egress for ships from the Black Sea? Why does she even want it? She has nothing to defend in the Mediterranean; it must be for purposes of attack. Or, rather, the purpose is, probably, to anchor in front of Constantinople, without warning, and compel submission. This head, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, is to be settled between the Sultan prostrate and the Czar triumphant—as an article of the separate peace and offensive and defensive alliance of which I have spoken. The Secretary of State for War (Mr. Hardy) said at Edinburgh that we shall never recognize a separate peace between the Czar and the Sultan. Who will care whether we do or not? We shall not fight about it, as we shall, henceforth, have to fight both the Turkish Fleet and Russian Armies. What, then, shall we do? "We shall hold a Conference," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer. What? Have you forgotten the Conference of last winter? Was that so successful that you can wish for another? Did that so cover you with glory that you have appetite for another? Was not every basis on which the holding of a Conference was agreed to shamelessly violated as soon as it met? Were not law, and right, and Treaties set aside by it? Was not your policy of non-interference set at naught by it? Were you not cajoled, bamboozled, outwitted, and befooled enough at that Conference without wishing for another? But Russia is not thinking of a Conference; she is aiming at a separate peace, and an offensive and

defensive alliance between herself and Turkey. On January 22nd we learned a confirmation of the assertion that Russia had ordered, in Germany, 41 torpedo boats for service in the Baltic. Are these for a Conference and for peace? On January 26th we were informed that the Cabinets of Copenhagen and Stockholm had appealed to our Government, saying that Russia and Germany were preparing to seize the Sound and close the Baltic. Germany will, of course, take Holland, as well as Denmark, and Russia may easily seize Sweden and Norway; and the two Powers will then threaten the shores of England. Then what will you do? Appeal to Treaties? Treaties in these days are waste paper, and you, yourselves, have ignored the obligation of Treaties. Perhaps the just retribution of Heaven is even now being prepared.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: Sir, there is a good deal in the suggestion of the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) that the debate on the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be adjourned until Thursday next; because, whilst many of us, or, indeed, most of us, would be prepared to vote money in advance, yet the reading of those despatches, and the momentous issues which are raised by the point submitted to the House, render it desirable that the Government should cheerfully acquiesce in postponing the discussion until Thursday next. Depend upon it, if their policy is good, the Government will lose nothing by the adjournment, and the House and the country will be quite as ready and willing to support them in the issues which have been raised as if these issues were brought on suddenly. However, my object in rising was rather to refer to a Question put to the Chancellor of the Exchequer by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). He said—

“I think that a very false impression would get about if we supposed that the money asked for would be for the purpose of going with shotted guns and revolvers into a Congress of Peace.”

I feel sure that the House of Commons and the country will believe that the money which is now asked for will not be employed unless it is absolutely necessary. They have stated as much. It is meant to be employed solely and only

for the honour and interests of England, if these interests are imperilled. But it certainly should not go forth to the country to-morrow morning, without an emphatic contradiction of such an insinuation, that the Government to-night have asked for money for the purpose—to use the expression of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham—of going with shotted guns and revolvers into a Congress of Peace. There is another point—one raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone)—who, I think, misinterpreted the use of an expression of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He said that it was a Vote of Confidence as well as of Credit. Now, the Chancellor of the Exchequer did use those words; but I recollect exactly the same phrase being employed by the right hon. Gentleman opposite when he asked for a grant of money during the war between France and Germany. He then expressed himself in terms, although, perhaps, not in words, very much as follows:—“Place in our hands that credit, and place confidence in us that we will only use it in the event of the interests of the Empire being imperilled; place confidence in us in such a manner as to believe that we will employ it in the interests of the country.” I suppose I may be wrong; but my impression is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer meant to say—“Grant us this money and place confidence in the Government that they will employ it only on a fitting and necessary occasion.” If, of course, a Vote of Confidence is to be passed in the policy of the Government that is a totally different question. But I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not say that. He did not say it shall be a Vote of Confidence in the policy of the Government, but it shall be a Vote of Confidence in the Government as regards this particular grant of money; though I believe that if a Vote of Confidence in the policy of the Government were wanted, it would be responded to by a very remarkable majority. He asks for the £6,000,000, in my judgment, to enable the Government to show a bold front if it be necessary, and as a proof of the confidence of Parliament that the money will be expended rightly and properly.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I hardly need say that I do not intend to follow

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either my noble Friend behind me or the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Robert Peel) by any remarks upon the general question of the Supplementary Vote; but I understand that an arrangement or understanding was come to at the beginning of the evening that after the statement of the right hon. Gentleman had been made we should report Progress and consider it on a future day; and I think hon. Members must now see that such a course is absolutely necessary, as we have not got the materials before us upon which we can form an opinion. I merely rise to support the appeal of my noble Friend, seconded by the right hon. Baronet opposite, that we should not be asked to continue the discussion to-morrow. The Government might have pleaded the immediate necessity for action; but I understand that the right hon. Gentleman did not make any such appeal. He used the words that the despatch of the Fleet was a question of the moment. Undoubtedly it was, and the countermanding of the order was also a question of the moment. But he added that the question which he now brought before the Committee was the attitude which the Government should take in the Conference; but as the appointment of a Conference is not a matter of a day or two, we ought not to be asked for a decision before the materials are laid before us. I am not going into the question as to the exact interpretation to be placed upon the right hon. Gentleman's closing words. I understood him to end with an appeal to the House—especially to Members on his own side—for a Vote of Confidence. But taking the interpretation placed upon these words by the right hon. Baronet opposite, there is, at all events, an appeal for a Vote of Confidence in the last acts of the Government. We do not know what they are. We have heard the right hon. Gentleman's explanation of a part of them; but he referred to certain despatches, and until these are before us we can really form no opinion whatever either on the recent conduct of the Government, or upon the actual condition of the country as represented by the Government. Therefore, it does seem to me that the Government can hardly refuse to give us, at any rate, an opportunity of looking at the Papers, in order that we may consider what steps we should take. I think it is hardly

necessary to enforce that appeal by reminding the right hon. Gentleman that my noble Friend asked for the Papers on Thursday, and it was understood that, if possible, they should be given on Friday.

MR. BROMLEY-DAVENPORT hoped the Government would be firm and not give way. If they did, everybody knew what would happen. The country would be agitated from one end to the other.

MR. TREVELYAN said, he hoped the hon. Member would remember that what was asked for was a Vote of Confidence, in whatever sense the words might be used. The hon. Gentleman had his confidence ready made; but he and others had to pick their confidence with great difficulty out of the Papers which would be laid before them by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

MR. LAING wished to know from the Government, seeing that the decision of Wednesday last to send the Fleet through the Dardanelles must have been of the greatest importance, since it had led to the resignation or contemplated resignation of two Ministers, one of them no less a person than the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whether our Admiral was instructed, should a Turkish force have retreated to Gallipoli and there been attacked by an advancing Russian force, to take part in the operations in support of the Turks?

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, under ordinary circumstances it was difficult to resist a demand for time to enable hon. Members on both sides of the House to read the Papers in order that they might make up their minds on an important question. It would, no doubt, be in the recollection of the House that a certain number of hon. Members had declared in and out of the House that, under no circumstances, would they vote a shilling of money in connection with the contest between Turkey and Russia. His objection to delay was that by assenting to it the Ministry would appear to the country to falter in their policy and to have some misgiving as to the purposes for which the present Vote was proposed. A habit had sprung up lately which, in his opinion, did not conduce to the dignity of the House or its proceedings—he alluded to the system of telegraph wire pulling on questions on which its Members did not happen to be of

one mind. There was no one in that House who had a greater respect than he had for the deliberate, cool expression of the opinion of the nation; but he now protested, and always should protest, against degrading the Members of the House into the position of delegates, and against a system of what he might call wired-up agitation on a subject of the most extreme gravity, for the purpose of bringing pressure to bear upon them. He hoped the Government would hold on to their course and take all the responsibility upon themselves. That the meetings got up in the country upon this question expressed the deliberate opinions of the people he denied, and he objected to be ruled by the mobocracy.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am surprised to hear the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire denouncing public meetings. I saw a report of the speech of the hon. Member the other day—he had a St. James's Hall of his own—which he had made at a great aristocratic society, presided over by a noble Duke, in which he spoke in favour of war. [MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON: The hon. and learned Gentleman is quite incorrect.] I read the speech, and am therefore fully able to judge. I say that the speech and the meeting was to press upon the Government to enter upon the war, and the hon. Gentleman who has been denouncing public meetings in the country in favour of peace, was the man who went to St. James's Hall to join in the agitation in favour of war. It was not an open meeting, but a select, social meeting, because neither he nor any other member of the War Party dare hold any such meeting. And now he has appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as a Member of the Conservative Party, to be in a hurry to get a Vote of Confidence in the Government of the country. They are going, then, by the advice of the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire, to snatch a verdict, because they cannot afford to postpone the discussion for a day in order to see whether public opinion would pronounce against it. I do not do injustice to the Government and his Party to suppose they will adopt so unworthy a suggestion. I will now address myself to something which deserves your consideration. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has put his case upon one very material matter. The great part of his

speech was occupied in the order of the British Fleet to enter the Dardanelles. I do not know whether it was an order or a revocation of the order—it might be both—but it was a serious matter, because the entry of the Fleet into the Dardanelles was an act of war. It was an act of war. I venture to say, there is no statesman or jurist in Europe who will deny that to enter into the territory or the territorial waters of the belligerents for the purpose of interfering with the acts of those belligerents is an act of war. I will not say whether it was a justifiable act on the part of the Government. We shall see, when we have the Papers before us, what justification there was for doing an act of war—an act of war which was ordered by the Government on Wednesday last. On Thursday they give Notice of the Vote in the House of Commons, which has been summoned three weeks before the usual time. They never told the House of Commons then that they had ordered the Fleet to the Dardanelles. That was on Thursday. The resolution was taken on Wednesday. The order was standing at the time—the Fleet was actually sailing for the Dardanelles—at the time the Chancellor of the Exchequer stood at that box and announced this Vote, and he never told the House of Commons they had done it. Now he asks us to place confidence in the Government for the future. There may be grounds in these Papers for asking that confidence. Hon. Gentlemen opposite cheered very loudly when he said—"It is a monstrous thing that you don't place confidence in the Government; you ought all to do so on both sides." Well, then, what a curious thing it is that two years' old Colleagues don't place that confidence in you. You ask us to place this confidence in you without Papers. You are quite right, because your Colleagues, who did see the Papers, did not place confidence in you. It is a most extraordinary demand for a hurried Vote of Confidence. Let us see the Papers and discuss them, and then let us see whether this Vote of Confidence is so well founded, and whether we shall be as much convinced as your Colleagues were that such confidence ought to be placed.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, the hon. and learned Member (Sir William Harcourt) seemed to have for-

*Mr. C. Beckett-Denison*

gotten, when making an attack upon him, that the House was in Committee, and that an hon. Member so attacked had a right to reply. He was not disconcerted by anything which the hon. and learned Member had said of a personal nature. The hon. and learned Gentleman had said that the meeting to which he had alluded was a packed meeting. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I did not say it was a "packed" meeting.] The meeting in question was held for the purpose of hearing a lecture, which was given by a gentleman (Mr. Borthwick) well known and much respected in that House, in order to disseminate information on this subject. It fell unexpectedly to his lot to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and that was all. The hon. and learned Member had therefore gone out of his way to found a personal attack upon what he had said in proposing that vote of thanks. But a few days before, the hon. and learned Gentleman himself, addressing his constituents at Oxford, quoted one of the proverbs of Solomon. He was afraid that the hon. and learned Member was going to throw at their heads another proverb from the same authority, but the hon. and learned Gentleman had spared them that infliction. In his speech to his constituents, the hon. and learned Member said, if it came to be a question of interfering with the interests of England in regard to the Dardanelles and the Suez Canal, he, in his great goodness and superior wisdom, would permit one citizen of Oxford to shed his blood, but under no smaller circumstances would he permit him to do anything of the kind. The hon. and learned Member would have an opportunity a few days hence to put his promise to the test. He would like to know where the hon. and learned Gentleman would draw the line. Perhaps if the Suez Canal were attacked, he might go farther back and say—"When one of the sources of the Nile is attacked I will permit it." The hon. and learned Member's patriotism was to go down to the vanishing point; and all that he did now—as he had done on every public occasion—was to embarrass and throw difficulties in the way of Her Majesty's Government.

Mr. CHILDERS wished to put a Question to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to his answer to him (Mr. Childers) on Friday last.

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He had asked the right hon. Gentleman what the nature of the Vote would be; and the reply he received was that it would be simply a Supplementary Estimate for a large amount required for the service of the year 1877-8. The right hon. Gentleman also read certain words from what appeared to be the Estimate itself, as it would be laid upon the Table of the House. Those words contained no mention of a Vote of Credit; but they did contain a passage to the effect that the sum to be asked for would include the cost of the "further increase of the Land Forces." The Estimate in question had now been converted into a Vote of Credit, which would be apparently applicable to no particular year. It was now drawn something like the Votes of Credit for the Abyssinian and the Ashantee Expeditions, except that the word "Estimate" did not appear in it anywhere. He therefore wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman—Was this to be a Supplementary Estimate for the current financial year, so that any balance unpaid on the 31st of March would be surrendered to the Exchequer; or was it to be a Vote of Credit available in the coming year?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: With regard to the Question just put to me, it certainly is a point whether this ought to be a Supplementary Estimate, or a Vote of Credit, but this is the form of it—

"Vote of Credit for the sum required beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, in increasing the efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey."

That is the form of the Motion now in the Chairman's hands.

Mr. CHILDERS begged to repeat that, on Friday last, the Chancellor of the Exchequer read distinctly from a Paper which he gave the House to understand was to be a Supplementary Estimate; and the right hon. Gentleman said not one word about a Vote of Credit. The Paper since distributed among hon. Members stated nothing about Supplementary Estimates, but spoke only of a Vote of Credit; but the form was that of a statement explanatory of the Vote, no Estimate for which had been printed.

The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the Vote provided for an increase of the Land Forces; and as there appeared no mention of them in the Paper that had been circulated, he asked the right hon. Gentleman whether the Land Forces were to be increased?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: With regard to the last point, the omission of the number of men, I am not at this moment able to explain what exactly was done by the War Office, as to the striking out of these words. What is still included in the Vote is pay and staff allowances. There would, of course, be a separate Vote required if men should be wanted; but I understand that the men will not be required at present, because there are men enough for a service for which they might be needed. With reference to the expression "Vote of Credit," I have no doubt that this is properly so called. It states that it is a Vote of Credit to the 31st March, 1878, and any balance is to go back into the Exchequer. I consulted the highest authority in the Treasury on such subjects, and he said—"You were wrong technically in describing it as a 'Supplementary Estimate;' you ought to have said 'Vote of Credit.' But, after all, it is only a technical difficulty." The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Childers) may rest assured that any portion of this sum of money not expended before the 31st of March next is to be surrendered to the Exchequer. It is not to be, as some old Votes used to be, a Vote to go over the year and expire with the year. Several Questions have been put to me, to which I will give the best answer that I can. My right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) asked where the rumour as to the possibility of a Russian Prince being put at the head of the Bulgarian Principality came from? Well, I only gave it as a rumour, and I was stating it to show the uncertainty which attaches to the terms of peace, as we have them, and to show that they are not definite enough to exclude such a possibility. I stated that I had heard many rumours. I should not have mentioned a rumour if it had not been one that had sufficiently attracted my attention; but I do not think it right or proper to say from whom it came, and I was arguing upon it, not as if it were a real argument against these terms of peace, but as a reason for our being

careful how we expressed our opinion with regard to them until we knew more definitely what the bases meant and covered. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Did the rumour come from Constantinople?] I must decline to answer. I do not say it came from Constantinople. My right hon. Friend puts Questions in a way that many people do. He says—"Now I am going to ask you about this. Is it or is it not so? If you won't answer me I shall know of course that it is so." From the very beginning to the end of my right hon. Friend's catechism I beg to oppose an obstinate silence. There was a Question put by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) as to whether, when we ordered the Fleet to go to the Dardanelles, any communication was made to the Russian Government? Well, no communication was made to any Government, because it was so very shortly afterwards countermanded—[Laughter]—yes, because it was so soon countermanded—and I may answer both the right hon. Member for Birmingham and the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) upon that point by the same statement. The hon. and learned Member for Oxford complains that we came down to the House on Thursday and gave Notice of a Vote to-day without stating that we had already given this order to the Fleet. The right hon. Member for Birmingham asks whether, at the same time that we gave the order, did we communicate to the Russian Government why we gave it? We did neither the one nor the other, and for this reason—that a movement of that sort could not be made unless precautions were taken to prevent any possibility of its being intercepted by information being prematurely disclosed; but, as has already been stated—I think by the Prime Minister in the House of Lords—we had prepared a communication to be made, not only to the Russian Government, but to all the Governments of Europe, as to the grounds upon which the Fleet was so sent; and I may also state upon this point that there is no doubt whatever as to the manner in which the Fleet was to be employed. In answer to the other Questions of the right hon. Gentleman, I will read the orders that were sent to Admiral Hornby on the 23rd. These were the orders—

*Mr. Childers*

"Telegram sent to Admiral Hornby,

"January 23, 1878.

"Most Secret.

"Sail at once for the Dardanelles, and proceed with the Fleet now with you to Constantinople.

"You are to abstain from taking any part in the contest between Russia and Turkey; but the water-way of the Straits is to be kept open, and in the event of tumult at Constantinople you are to protect life and property of British subjects.

"Use your judgment in detaching such vessels as you may think necessary to preserve the water-way of the Dardanelles, but do not go above Constantinople.

"Report your departure and communicate with Beika Bay for possible further orders, but do not wait if none are there.

"Keep your destination absolutely secret."

Well, certainly it would not have been necessary to tell the Admiral to keep his destination absolutely secret if we had published it in this House. My noble Friend the Member for Westmeath (Lord Robert Montagu) asked me as to a separate peace between Russia and Turkey, and also with regard to certain proceedings of the Russian Government of which he has heard, but about which I am not in a position to give him any information. My noble Friend can form his own judgment upon them. I can only say that the whole gist of my argument was that I presumed that a separate peace would be made between Russia and Turkey, and that that would render it necessary for us to be on our guard as to what effect it might have upon the interests of Europe. I have now answered most of the Questions which have been put to me; but there is one remark which I made, and which I must beg pardon of the Committee for having made in a manner which has led apparently to its being misunderstood. I had no intention whatever to describe this Vote of Credit as a general Vote of Confidence in the whole policy of the Government in connection with the war and the Turkish question. It would have been most unfair for me to do so; but what I wanted to do was this. It was possible, of course, that I might have come forward and said—"We ask you for £6,000,000, which will be spent in such or such a way. We tell you precisely what purpose we want it for, and what is to be done with it;" but I came forward and said—"We do not ask for it on these terms; we ask for it in order that we may be able to go into

Conference and into negotiations with the force of England at our back."

"Oh," the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham says, "we are to vote loaded cannons and revolvers." That is not the way in which such a proceeding ought to be described. We ask for the strength of England; and I say if we are to be of any use in these Conferences, if the voice of England is to be heard, there must be some evidence, some outward and visible sign of our being possessed of the confidence of England in the course we must take. If we are to be told upon all occasions—

"Yes, it is all very well to say you insist upon such and such terms, and you object to such and such terms; but who are you? We must refer back to the other—the real—voice of England, which does not speak through you." I say our position would be one which would be not only humiliating to ourselves but detrimental to the country, and that if you will not give us this with the amount of confidence which we ask you to show in asking you to give that money to dispense in the manner that we may think necessary, you had better not give it us at all. That is the point, and of course the House will bear in mind that it is impossible for us to take any steps of a warlike or of an important character without its becoming speedily known in this country and in Parliament. You always have a check over us; but if you think we are not to be trusted, then I say the sooner we leave power in the hands of those who can be trusted the better. There is only one thing more, and that is when this debate is to be resumed. I had certainly hoped that when this proposal was made the Committee would have been willing to go on with it at once, but the noble Lord suggested that a reasonable time should be given; and I cannot deny that if there is a strong impression upon the part of those who wish to take part in the debate that they ought to have rather more time to examine the Papers that are laid upon the Table, it would be wrong in us to refuse to give it. As this is a point upon which we challenge the general confidence of the country, we shall consent to report Progress, and consider the matter further on Thursday.

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Wednesday*.



## COUNTY ADMINISTRATION BILL.

LEAVE. FIRST READING.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH said, he need make no apology if he prefaced the introduction of the Bill, of which he had given Notice, by a few preliminary observations. As was well known, the idea of county financial administration was very different from what it was 20 or 25 years ago. At that time the general feeling was simply that the ratepayers of the country had no adequate representation in the body that administered the financial affairs of the country—that was to say, the court of quarter sessions. It was not disputed that the magistrates who constituted that court discharged their duties honourably and well; and that, being themselves ratepayers, as well as owners of property, they had a large interest in the proper administration of the county finance. But it was at the same time felt—and it was true—that the great mass of the ratepayers had no sufficient representation on the court, and had no direct control over the increase or diminution of the expenditure for which they had to provide. It was true that a very large part of the expenditure of the county did not depend upon the discretion of the magistrates, or of the ratepayers, but was imposed and levied under express Acts of Parliament. For this expenditure the magistrates were in no way responsible; they did not originate it, and were no more than the agents of the legislation which imposed it, and consequently the collection and expenditure of the county rate was to a great extent a matter of administrative necessity. Nevertheless, within the 20 years preceding the period to which he had alluded, there had arisen, not only a great increase of expenditure, but also a great increase of indebtedness, in consequence of the establishment of the county police, the building of new prisons, and the requirements of the Pauper Lunatic Acts; and the dissatisfaction which had arisen from these circumstances found expression in various Bills which were introduced into Parliament attempting to provide a more effectual system of regulating and administering the county finance. In 1852 a right hon. Gentleman, then President of the Board of Trade, but no longer a Member of this House (Mr. Milner

Gibson), introduced a Bill for the regulation of county rates and expenditure, the principle of which was the establishment of a county financial board; to be composed half of ratepayers elected by Board of Guardians, and half of magistrates elected by the court of quarter sessions. This Bill was referred to a Select Committee, but was not afterwards proceeded with. Mr. Hodgkinson, the Member for Newark, in 1860, and Sir William Galloway and Mr. Wyld, then Member for Bodmin, in 1868 introduced Bills dealing with the subject. In 1869 the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Sandwich (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) introduced a Bill which went no further than the first reading, and was then withdrawn. In the year 1871 the measure of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Goschen) was introduced, but not proceeded with, and since then no legislation on the subject had been attempted. He (Mr. Solater-Booth) thought there were good reasons why the proposals which were renewed from time to time in these Bills failed to command the assent of the public; because, from the time when this series of measures began—namely, 1852, down to the present time, no new functions had been given to the magistrates, nor had any new burdens been thrown on the county rate. The policy of Parliament, on the contrary, had been to avoid any measure of that kind, and the uniform practice of successive Governments, and the recommendations of Committees of both Houses and of Royal Commissions had been, when new functions were required to be discharged in country districts, that these functions should be relegated to the Boards of Guardians. That had been now the practice for a good many years. The Guardian was, in the first instance, a parish officer; but afterwards became, by the Union Chargeability Act, the representative of a union. He was then required to construct the valuation lists of rateable property. He was afterwards required to exercise the functions of sanitary authority in the rural districts; and only the other day was suggested and matured the idea of making him an educational authority throughout the Kingdom. This being the case, we had nevertheless lately had a revival of the old feeling for a county board, and various views had been put forward with regard to it.

He would first of all notice a well-known expression of the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), who said we wanted municipalities for counties. He quite agreed with this expression to a certain limited extent; it was a half truth of some importance, and, so far as it was true, he hoped the Bill now to be introduced would carry it into effect. As far as regarded the representation of the general interests and policy of counties; in that sense, no doubt the expression of the right hon. Gentleman was strictly accurate. But what was the more material object of municipalities? It was to provide for the population certain comforts and conveniences which they could not provide for themselves, but which, as population grew, became necessities of existence—such as the scavenging, paving, and lighting of streets, the sewage of towns, the providing a gas and water supply for houses. But, as far as these duties required a municipal authority for their discharge, he must contend that they were already provided for by the rural sanitary authority. In the Public Health Act of 1875, which summed up and consolidated the pre-existing law, would be found a complete code of municipal management for the rural districts laid down in successive stages under the head of “urban powers,” “parochial committees,” and “local board districts,” and he must assure the House, in spite of the prejudice which had been thrown on it, that the institution of local boards was growing in favour in populous communities. The hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone) sometimes alluded to the establishment of county boards as a sort of panacea for the existing wide-spread disorder and confusion of area, as if by a stroke of the wand a county board would be able to turn chaos into order, or extravagance into thrift, and complications into facilities; but he could assure the House that if the local government of this country had become more or less confused to the eye of the outward spectator, it was known perfectly well what rights and liberties were given by these local institutions, and he doubted very much whether it was in the power of this or any government, or of any county board, to diminish or detract from the independence or the privileges now enjoyed by those commu-

nities, although, perhaps, their increase might be in future, to some extent, restricted. Now, he was as desirous as his hon. Friend that attention should be paid by the county authority to the condition of separate local areas within the counties, and he hoped to give sufficient place in the Bill for that function. He also hoped to improve the financial powers of the local authorities, and that economy might be the result. He thought the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) had been misled in supposing that the heavy indebtedness of local authorities, to which he had so often drawn attention, would be held in check by any county authority. The greater part of that indebtedness had been contracted by independent urban communities, which no county board could check. There was one point, however, upon which all would agree—that there was room at this moment for a local authority to be set up which would satisfy the principle contended for in former days of giving representation to the counties, and also satisfy some urgent needs which were now beginning to be felt, and which the law as it stood at present had no means of providing for. There was, for instance, the grievance arising from the state of the main roads of the country as the turnpikes fell in; there was the grievance felt in counties from the enormous expenditure on lunatic asylums; there was the grievance so prominently brought forward last year connected with the flooding of various districts. All these and other things seemed now to have been brought to that point that the attention of Parliament had been sufficiently called to them, and would enable the Government, with effect, perhaps, to deal with them; and he hoped to do so by this Bill. At all events, the Government were of opinion that the time had come for constituting a new county authority which would rectify grievances, discharge certain new duties, and guide and direct county policy. The Government were most anxious that the body which they would set up should possess certain qualifications; that it should be of such a character as to represent both owners and occupiers; that it should have a sufficiently extensive standpoint from which to survey and direct the general interests of the county; that it should engage the services of the

most competent and experienced men of the county, and thus be such a body as to attract the general confidence, not only of the ratepayers, but of the public; and lastly, that it should, if possible, be free from political bias. Now, in approaching the subject, the natural and obvious method was to collect from the various local institutions of the county a body which would be sufficiently independent, and which should take charge not only of the matters to which he had alluded, but also of a great many other things besides; but the objections to this course were found on examination to be insuperable. The Government had accordingly determined upon a plan of identifying the county board with the court of quarter sessions in its executive capacity. One felt that it would be extremely undesirable to have two authorities dealing with a county rate; if the two authorities were kept separate it was obvious that there were a great many executory functions appertaining to the idea of justice, which could not conveniently be removed from the authority of the magistrates. It was felt that the existing county officers, whose time from year to year was less and less called upon, might have the new services consolidated with their former duties, and most of the functions at present discharged by the magistrates could be transferred to the new county authority. He had every reason to think that the transfer of business might be effected without friction, and without inconvenience or injury to those who were interested out-of-doors, or to the officers themselves. He thought there had been eight or 10 Bills on the subject, and they had all proceeded on the assumption that a certain number of magistrates should form the nucleus of the county board, and all but one of them vested the election in the Boards of Guardians. The great question was as to the elective element. It was quite evident that the ratepayers could not be brought together to vote in one single centre on a matter of this kind. What divisions were there that they could have recourse to? There were the unions and the petty sessional districts. There were grave objections to the use of unions for the purposes of the Bill, for nearly one-third of them overlapped the county boundaries. The cases of overlapping were 400, although the

number of unions concerned only numbered 180. Another objection to the use of unions was that they included, as a rule, the quarter sessions boroughs, with which this Bill did not propose to deal. The decision of the Government had been to adopt the petty sessional district as the elective area. Each parish had its Guardian, and he would vote as the representative man of his parish. Let it be observed that there was a very great advantage in this plan. In addition to avoiding complication they took the guardian away from the work-house, where he had not really in this capacity so much to do, to the central town of his district, where he would vote in public, not as a member of the Board of Guardians, but as the representative of his parish, and that in a place at which every Guardian in the county could readily attend. Of course, there were objections to the petty sessional areas; but, on the whole, they presented not at all an inconvenient basis for the formation of county boards. It had been said by some of the newspapers, in criticizing what they supposed he was about to say, that the constitution of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and of the Metropolitan Asylums Board was not satisfactory; because the members were appointed by vestries, and there was no direct representation of the ratepayers. He would not stop to defend those bodies, though he did not concur in the criticisms to which he referred; but he might point out that the plan he laid before the House was a very different one from that under which they were constituted, for the Guardians would not be called upon to vote in a hole-and-corner fashion as it were, but would come out publicly for the purpose. In order to show the advantage of selecting the petty sessional districts he would quote a few figures. In Berkshire, out of 15 unions, 11 transgressed the county boundaries; in Devonshire there were 20 unions, and 15 of these overlapped; whilst in Radnorshire, where there were five unions, all of them overlapped. In fact, out of a list he had of 10 counties, he found there were 187 unions, 105 of which overlapped the county boundaries. One of the arguments in favour of the plan he proposed was that they had the division ready to hand. Of course a Royal Commission might, in half-a-

*Mr. Slater-Booth*

dozen years, lay out a better plan, but they wanted one for immediate application. The constitution of the county board was contained in eight clauses of the Bill. County magistrates were to elect at Michaelmas two of their body to serve on the county board in respect of each petty sessional division of their county. In the month of November in each year the Guardians would be summoned from the parishes within the county to assemble at the petty sessional head-quarters, where they also would proceed to elect two members to serve on the county board in respect of their petty sessional divisions. Then there came the question of the boroughs. It was not proposed to include in the Bill the quarter sessions boroughs, which were, for the most part, independent of the county rate. There was, however, a class of boroughs of great importance, which had a separate commission of the peace, though not a separate quarter sessions. The whole of these boroughs contributed to the county rate. They varied much in size, and were about 92 in number. It was proposed to deal with them by a somewhat rough method, which, however, seemed on the whole to be most convenient. It was proposed that all of these boroughs which had less than 20,000 inhabitants should be dealt with as parts of the county. They would by their Guardians contribute to elect the elective members for the petty sessional district to which they would be attached for this purpose. With regard to the boroughs having above 20,000 inhabitants, it was proposed that they should be treated as separate local areas, and should be represented on the county boards by four members, to be nominated by their town councils. Taking all these points into consideration—and great care had been taken to arrive at a proper quota of members for the county—he believed the numbers fixed would be found sufficient and satisfactory. He would mention a few as examples of all. Berkshire would have 48 members; Derbyshire, 52; Durham, 78; Essex, 68; Hereford, 44; Kent, 68; Lancashire, 150—not at all too large a number—as there were 800 county magistrates who now had the opportunity of attending the county sessions; Norfolk, 96, not too large a number for so extensive a county; Northamptonshire, 86; Northumber-

land, 56; Shropshire, 76; Somersetshire, 86; and Wilts, 72. Without going through the whole list, he thought that he had quoted sufficient to show that the number of the members of these county boards would be by no means in excess of the duties that would have to be discharged by them. Very important new functions were to be assigned to these boards. It was proposed that the management of the main roads should be transferred to them, half of the expense of keeping these roads in repair being defrayed from the county road fund, and half by the parish through which they ran. One clause he had inserted in the Bill with considerable hesitation, inasmuch as it empowered the county boards, in certain cases, with the consent of Parliament, which would always be required, to establish turnpike gates. He should be prepared to show that there were some cases of extraordinary hardships, of which the House could scarcely be aware, in which it would be most unfair to throw the cost of the repairs upon the county board or upon the parish. Thus where there was a large mineral traffic to and from a railway station, or where the communication between two large towns ran through a small parish, it would be manifestly fair to raise the funds for the repair of the road by some such means as tolls. It was also proposed to give county boards power to enforce the repair of the roads. They would also be empowered to take upon themselves the duties of river conservators, and likewise to put in force the provisions of the Rivers Pollution Prevention Act. He admitted that owing to the different interests which were affected by rivers this power would involve difficult and delicate duties; but any improvement in the management of our rivers seemed hopeless unless a beginning were made, and he thought, therefore, the present opportunity a golden one for transferring the conservancy of rivers to a county authority. Acting in this capacity they would have power to remove obstructions, to improve outfalls, the navigation of the river, and the flow of water therein. On this point he should be most happy to receive suggestions. He did not propose to deal peremptorily with the provisions of the existing Acts; but there was reason to think that there were a large number of rivers the con-

servators and trustees of which would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity of getting rid of their duties and responsibilities. The county boards would also be entrusted with the provision and care of asylums and schools for the imbecile paupers, and for idiotic and other pauper children. And they would be empowered to prepare schemes for forming the whole or parts of their county into one district for the purpose. The word "school," he should add, for the information of his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim), was defined to include "training ship," so it would be competent to a county board by themselves, or in union with other counties, to establish a training ship on the coast. It was also proposed, with a view to prevent the inconvenience which arose from the overlapping of unions, parishes, and other districts, to give power to the county board to propose schemes for the dissolution of existing areas, and for the rectification of existing boundaries, where it was thought desirable to do so. This power already existed in the hands of the central authority—the Local Government Board; but it was found extremely difficult to put it in force, as regarded unions, although a good deal had been done in the way of re-constructing the divided parts of parishes. The next was, he feared, one of the most radical of all the provisions of the Bill; but he believed it was one which would meet with but little opposition on either side of the House. It was proposed that the time-honoured institution, according to which coroners were now elected by the freeholders, should no longer exist, and that the election of coroners should be committed to the county board. There was also proposed to be given power to the county boards to borrow money on the security of general rates, not only for the purposes of the Act, but also with a view to lend money to smaller bodies, thus forming financial centres, which it was hoped and believed would work beneficially. They would enable Guardians and other bodies to borrow on easy terms, and be an inducement to the people of the locality to lend money on good security, and they would also bring under the notice of the county authorities a general view of the financial condition of the respective districts. He

*Mr. Selater-Booth*

had now gone through the greater number of the 48 clauses of the Bill. The remainder gave directions as to how the various functions of the county board were to be discharged, and defined the administrative business which was to remain in the hands of the magistrates and that which was to be transferred to the county board. They also contained directions as to the mode in which the elections were to be conducted, the term of office being limited to a year, and provided the necessary machinery for the elections. His statement would not be complete if he did not refer very briefly. Of course it would be said that the elections should be direct by the ratepayers, and not through the agency of the Guardians. He believed direct election would be very unpopular, and it would certainly be very expensive. They had some evidence as to expense in what had occurred in connection with school boards. He found that, in 1876, 150 school board contests had cost the ratepayers not less than £23,000. Assuming that there would be contests in every parish, the cost of an election direct by the ratepayers would be not less than £100,000. That might be thought an extravagant sum, but it was founded on a careful estimate, and its correctness was singularly illustrated by a recent experience of his own on a small scale in connection with an election relating to the New Forest. There was a natural feeling against expenditure of that kind, but he went further, and said there was no occasion for it. The great interest of the ratepayers was in the election of the Guardians, who spent 2s 6d. in the pound, not in the administration of the county rate, which, when the Prison Act was in full operation, would amount to no more than 1½d. in the pound; but what did they find as regards the interest manifested in the election of Guardians? Why, that in 1875, out of 14,000 parishes in England, there were 456 contests only, and those, for the most part, in populous towns where Party and political feeling ran high and was brought freely into play. Was it too much to ask that the House of Commons would set an example to the country at large and treat this serious question apart from Party considerations? That was a bold thing to ask with regard to the first matter mentioned in Her Majesty's

Speech; nevertheless, he was encouraged in making the request, partly because of what was said in the debate last year, and partly because of his own experience in these subjects. The question was too important to be dealt with in a narrow spirit. He was glad to say, and he acknowledged it gratefully, that since he had been in office he had received the utmost consideration from both sides of the House, and he had found there was a disposition to keep questions arising in his Department apart from politics. He highly appreciated the indulgence which had been extended to him in former to two measures which, at a later period of the evening, he would ask leave to introduce—one was their old friend the Valuation Bill, and the other the Highway Amendment Bill. With respect to the former, the House was already familiar with its leading provisions, and he might add that some new clauses were introduced, one of which would specially charge the county board with the duty of enforcing the uniform rating of unions *inter se*, and some of the Amendments placed on the Paper last year had been adopted. The second was what was generally denominated an omnibus Bill, and proposed sundry amendments of the existing law, which he hoped would be considered satisfactory by the House. Among them was a proposal that when a highway district was to be repaired the rate for the repairs should run over the whole district, although geological or geographical considerations might lead to a division of a particular district. With respect to the Bill he was about to ask leave to bring in, he hoped nobody would say that it was not a *bona fide* and thorough-going measure. It did not go so far as some hon. Members might desire; on the other hand, it went further than other hon. Members might approve; but Her Majesty's Government were of opinion that if new and ample powers were not to be placed in the hands of the county boards they were not justified in proposing so large a change as the Bill, if it passed, would effect. It would provide the means of meeting real grievances and might be put into immediate operation. It might be objected that it bore too quarter sessional an aspect; but he hoped at the proper time to show that that was not the case, and it should be borne in mind that it would be attended with this ad-

vantage—that it would secure the experience and knowledge of the county officers and of the most active and competent of the magistrates in the carrying out of its provisions. It might be said that petty sessional districts varied in size; but there was no separate interest in one petty sessional area as compared with another. It was not like one town against another town, or a town against a county. It was more like the relation of one ward compared with another ward of a borough. He believed the arrangement he proposed would provide adequate representation. Sessions. Unless this conciliatory spirit were acted upon such a difficult subject as that of local government would never be satisfactorily settled, nor could such questions as the consolidation of the Sanitary Acts and the purification of rivers have been dealt with as they deserved. All he asked for the present measure was fair play. Although, therefore, he did not presume that this measure would do other than stand or fall by its merits, he believed he would find a disposition on the part of the House to see this great experiment carried into operation and a workable and satisfactory Bill passed. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving for leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the Administration of County business, and to make further provision for County Government.

MR. GOSCHEN said, the right hon. Gentleman had made a clear statement of the principles and scope of the proposed measure, and might with certainty anticipate that it would be discussed with impartiality on both sides of the House. There was a general desire to keep local government reforms free from Party action, although it was not always possible to do so, as he had good reason to recollect. Passing over the functions and powers to be assigned to the boards when they were established, he would make a few remarks upon the constitution of the boards and the mode of electing the members. In this respect he doubted whether the Bill would give satisfaction or be adequate to the occasion, and he would give the reason why. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to think that it was not desirable to move the rural mind more than was necessary. The country districts, he appeared to think, did not wish to

be disturbed by elections. They had hitherto been apathetic, and they should not have another election to stir them up. Now, he and many along with him on that side of the House differed fundamentally from that view of the question. He desired that the rural districts should be more interested in local government than they had hitherto shown themselves; and the reason why he feared the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman might prove to be inadequate, was because it would not interest the great mass of the rural electors. The right hon. Gentleman said it would be unpopular to give them an additional election because of the expense; and he therefore suggested that the Guardians should elect half the members of the county boards. The effect of this would be simply to add one more duty to those of the Guardians, and there the matter would rest. Now, in the first place, he thought the whole system of election to the various local offices should be revised; these elections should, if possible, be combined into one to be held on one day, and if that were done, instead of apathy, real interest would be excited among the ratepayers in the various localities. Tried by this test, he thought the plan of the right hon. Gentleman would not be satisfactory. Contests, even in local elections, were not entirely without their advantage. The right hon. Gentleman was anxious to avoid expense, which might frighten the electors; but was it necessary that large expense should be incurred? It was part of the plan of the late Government to combine all the local elections, so that they might be held on one day; and this amalgamation of elections, far from involving an increased expenditure, would save expense. It would increase the local interest in elections, and put them on a more satisfactory footing. He hoped when they came to consider the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman in Committee, it might be possible to amend it in this respect. They had moved very rapidly during the past eight years. The position which the county franchise had reached was not without its bearing upon this question. Though he might not take the same view as his right hon. Friend upon that question, yet it was believed on the Opposition side of the House that the county franchise was sure to be granted within a limited period of time, and, if so, he would like to see

the county elector better trained for his work in the county. In the boroughs the constituencies had been trained by municipal and other duties for their political duties; and on his side of the House there was a desire to see the electors in the rural districts put into training, so that they might feel a greater interest and take part in the government of the public institutions in their own localities. It would be a subject of great regret if this opportunity should be lost by establishing county boards simply through the means of giving the Guardians one additional function.

MR. GOLDNEY said, he did not take precisely the same view as the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen); but he certainly had hoped that a measure with a much larger scope would have been proposed. In his opinion, the board should have been constituted in such a way that it could gather from all the different localities the amounts it would be necessary to raise in the year for each parish, whether for poor rates, sanitary, or other rateable purposes; so that the ratepayers might know at the beginning of the year what amount they would be called upon to pay. At present enormous discrepancies existed in the assessments; but a county board would be able to make one general assessment which would be fair to all. The spending powers of magistrates in quarter sessions were at present exceedingly limited. To the extent of about five-sixths they were entirely governed by Statute, and merely carried out the duties imposed by special Acts of Parliament. They had no control or discretion; but, notwithstanding all this, it seemed to him that the county board, which it was proposed to establish under the present Bill, would in those respects be very much in the same position as was the case at present. Unless wider ideas were imported into the measure, it would run the risk of dying a natural death towards the end of the Session; but if a strongly constituted Board were entrusted with the powers which he thought it ought to possess, considerable economy might be effected in expenditure, the assessments would be fair and reasonable, and many complaints which were now made would cease to be heard. Whether the elections of members were to be by Boards of Guardians or by

*Mr. Goschen*

direct representation—which, like the right hon. Gentleman opposite, he would prefer himself—the machinery was as nothing compared as to the objects for which the county boards were constituted.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOTT said, he could not agree with the observations of his hon. Friend (Mr. Goldney), for it appeared to him that the Bill set out a good deal of important work which ought to be done, and which, if well done, could not fail to be of great service to the counties. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had stated that the members of the county boards would be elected for one year only. But men elected for one year only could scarcely take the same interest in the various duties imposed upon them as if they were elected for a long period. In his opinion, men who entered upon the numerous and important duties which the right hon. Gentleman had indicated ought to be left in power for three, or, as he would prefer, for five years. In that way, if engaged in any work, they might be able to bring it to a conclusion. His right hon. Friend had not said anything about the chairman of the board, who, in a body of this nature, would be a most important personage. His right hon. Friend probably intended that he should be elected by the persons over whom he was to preside, and they, no doubt, would make a very proper choice. His right hon. Friend had said that the roads would be under their direction, and the rivers also to a certain point; and he had stated distinctly that he was going to introduce the principle of re-erecting turnpike gates in his Highway Bill. That might or might not be very right; but he ventured to think, however much they might believe that tolls ought to be imposed on certain districts, it would be a very invidious thing to do, and would not recommend itself to the ratepayers of the country. We knew that most of the traffic came from the great towns, and if turnpike gates were to be erected at all, they ought to be erected just outside the great towns. If the county rate were extended over the whole county area and the towns paid their fair proportion, which he thought they would do sooner than have turnpike gates set up outside their boundaries, that would be a fair solution of the difficulty. With

regard to rivers, he hoped his right hon. Friend would consider whether the area, which at present only extended to the flood level, ought not to be enlarged. The enormous quantity of water which came down from the higher grounds flooded the lower, and yet it was the lower grounds only that were required to pay. Only one word more. He could not sit down, after listening to speeches on a subject of this kind, without being reminded of a Gentleman who had long sat in the seat below him—his right hon. Friend the Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Henley). In all matters of this description—in the Highway Bill and in the Rating Bill, which were to be introduced, and in the measure which had now been brought forward—there was no man whose practical experience would have enabled him more easily to point out defects and difficulties. Nor was there any man who had been more useful than their esteemed Friend, who had been a Member of the House for so many years, in criticizing every measure of importance brought before Parliament, be it what it might. There was no man whose common sense was of so much use to that House, and especially to those Friends who sat around him, in guiding them aright to the views they ought to take; and there was no man whose loss they would more regret and whose memory would be more lasting in the House than that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Oxfordshire.

MR. STANSFELD said, the subject was one of too serious and practical a nature to be discussed then, and therefore he should only give expression to some general views with regard to the subject. The question of local government and county boards had greatly grown of late years, and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had very accurately shown how much our notions with regard to the functions of county boards had enlarged since 1852, when Mr. Milner Gibson introduced a Bill for establishing county financial boards to be elected directly by the ratepayers. Since then the question had entirely changed, and they had ceased to look upon it as the establishment of mere financial boards; but as general administrative boards with new administrative functions, extending over a larger area than a parish, or a union, or a borough. The President



of the Local Government Board had shown his appreciation of this change by the new functions he proposed to assign to county boards under this Bill, although in his historical sketch he hardly succeeded in presenting a correct picture of the growth of the county boards question and its effect on the general question of local government. The most important point of view was the effect of the constitution of these boards upon the whole system in strengthening the principle and re-vivifying the life of local government. He was prepared and willing to admit that the proposed change was no inconsiderable one for the better with regard to the functions—that of the proposal to assign to them the charge of turnpike roads, and so on—and he cordially approved the proposal to confer on county boards the conservancy and prevention of the pollution of rivers. He assented to the proposal that the modification of unions should require the assent of the Local Government Board, and that the county boards should have the election of coroners. So far, therefore, as the proposed functions of these bodies were concerned, he cordially approved of them; but he was unable to do so with regard to the constitution of the boards. He was sorry to find that the election of the members was to be taken from the unions and given half to the magistrates and half to the Guardians in petty sessional divisions. He must say that he preferred the unions to the petty sessional divisions as an electoral area. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Selater-Booth) had said that the members of the county boards should command the confidence of the public, and they and their elections should be free from political bias. But according to the scheme of his right hon. Friend, half of the members were to be county justices, and would hon. Members opposite be prepared to say that they would carry on elections without political bias? ["Yes, yes!" ] Those hon. Gentlemen who said that certainly made a very bold assertion, for the appointments of county justices were to a large extent political appointments. Instead of the proposal of his right hon. Friend, it would be better at once to accept the idea of the direct election of members of county boards by household suffrage. ["No, no!" ] Well, that was his opinion. If that course were adopted, it would

add to the self-confidence of the members, and to the amount of public confidence to be reposed in county boards. There was scarcely a petty local body that was not elected by popular suffrage, and the question of the extension of the household suffrage in boroughs to counties was one which, he believed, would soon be settled. The Government was a strong Government; it had a powerful majority; and it could pass a strong Bill. His right hon. Friend had appealed to that side of the House not to treat this as a Party measure. He replied to that appeal by another to his right hon. Friend—namely, that the Government would not persist in saying what they would and what they would not accept; but that they would make this, like other measures before it, a House of Commons Bill.

SIR BALDWIN LEIGHTON, who said he had had considerable experience in local administration, congratulated the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board upon having skilfully grappled with this difficult question. He hoped that the quarter sessions, in electing the members from the petty sessional divisions, would not be restricted to magistrates belonging to those divisions; and as regarded the appointment of coroner by the new board—of which he entirely approved—he would suggest giving them also power of dismissal, or at least suspension. In opposition to the views of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen), he strongly approved of vesting the election in members of the Board of Guardians, and believed that in this way better men would be chosen than by direct election; for, if such a system were adopted, many who were the most qualified for the position would decline to come forward. In regard to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax as to political bias, that was a thing from which, in the administration of county business, the magistrates were entirely free. He was in favour of extending the term of office to three years, as had been suggested, instead of one year; and he believed, if these boards worked satisfactorily, as he had no doubt they would, their functions would become shortly very much extended to other matters. He trusted that in dealing with this Bill political

*Mr. Stansfeld*

considerations would not be obtruded, and felt sure that if the best men on both sides put their heads together they would be able to make a satisfactory Bill.

MR. RATHBONE said, he thought it would be a mistake to enter much into the discussion of a Bill before they had it in their hands. He had, however, always felt that the great reform which was wanted in that matter was not so much in county management itself as in regard to our primary local authorities, many of which were expending large and rapidly increasing sums of money in an unprofitable manner. He could not join in the optimist views taken, whether by past or by present Local Government Boards, as to the existing state of things; and he conceived that the great test by which they would ultimately have to judge that Bill was whether it would facilitate or impede the reform of our primary local authorities. One of the great improvements to be aimed at in that matter should be the establishment of one area for all purposes of local government.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER did not wish to discuss that Bill, but to make a few observations on the general question to which it related. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) had spoken about the apathy of the ratepayers with respect to that subject. Now, he acknowledged that that apathy existed on the part of the ratepayers; but what was the reason for its existence? It was that the ratepayers knew very well that, upon the whole, the business of the counties was very well managed at present. The taxation by county magistrates was, no doubt, more or less anomalous, the principle being that taxation and representation should be co-ordinate. That had been brought about by Acts of Parliament and Statutes, and no doubt constitutionally the Parliament of this country, as having the right to taxation over the whole country, had the right to delegate the power to any other body. If the magistrates exercised the right, they did it by virtue of Acts of Parliament, and it was a great mistake to suppose that the magistrates were an aristocratic body, representing aristocrats and great landowners. Most of the right hon. and hon. Gentlemen present were

magistrates, and they would bear him out in saying that some magistrates were very small landowners, and that there was not a more mixed body than the magistrates; complaints had even been heard that some magistrates had an insufficient qualification or status. In levying rates they had managed very well and economically, and they did so because they had themselves to pay the rates they levied. The apathy of the ratepayers was a very good proof that there was no substantial ground of complaint in the present state of things. As a large ratepayer himself, he could bear testimony to matters being well managed. He thought Her Majesty's Government had done wisely in giving attention to the cry for something more representative in the magisterial body in counties by adopting the principle of double election. Hon. Members opposite did not approve of it, and they had clearly shown why. If there was a system of direct election by taxpayers of the body which was to make rates and administer the funds, he thought there would be a great deal of jobbery, which would be extremely dangerous, and the funds of the county would no longer be economically administered. It would be a Party fight with a view to a county election, and men would become candidates for the county board with a view to becoming Parliamentary Representatives. He preferred to see the present apathy, for by Party fights the rural mind, naturally apathetic, would be sharpened, and there would be no end of jobbing. With regard to the management of rivers, he hoped the Government would in Committee consider this matter, as he believed it was absolutely essential, with a view to the conservancy and management of rivers, that there should be one authority over them from their source to mouth. If there was a distinct authority over them in every county through which they ran it would be most unsatisfactory. It had been found to be so in the case of the Thames, but the evil had been partly remedied by Acts of Parliament. He should support this Bill, not because he thought it was necessary, but because he really thought upon his conscience that the magistrates of counties used the best discretion with regard to the management of the county funds.

MR. ARTHUR PEEL said, as the right hon. Gentleman proposed to give county boards the management of the rivers, he hoped he would in his Bill take into consideration the question of floods, which introduced the question of the rating. The great Act which governed the management of the rivers was the Act of 1862; but that Act dealt with agricultural land merely, and under it there was no power whatever of rating a town so that immense improvements might be effected up to the very borders of a town, and many—in some cases—of its streets freed from the liability of being under water; and yet there was no process by which the town so benefited could be brought to contribute its share in the expenses which had been incurred. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman proposed to give power to rate towns for the purpose of securing them from the recurrence of these floods; but he thought it a matter which was worthy of consideration. With reference to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), who thought there would be political bias in the elections, he would say that though magistrates as town councillors might also be elected through political bias, when they dealt with county matters he was confident there was nothing further from their minds than allowing any political feelings to influence their conduct.

MR. CLARE READ said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that Her Majesty's Government meant business, and certainly, on the first available night, they had introduced their measure, and it was the first measure, too, mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. He thanked his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board for having so fully redeemed the pledge given by the Government last year that this subject should receive their serious consideration. He was glad his right hon. Friend had not accepted the principle of direct representation, not that he was opposed to direct representation, but there were many evils connected with it which entirely counter-balanced the good. The expense would be enormous, and they could not by any possibility divorce politics from the election,

whilst he wished to exclude politics altogether from the board. They would not under the system of direct representation get the best men; because they wanted quiet, practical, business men, who would devote their time and attention to the business of the board, instead of the oratorical gentlemen who would, in all probability, be elected by direct representation. He could not quite agree with his right hon. Friend on the constitution of the board. It ought to be a representative board, but he thought the representative element which his right hon. Friend would introduce would be much too small. One-half of the board would be magistrates. Why half, when upon the assessment, school, and other committees, they were only a third? One hon. Gentleman had said that the magistrates paid all, or nearly all the rates. He was prepared to say that directly they paid scarcely any. He wished to impress on his right hon. Friend that one-third of the number on the board would be quite sufficient for the magistrates. It appeared, too, that the magistrates in quarter sessions were to elect magistrates. Why, then, should not the Guardians at their meetings elect Guardians? It was quite possible under the Bill to have three-fourths of the board magistrates. A statement had been made that the magistrates were going to be deprived of a great deal of their power. Why was that power given to them? Not because they were magistrates, but because they were the only authority in the county to whom the power could have been given. There was a deviation from the lines he had marked out in taking petty sessional districts instead of unions. He must say that had rather disappointed him. He thought the Board as proposed would be too numerous—90 or 100 members being too many for practical purposes. It was to be hoped that care would be taken that the Board had power to appoint committees, not only for rivers but for many other purposes. He hoped that when they had the Valuation Bill before them, some such suggestion as that made by his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) would be adopted, and that the Board should not only have power to equalize the assessments, but it should be the ultimate Court of Appeal.

MR. WHITBREAD said, he also begged to thank the Government for having so soon redeemed their promise on this subject. He hoped, however, that the right hon. Gentleman who had introduced the measure would get rid of the notion of re-erecting turnpike gates. There were many ways of getting out of the difficulties which existed without doing anything so unpopular. The real point in the Bill was the area, and he did regret that the petty sessional area had been chosen. It invited one, first of all, into an inquiry as to the history of the mapping-out of the petty sessional divisions. He thought it would be an instructive inquiry to go into before adopting the area chosen. The magistrates under the Bill had far too much the best of it. He would have preferred direct election; but he would ask his right hon. Friend to consider how he had abandoned one of the advantages of indirect election. It was desirable that the election should fall on one who was well known and respected by a body of men amongst whom he was accustomed to act; but under the Bill the Guardians were taken away altogether from the places where they were known, and from those with whom they had acted. This was done, it was said, in order that they might vote in the light; but if that was the case, he would rather they should vote in the dark. If they held out to the ratepayers the concession of one-half the representation, care should be taken that they did not get the notion into their heads that after all the magistrates were going to have the best of it. Let the ratepayers have their half with the utmost impartiality. From their knowledge and experience the magistrates would always have enough power if they only had one-third of the representation. There was one other objection to these petty sessional areas. Were they to be merely for elections or for administrative purposes? If not for administrative purposes, how long would they remain so? The union area was for sanitary purposes. The most frequent cause of conflict in the country was between the highway authority and the sanitary authority, and the adoption of the petty sessional area would increase and perpetuate many of the evils of the present very complicated system. He was glad the Government had taken up this question before

the small rural authorities to whom they had recently given large borrowing powers had had time to saddle themselves with debt. It must not be understood that he was hostile in his criticisms, but he wished the points he had mentioned to be taken into consideration.

MR. KNIGHT said, the hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) was a centralizer of the centralizers, and had attacked the Bill on the very grounds on which he (Mr. Knight) thought it was most excellent. The great tendency of modern legislation was to absorb all local power, and to place it under the control of London Boards. Those who originated the new Poor Law had the idea of breaking up by their unions the unit of the county, and thus pave the way for putting everything under the central authority, until the local authorities could not give a pair of trousers to a poor lad without referring the matter to the Poor Law Board in London. He was glad, therefore, his right hon. Friend had taken the county as the unit, and divided it by the petty sessional divisions as now existing. Young men who wanted to know the effect of this centralization, and how the attempt to stop out-door relief led to riots and outrages in 1837, could not do better than read the novel of *Sybil*, which gave an exact description of the state of England at that time. The effect of the Bill would be that the counties would entirely govern themselves and be as independent of London as the court of quarter sessions. He was glad the right hon. Gentleman had made a division between much-frequented roads and those in purely country parishes; but the former, he thought, ought to have the benefit of public grants.

MR. HIBBERT thanked the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board for the Bill; but was of opinion that in various particulars his proposals might be improved. He thought it would be found that the new Boards would be more under the Local Government Board than was supposed by the last speaker. Whatever plan of election was adopted, we might get good working boards. He should prefer direct election, which, unfortunately, involved expense, though he did not think it would be so great as some imagined, and too great to deter us from

resorting to it. There were great objections to election by Guardians in petty sessional districts. It would be a departure from recent legislation to adopt these districts, which varied much in size and population, including unions with separate interests, the larger and more important of which would be inadequately represented. The overlapping of county boundaries by unions was a difficulty, but in time it might have been got over; and he should have preferred that the union, which was the unit for many purposes, should have been chosen for this also. It was not necessary that magistrates should have equal representation with the ratepayers; and he would give two-thirds of the representation to the ratepayers. The magistrate of his own district would not be dissatisfied with the smaller amount of representation. It was gratifying that so much work was to be given to the Boards, and in time, no doubt, their functions would increase in importance. There was an objection to annual elections, which even now were objected to in the case of Guardians; and certainly triennial elections would involve less expense than yearly elections.

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, he had adopted the petty sessional area because he thought it preferable to the unions as they existed at present; but if the unions could be rectified, he should not object to their adoption. With respect to the proposal that the tenure of office should be for three years instead of one, he was quite willing to try the experiment; and, in point of fact, he had given directions that the experiment should be tried. He hoped that in Committee it would be found possible to amend any faults which might exist in the Bill.

SIR THOMAS ACLAND contended that the waywardens, as well as the Guardians, should have a voice in the election of county boards. At the same time, he saw great objection to the principle of indirect representation.

MR. RAMSAY argued that there was nothing in the circumstances of England justifying the imposition of tolls at a time when tolls were being abolished in Scotland.

MAJOR NOLAN suggested that it would be well to leave the discussion of matters of principle until the Irish Bill on the same subject was introduced.

*Mr. Hibbert*

These points in the two measures could then be taken together.

MR. WHEELHOUSE said, that he did not rise for the purpose of stopping the introduction, or even taking part in the observations on the proposed measure, beyond asking one single question, and pointing out a difficulty which was not very uncommon in the North of England. First, he should like to know what was to be done in a case like that of Leeds, in which borough there were no less at this moment than four different Boards of Guardians? One administered the Poor Law affairs of what might be called Leeds proper, while each of the other three bodies were severally located within the ambit of the Parliamentary Municipal Borough, and severally administered those of the suburban districts. The area, however, over which these suburban Boards went "overlapped"—to use the language of the hon. Member for Oldham—considerable tracts of the country outside, and it might therefore be difficult to adjust each area correctly; and, moreover, it might be desirable to treat such special cases somewhat exceptively. At all events, it would be absolutely necessary, when legislating on this matter, not to lose sight of the fact that such cases, being exceptional in their circumstances, would require careful investigation, and, perhaps, even specific arrangements. Then there was another class of cases, of which the union for the district in which he himself spent his younger years—that of Goole—formed an excellent type. That union was upwards of 20 miles long, with, comparatively speaking, but few resident magistrates; and in such cases, too, great care would be requisite to provide a fair, and at the same time adequate representation on the proposed Board. He merely mentioned these matters, in order that sight might not be lost of them in dealing with the measure ultimately.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill to amend the Law relating to the administration of County business, and to make further provision for County Government, ordered to be brought in by MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, MR. Secretary CROSS, and MR. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUEUR.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 93.]

## MERCHANT SEAMEN BILL.—[BILL 79.]

(Sir Charles Adderley, Mr. Edward Stanhope.)

## SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
 "That the Bill be now read a second  
 time."—(Sir Charles Adderley.)

MR. GORST said, he would not oppose the Bill, as he understood it was to be sent to a Select Committee. Unless certain of its provisions were modified by the Select Committee to which it was to be referred, it could scarcely be considered as a redemption of the pledge given last Session by the President of the Board of Trade. The grievance of seamen was that at the present time they were exposed to an extremely hard and rigorous law, and were not allowed that emancipation conceded to every other class of industry in reference to breach of contract with employers. The Bill really contained nothing but two clauses, except what was discussed at great length in the Bill of 1875, and approved of by the House.

Motion agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Select Committee.

## VALUATION OF PROPERTY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH, Bill to consolidate and amend the Laws relating to the Valuation of Property for the purposes of Rates and Taxes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Mr. SALT.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 94.]

## HIGHWAYS BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH, Bill to amend the Law relating to Highways in England and the Acts relating to Locomotives on Roads; and for other purposes, ordered to be brought in by Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH and Mr. SALT.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 95.]

House adjourned at Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

Tuesday, 29th January, 1878.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—GREECE—  
THE CORRESPONDENCE.—OBSERVA-  
TIONS.—QUESTION.

LORD EMLY rose to ask for the production of certain Correspondence relating to Greece. The noble Lord said, he considered it of great importance that their Lordships should receive the fullest information as to the position of the Greek Provinces of Turkey, and what engagements had been entered into by Her Majesty's Government on the subject, so that they might be able to judge whether the peace was likely to be satisfactory; because no peace could be satisfactory which did not contain proper guarantees for the proper treatment of the Christians in Thessaly and Epirus as well as those of the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey. It was most important that their Lordships should know what were the engagements which had been entered into by Her Majesty's Government in relation to this matter. It had been stated on very good authority that before the Conference which took place at Constantinople, engagements had been entered into by the Great Powers, by which those Greek Provinces were to be placed in the same position as the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey; and it was quite clear, from the terms of a despatch, the authenticity of which had not been questioned, which had been addressed in the month of September by the Greek Minister to the Chargé d'Affaires in London, that the very strongest pressure was put by the Foreign Secretary upon the Greek Government to prevent them from interfering in any way in the war that was being waged between Russia and Turkey. He wished to know whether that statement was correct? At all events, it would be only fair and right that the noble Earl should lay the despatches which he had written on the Table of the House, and afford the information on the subject which was in possession of the Foreign Office. The conscience and honour of this country were engaged in this matter, and nothing ought to be done which would prevent the Greek Christians from occupying the same position as the other Christians of

Turkey. The next Question he wished to put was, whether the noble Earl could give the House any information as to the ravages which had been made in the Greek Provinces by Circassians and Bashi-Bazouks? He understood that in a despatch of the 4th August, a promise was given by the Turkish Government that no Circassians should be sent into Macedonia; but there could be no doubt that the most horrible ravages had been committed, not only there, but in the three Greek Provinces, and that in Macedonia the character of the country had become changed, and instead of the majority being Christian as before they had become Moslem. The most important point on which he wished to receive information was as to the condition of the Christians in Thessaly, Epirus, and Macedonia. The war had driven a large number of emigrants into those Provinces, the troops were withdrawn, and the whole country had been ravaged by Bashi-Bazouks and Circassians, who had been guilty of murder, robbery, and rape. From information he had received from a private source, the outrages were of the most horrible kind; and he wished to know whether the noble Earl had received information of the same kind, and he wished the despatches to be laid on the Table in order to ascertain the character of the information received by the noble Earl. He was informed that in September last 1,200 Zeibeks, commanded by a Bey, were sent to the Christian Provinces by the Turkish Government. Of that number, one-sixth or one-seventh were convicts who had been released on a promise to enlist. On their arrival they immediately began to rob and plunder the Christian inhabitants, whom they subjected to nameless indignities. Amongst the victims were several young girls who drowned themselves in order to save their honour. These were facts which could not by any possibility be disputed. No peace could be satisfactory which did not prevent a recurrence of these things. To those Turkish Provinces of Greece Mahomedan immigrants had been sent, who in some places had changed the character of the population by altering the relative numerical proportion of Christians to Mahomedans. This was in the face of a promise to the contrary made by the Turkish Government. He defied anyone to show an

example of a Christian population living happily under Mussulman rule. The whole of these Provinces looked to Greece for the regeneration of the East, and he hoped we should show ourselves their friends. They stretched out their hands and asked us to assist them; and he felt certain that no work that could be undertaken by the Government would be so honourable to this country as that of affording to these Christian Provinces the privileges which were being given by Russia to the Slavonic Provinces of Turkey. The other evening the noble Earl at the head of the Government said there was an objection on the part of foreign Governments to the publication of diplomatic Papers. That argument might be used against his application for information; but he was sure that the Greek Government would not object to the production of the Papers he asked for; and if it did not, let Parliament have the despatches addressed to Greece by the noble Earl. The noble Lord concluded by asking the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will lay on the Table of the House copies of any Correspondence which has taken place between Her Majesty's Government and the Turkish and Greek Governments with reference to the maintenance by Greece of neutrality during the war, or with reference to any disturbances in Thessaly and Epirus, or to outrages committed in those Provinces?

LORD HOUGHTON expressed his concurrence with the ultimate views enunciated by his noble Friend—namely, that if a partition of European Turkey was to take place under the auspices of Europe, the preference in division should be given to the Greek races. It would be injurious to the political morality of the world if Greece were to suffer for having kept good faith with Turkey. She had, at our instigation, refrained from adding to existing complications, and we were bound to see her interests attended to in the organic change which must shortly take place in that quarter.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I do not like to make objections on a mere matter of form; but I think it would have been a more customary and more convenient course if the noble Lord who made this Motion and raised this discussion had announced his intention to call attention to the subject, instead of

*Lord Emly*

which he has simply put upon the Notice Paper an announcement of his intention to ask a Question. When I came down to this House I was not in any manner prepared to enter on a general discussion as to the state of the Greek Provinces, and into the relations between Greece and Turkey during the last few months. If we are to speak usefully at all upon such a subject, it is necessary to speak with the greatest accuracy of detail; and it is obvious that it is not very easy to do that if one is called upon at a moment's notice to answer Questions and discuss propositions relating to circumstances some of which are not of very recent date. However, I will, so far as I can do so, satisfy the anxiety and comply with the wishes of the noble Lord and your Lordships. The noble Lord has put various Questions to me, and I will take them in their order. First of all, he asks me what has been done with regard to the promise made by the Turkish Government with respect to the Circassian immigration into Europe? My Lords, a complaint was made by the Greek Government—a complaint which, I am bound to say, was not unreasonable—of the conduct of a good many of those Circassians who had been introduced, and who had settled in the neighbourhood of the Greek Provinces. We thought that the complaint was not ill-founded, and we represented the case to the Turkish Government. It was a matter in respect of which we were not entitled to claim as of right to interfere; because no Government can be denied the right of allowing or encouraging its subjects to migrate from one of its Provinces to another. But we did represent to the Porte the inconvenience felt by the Greek population in those places in which the Circassians had settled; and the Porte promised—I do not carry in my head the date at which the assurance was given—that the immigration should not be continued to any place within a considerable distance of the Greek frontier. I do not believe that at any time the number of immigrants brought in from Asia by the Turkish authorities was considerable; but there was a promise that the immigration should cease. Complaints were subsequently made that in some cases immigrants had come in after that assurance, and I believe they did so, but only in small numbers. Whenever facts of that

kind were brought to our notice we represented them to the Porte, and I should very much doubt whether, since the outbreak of the war, any immigration of Circassians has continued to take place. We have had Greek complaints of the conduct of the Porte on other matters; but I do not recollect that any have been made latterly on that subject. Now, my Lords, the noble Lord raised a more important question when he spoke of the atrocities, which in many instances, he said, had been committed on the population by the Turkish irregular troops, who had been left under inadequate control during the last few months. I am afraid there have been a good many cases of outrages and crimes of the kind to which the noble Lord has referred; but the explanation is, I think, to be found in the fact that since this war—one of life and death for Turkey—has been raging, all the Turkish regular troops have been sent to engage the Russians and Roumanians on the frontier, and their place in the Greek Provinces has been supplied by irregulars, a kind of militia, not under proper discipline, and not originally composed of the best elements; and I am quite prepared to believe that many of the outrages and robberies which have been described have really been committed by those troops. That is all the more possible, because the demand for soldiers has been so great, and the state of the Turkish finances so bad, that many of those irregular troops have of late received little or no pay; and men who are armed and who are unpaid, must always be a source of danger to the population on which they are quartered. When cases of that kind have occurred, they have been pointed out to the Porte; but such has been the state of utter confusion and disorganization to which the Turkish Empire has been reduced by the hostilities that have been going on that I do not believe, whatever may have been the wish of the Turkish Government, that it has been able to control its own irregular troops, or enforce order in a proper manner. I will only add that, though I do not dispute the reality and gravity of many of the crimes that have been referred to, still we must recollect that we get our accounts of them mostly through Greek sources; and, as everyone knows, there is a very strong feeling in Greece against Turkey, and there is a large party in



Greece in favour of war, and naturally they will do everything they can to throw discredit on the Turkish Government. While, therefore, I believe a great part of what we hear on this subject, considerable allowance must be made by reason of the channel through which the reports reach us. With regard to the question of engagements entered into with Greece, I am not aware of the nature of the engagements which the noble Lord supposes to have been taken by Her Majesty's Government. I have been more than once requested, both officially and unofficially, to state whether, in the event of a European Conference being held on the Eastern Question, Greece would be admitted to send a Representative. To that I have always given one answer. I said it was too early to speak of the possible composition of such a Conference before we even knew whether a Conference would be held; but I have added, though only as the expression of my personal and private opinion, that if any such Conference did take place, and any besides the Great Powers were represented and admitted to take part in it, then I thought the claim of Greece to admission would be a fair one to consider. More than that I did not feel bound to say, nor should I have been justified in giving a more definite reply. Then my noble Friend who spoke second asked me whether it would be right to allow Greece to suffer in consequence of the good faith she had observed? I think Greece was wise in abstaining from taking part in the war; but I do not think that because the Greeks have wisely abstained from picking an unprovoked quarrel with their neighbour, they have by that circumstance established a right to a share in their neighbour's territory, because that, in point of fact, is what the claim amounts to. Then the noble Lord says—"You put the strongest pressure upon the Greek Government not to take part in the war." We have used no menace; we have put on no pressure; we have not gone beyond giving that friendly advice in the interest and for the benefit of the Greeks themselves, which it is the right and duty of a protecting Power to give. We sought to prevent an extension of the war, and we accordingly advised Greece not to take a part in it. I am glad to say that up to the present time

that advice has been listened to. I think that in listening to that advice the Greek Government has acted wisely in its own interests. If the Greeks had joined in the war, while they might have inflicted great injury on Turkey, they would probably have suffered at least as much themselves, Turkey having a considerable fleet and being mistress of the sea, and Greece having a great extent of seaboard, a considerable maritime commerce, and a maritime population open to attack. I think, therefore, it is at least probable that if Greece had engaged in hostilities she would have suffered as much injury as Turkey. I say that, because the noble Lord seemed to look at the matter as if our advice had been dictated solely by regard to Turkey and was against the interests of Greece. I do not see it, and have never seen it, in that light. As to the Papers, the noble Lord made a proposition which I think he scarcely meant in earnest. The noble Lord said—"I don't care about the Turkish Papers, if there is an objection to produce them; all I want are the Greek Papers." That is to say—"We do not care to hear both sides of the question, we only want to hear one side." Now, obviously, both sides do not take the same view, and the Turkish Papers are not likely to set out the matters in dispute in the same light as that in which they are viewed by the Greeks. Your Lordships, I think, will agree with me that if this is a case in which it is important to produce any Papers at all, it is desirable to produce them all. As far as the British Government are concerned, I have not the slightest wish to keep them back; and when they are published I venture to think they will show the thorough impartiality of the Government in the matter—that our desire has been solely, from first to last, to compose the differences which had sprung up between Turkey and Greece, and to prevent the extension of the war. I quite agree with the noble Lord that your Lordships ought to have all the information that can be given whenever the time comes at which the Russian proposals will have to be discussed. I only say that I think the present moment is not the most convenient for its production. Everyone knows that there is a strong war party at Athens. Within the last day or two

we have heard of riots and disturbances caused by that party at Athens; and if at this moment we were to lay before the public eye all the details of the difficulties that have arisen between the two Governments in the last 12 months, I think the effect of that would very possibly be to defeat the object we have had in view, and that we should do a great deal more to inflame than to appease the irritation which now exists. In my opinion we should not be justified in withholding the information now asked for any considerable time, because I quite agree that it relates to what is an important part of the general European question; but I do not think this present moment is the time to produce it.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** My Lords, if it were not for the closing portion of the noble Earl's observations, I should not have considered his reply as altogether satisfactory. With regard to the horrible atrocities alleged to have been committed in the Greek Provinces, I think there can be little doubt of them. The noble Earl says that the probability is they have been exaggerated; but it is quite plain that certain facts are clearly true. Here are Provinces in which no disorder exists, and yet, after a promise to Her Majesty's Government and the Greek Government that there should be no further employment of irregular troops, you have armed barbarians sent into the country and left without pay. It is quite clear what the effect of that must be. With regard to the action of Her Majesty's Government in Greece, I very much agree with the noble Earl. I think the noble Earl was quite right and quite justified in giving the advice which he did to Greece. If he used arguments which might be properly used in such a case, and which were legitimate arguments to prevent them from going to war with Turkey against their own interests; if those arguments were based on the disadvantages which might result to Greece, and the injury which might be done to her by the powerful Navy of Turkey, arguments of that character would be perfectly legitimate. But if any menace were used, the case would be different. With regard to the charge which the noble Earl opposite brought against my noble Friend of desiring the production of one set of Papers only, my noble Friend never said that he only wished for the Greek and not for the

Turkish Papers. He said he wished for the whole of the Papers; but that if one of the parties objected to their production, he did not think that was a reason why we should be denied all information on the subject. My noble Friend's demand was perfectly fair, and I was glad to hear that the noble Earl closed with an assurance that at the proper time your Lordships shall have the whole of the Papers. I am sure that my noble Friend will not press for the production of the Correspondence at the present moment.

House adjourned at Six o'clock,  
to Thursday next, half-  
past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 29th January, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For Oxford County, v. Right Honble. Joseph Warner Henley, Chiltern Hundreds.*

PUBLIC BILLS.—*Second Reading*—Racecourses (Licensing) [76]; Libel Law Amendment [21] [House counted out].

## QUESTIONS.

### IRELAND—CRIMINAL LAW—CONVICTS AT SPIKE ISLAND.—QUESTION.

**MR. O'CONNOR POWER** asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether Edward O'Kelly, a prisoner confined in Spike Island Convict Prison, is allowed only half an hour's exercise each day during six days of the week, and one hour on Sunday; if it is true that a third jury had to be empanelled in his case before a conviction was obtained; if it is true that an important witness against him was a person named O'Farrell, alias Brady, who, before the trial, had been imprisoned for burglary, and who, since the conviction of O'Kelly, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment, but liberated when only half of the term of his sentence had expired, and who is now undergoing a sentence of fifteen years'

penal servitude; and, if it is true that Edward O'Connor, another prisoner confined at Spike Island, was recently subjected to the punishment of twenty-one days' bread and water, while suffering from an abscess in his thigh?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, I beg to inform the hon. Gentleman that Edward O'Kelly is allowed half an hour's exercise daily during six days of the week and about two hours on Sunday, under the direction of the medical officer of the prison. The prisoner is employed at a trade. He was tried three times, the jury having twice disagreed. A witness against him named O'Farrell was convicted, as alleged; but he was not an important witness, being merely one of three who all deposed to certain facts which, I believe, have never been disputed. That person was convicted of burglary, and sentenced to imprisonment, as stated in the Question of the hon. Member. At the expiration of about half the sentence he was released, on the ground of ill-health, upon a special medical report from the medical attendant of the prison and an eminent local practitioner who had also examined the prisoner. This report was made by the medical attendant in pursuance of a General Order issued some years previously—that whenever the medical officer of any prison considers a prisoner's life would be endangered by further confinement, he should at once report the fact to the Government. O'Farrell was also subsequently convicted and sentenced as stated by the hon. Member. The last statement as to which the hon. Member inquires is not true.

#### LAW AND JUSTICE—BANKRUPT SOLICITORS.—QUESTION.

SIR HENRY PEEK asked Mr. Solicitor General, Whether he has considered the desirability (in addition to the other information contained in the annual Law List published by authority) of, in the case of solicitors once, twice, or more times bankrupt, giving the dates of bankruptcy, dividends paid, and the names of assignees of whom detailed particulars might be had; also, in the case of solicitors whose names do not continuously appear in the Law List, the reason for omission in occasional years being explained?

*Mr. O'Connor Power*

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL, in reply, said, he did not think it would be fair to give the names of bankrupt solicitors in the *Law Lists*, because he did not see why the stigma of bankruptcy should attach to the name of a solicitor for the rest of his life any more than to other classes. The annual *Law List* consisted of two parts. One was a book maintained by purely private speculation, based upon the ordinary sources of information. The other was a list of solicitors who had taken out on the 1st day of January duly stamped certificates. If a solicitor took out his certificate after that date, his name did not appear in the list, which was made up to that date, and that accounted for the names of some solicitors not appearing in the *Law List* from year to year.

#### TURKEY—CRETE.—QUESTION.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can lay upon the Table of the House any recent Despatch from Her Majesty's Consul in Crete as to the state of that island, and the progress of the insurrection of its Christian population?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, said, Her Majesty's Government did not consider it desirable, in the present state of affairs, to lay upon the Table any further despatches in reference to the affairs of Crete than those contained in Blue Book (No. 1). He thought it hardly right to state, as he saw was stated in the Question, "that Crete was in a state of insurrection;" but at the same time there was no doubt it was in a very disturbed state.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE subsequently said: With reference to the Answer of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State, I beg to ask, Whether it is true that H.M.S. "Rupert" was detached from the Mediterranean Squadron at the commencement of this month and sent to the vicinity of Crete; and, if so, with what object?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, said, that he could not answer the Question without Notice.

#### IRELAND—ROYAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE, DUBLIN.—QUESTION.

MR. GRAY asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether the Professor

of Chemistry in the Royal College of Science, Dublin, has been prohibited from giving the professional advice and making the analysis for the public which he was in the habit of doing; whether gentlemen occupying similar positions in corresponding institutions in England are similarly prohibited; whether any memorial has been received from traders in Dublin complaining of the inconvenience and loss occasioned them by the regulation; and if any steps will be taken in the matter?

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, up to the year 1873 there were two Professors of Chemistry in the College of Science in Dublin—that is, one of General Chemistry, and one of Analytical or Applied Chemistry. The Professor of Applied Chemistry, who was in charge of the laboratory, was allowed to make analyses for the public, and to obtain part of his remuneration in that way. On the retirement of the Professor of General Chemistry, the Professor of Applied Chemistry applied for the post in addition to his own. His application was acceded to, and he was allowed the pay and emoluments of both offices, on condition that he devoted his whole time to the public service and did not undertake private work for profit, except with the special sanction of the Department. He accepted the post on those conditions. The only gentleman in England that I know anything about occupying a somewhat similar position is the Professor of the Royal College of Chemistry in London. He is permitted, under certain restrictions, to make analyses for private persons; but he is also obliged to make certain analyses for the Government at his own expense. He is also provided with a laboratory by the College. His salary, however, is only £300 per annum, while that of Professor Galloway, the Professor of Chemistry in the College of Science in Dublin, is £500 per annum, both having the fees from their students in addition. When a suitable opportunity occurs of re-considering the rules which were laid down for the English Professor of Chemistry many years ago, it is not at all unlikely that it will be thought right to modify the rule as to the emoluments of the Professor from private practice, in accordance with the arrangement now existing in the Dublin College of Science. A protest was received from some manufacturers in Dub-

lin; they were informed of the conditions laid down, and that it was not considered advisable to continue the practice of doing strictly private work partially at the expense of the public; but that, if it should be desired at any time, that analyses or investigations with respect to matters of general public interest and importance should be made in the laboratory of the Professor, the Department would be prepared to give due consideration to any application to that effect. One application only has been received, and that has been sanctioned. I am sorry, therefore, that I cannot meet my hon. Friend in his wishes.

#### THE LATE SERGEANT M'CARTHY. QUESTION.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, having regard to the verdict of the jury at the inquest on the death of the late Sergeant M'Carthy—namely, that his death was hastened by the treatment he received in Chatham Gaol, and the importance of not losing any of the evidence pertaining to his case, he will order an immediate inquiry into the matter, or direct the Royal Commission to enter upon the investigation of the case without delay?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, I quite agree with the hon. Gentleman that an immediate inquiry ought to be made into this matter, and therefore, in order to take care that that shall be done, I have referred the depositions, a copy of which has been furnished to me, to the Chief Magistrate at Bow Street, and requested him to make an inquiry forthwith.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—ALLEGED TRIPLE ALLIANCE.—QUESTION.

DR. KENEALY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government has now any knowledge of an understanding between Russia, Austria, and Germania, for an offensive and defensive alliance; and having also in view, or for one of its objects, the partition of the Ottoman Empire; and, whether he could without inconvenience to the public service communicate the views of Her Majesty's Government upon these matters to Parliament?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, Her Majesty's Government have no knowledge of any such understanding as is referred to by the hon. Gentleman. As regards one, at least, of the Powers, I have strong reasons for doubting whether such an understanding exists; but the negotiations of the next few months or weeks probably will show whether these Powers are acting in concert or separately.

**AFRICAN EXPLORATION — MR. STANLEY.—QUESTION.**

**MR. ANDERSON** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has taken any steps to learn whether the Despatch, sent through Her Majesty's Consul at Zanzibar to inform Mr. Stanley (with reference to his account of a massacre of natives at Bam-birch) that he was not authorized to carry the British Flag, ever reached Mr. Stanley; and, if so, what was the reply; if not, will he now take steps to ascertain?

**MR. BOURKE:** Sir, the despatch to Mr. Stanley referred to was sent through Her Majesty's Consul General at Zanzibar, who reported, on receiving instructions to forward the letter to Mr. Stanley, that as his movements were not published at Zanzibar, and were only known to the American Consul, he had forwarded the letter through him. We have received no official communication which would show whether the letter in question ever reached Mr. Stanley or not; but we know from an unofficial source of undoubted credibility that it never did reach his hands, consequently there could be no reply thereto.

**THE SLAVE TRADE IN THE RED SEA. QUESTION.**

**MR. ANDERSON** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with reference to the Papers just issued on the subject of the seizure of slaves on board British vessels in the Red Sea, Whether there was no reply from Safvet Pasha to Mr. Layard's letter of 25th June 1877?

**MR. BOURKE:** Sir, we have heard nothing further from Mr. Layard on this subject since the letter alluded to.

**THE EASTERN QUESTION — TURKEY AND GREECE—THE CORRESPONDENCE. QUESTION.**

**MR. W. CARTWRIGHT** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government have asked the assent of the Greek and Turkish Governments to the publication of the Correspondence that has been exchanged with each such Government in reference to its attitude towards Turkey; and, whether such assent has been obtained; in the event of either Government having refused such assent, whether he would inform the House which Government has objected?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, the Papers, I understand, are being prepared as rapidly as possible, and as soon as they are ready they will be sent to Her Majesty's Representatives, both at Constantinople and at Athens, in order to ascertain whether the Governments of Turkey and Greece assent to their being published.

**THE ISLE OF MAN—OUTBREAK OF SMALL POX.—QUESTION.**

In reply to Mr. ADAM,

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS** said: I am happy to inform the House that the Isle of Man is now practically free from small pox, the disease being limited to two or three convalescent cases.

**THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE. NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.**

**MR. W. E. FORSTER:** Sir, I beg to give Notice that on Thursday next, on the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that you leave the Chair for the House to consider, in Committee, the Vote of Credit, I shall move an Amendment, the exact terms of which I intend to put on the Notice Paper to-night.

**THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE WAR—REPORTED ARMISTICE.—QUESTION.**

**MR. CHAPLIN** said, he wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question of which he had given him private Notice. He had understood the right hon. Gentleman yesterday to say that the Government believed that terms of peace had been practically accepted.

He wished, therefore to ask, Whether the Government had received any confirmation of that belief, and were able to state to the House that an Armistice had been concluded; and, if not, whether it was true, as reported that day, that the Russian Forces were still rapidly advancing on Constantinople?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, my hon. Friend spoke to me a few moments ago and told me he was going to put this Question; but I am sorry to say I did not exactly catch the terms in which he was going to put it. I thought it would be simply to ask whether we had any information as to an Armistice having been signed. I can only say we have received no such information; and with respect to the latter part of the Question—namely, whether the Russian Forces are rapidly advancing on Constantinople—it would be better that Notice should be given of it, as I could hardly, without consideration, answer it. Perhaps my hon. Friend will put it on the Paper for tomorrow.

#### SOUTH AFRICAN CONFEDERATION— OUTBREAK OF THE NATIVE TRIBES.

##### QUESTION.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any information had been received by the Colonial Office from the Cape?

MR. J. LOWTHER: Sir, a telegram has been received to-day at the Colonial Office from Sir Bartle Frere, which I will read, with the permission of the House—

“January 8.—Galekaland once more cleared by columns of Colonel Glyn, 24th Regiment, but Gaika rebellion spreading, and Fingoeland invaded from Sandilli's border. Communications with Komgha restored, after two brilliant affairs under Major Moore and Colonel Lambert, 88th Connaught Rangers. Colonial reinforcements arriving slowly. Rebellion cannot be effectually and speedily suppressed without larger force than we possess or have at present prospect of collecting here. Commodore here, returned from useful reconnaissance along coast.”

I ought to add that at the time this telegram was despatched it was not known at the Cape that a regiment of infantry and a battery of artillery were about to be sent out, and that another regiment is now on the point of following.

#### LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE WATER SUPPLY.

##### POSTPONEMENT OF MOTION.

MR. E. S. HOWARD, who had given Notice of a Motion for a Select Committee to inquire into this subject, especially in connection with the Westmoreland and Cumberland Lakes, said that he would not proceed with his Motion that night; but on the second reading of the Manchester Corporation Water Bill he would move the rejection of the Bill, and if the House accepted that proposal he would, as soon as he had the opportunity, make a Motion of a similar character to that which now stood on the Paper in his name.

#### MOTION.

##### DUNKELD BRIDGE TOLLS.

##### MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

MR. O'DONNELL, in moving—

“That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of the Dunkeld Bridge Tolls, and to ascertain, with items in detail, the real state of the account of moneys received and expended by the Dukes of Athole in connection with the said trust,”

said, the question that they wished to be determined was whether the tolls levied should or should not cease to be levied. To ascertain that point an account would have to be rendered of all moneys received, and if there were still any dues owing to the proprietor, then they would have to be paid; but, on the other hand, if there was any balance due and overpaid, then that would have to be refunded. The short history of this affair was this—In 1803 the then Duke of Athole set about obtaining an Act of Parliament to authorize the raising of money for the construction of a bridge across the Tay at Dunkeld. Up to that time there were two dangerous ferries at that place, and in view of the public convenience, the private convenience of the Duke of Athole, and supported also by public opinion, and the desire of Her Majesty's Government to have a readier means of conveying the military forces to the Highlands at that time, there was not much difficulty about obtaining this Act, and under it authority was given to

construct the bridge at Dunkeld for the sum of £18,000 at the outside. Previous to the passing of the Act a very careful survey had been made by the most eminent engineer of that time, Mr. Telford, and his estimate slightly exceeded £13,000. On further consideration, and taking some questions of approaches into account, it was considered that the estimate of Mr. Telford might be made more liberal. Accordingly under the Act £18,000 was authorized to be granted for the construction of the bridge, and the Duke of Athole and his heirs, being the proprietors, were entitled to levy tolls on the bridge until the full sum had been recouped. That amount of £18,000 became very considerably lessened when the Government granted £7,000 towards the expenses of the bridge; and when the profits arising from the rent of certain lands and various matters of that kind were taken into account, it was very possible that the outside expenditure of the Duke on the bridge did not much exceed £10,000. Be that as it might, an Act was passed, authorizing the building of a bridge over the Tay, at a cost of £18,000 as he had said, and under that Act it was provided that yearly exact accounts of the payments at the bridge should be lodged with the Commissioners of Supply. The most serious thing in connection with the question was that it was admitted that there had been an entire neglect on the part of the Athole family to lodge any accounts whatever with the Commissioners of Supply for no less than 43 years—from 1808 to 1851—from the passing of the Act. In this latter year local public opinion became very excited at the tolls continuing, at the neglect to furnish accounts, and at the interminable prospect of the tolls going on for ever; the consequence being that a legal and popular agitation commenced in Dunkeld, which had continued down to the present day. There had been actions in various Courts, but the attempts of the people to procure an inquiry had been again and again baffled by the large resources of the Athole family combined with the intricacies of Scotch Law. The result was that the tolls continued to be collected and the people to be dissatisfied until, in 1867, the Athole family were brought face to face with the Dunkeld complainants. In that year the Athole family, as proprietors of the

bridge tolls, amazed the people of Dunkeld by stating roundly that after 60 years' collection of the tolls on a bridge which could only cost £18,000 to start with, and the tolls of which had been variously estimated at between £1,000 and £2,000 a-year, the Athole family statistician fixed the exact sum still due to the Dukes of Athole at no less than £59,401 6s. 9d. It was not unworthy of the attention of the House of Commons to mark the accuracy of the 6s. 9d., especially when they found that the first glance cast upon those accounts by the accountant of the Court of Session diminished that remarkably exact sum by the bagatelle of £43,000. That was the position at the end of 1867. Although the people of Dunkeld had obtained that remarkable victory, there still remained a sum of £10,000 or £11,000 due, which they believed should not only disappear from the account, but should give place to a very large sum on the other side of the account. The phrase—"people of Dunkeld" was no vague or rhetorical expression; for this matter was supported by Petitions from Dunkeld, Dundee, and the people of the neighbourhood, asking that that House would make the necessary provision for seeing how its own Act of Parliament had been carried out by the Dukes of Athole. The belief that not only should this sum be wiped away, but a very large credit appear on the other side, was supported by the fact that even according to the very imperfect Returns obtained recently in reply to the Motion of Mr. Parker, the tolls collected up to 1851 amounted to £34,569; while between 1851 and 1867 they were £19,612, being a total of £54,181; while during the last 11 years they could not be estimated, at the very lowest, at less than £8,000 or £10,000, making in all £62,000. Considering what the Dukes of Athole were authorized to spend in the first instance, and what they had since obtained in tolls, it was very difficult to see how there could be a balance in favour of the Athole family. But there was another matter—the trustee under the Act for the construction of the bridge—namely, the Duke of Athole—was authorized to purchase sufficient land for approaches to it. Of course such land as was not wanted for the bridge ought to have been sold, and the profits carried, not

*Mr. O'Donnell*

to the private account of the Duke of Athole, but to the account of the bridge, and in diminution of its cost. A considerable piece of garden-land remained over after the purchase, and a number of houses, called Athole Street, had been erected on it; but not 1*d.* of profit from this source appeared in the accounts of the Duke of Athole, although the profits must have amounted to between £7,000 and £8,000; so, upon the whole, the family of Athole had received from this source by pontage dues, and by the illegal reception of rents of trust lands, something like £75,000 or £76,000; and the people claimed that there should be some sufficient facilities given for obtaining exact information when there was such grave reason for discontent and suspicion. These were the broad and simple facts. Under the Act, not more than £18,000 was to be spent on the bridge, and no Act was passed authorizing any larger expenditure. There had been received, since the passing of the Act, a sum of £75,000 or £76,000, and instead of the bridge fund and the public being £45,000 or £50,000 to the good, the Dukes of Athole actually maintained that the public was in debt to the tune of £11,000. That statement was, after these figures, incredible, and it became still more incredible when they looked at the manner in which the accounts had first been withheld, and when filed had been at once subjected to a deduction of £43,000. It was not, however, so remarkable when they went into the facts and examined the accounts rendered by the Dukes of Athole. When they saw the items which were introduced for the purpose of giving some colour to this extraordinary claim, they found good reason for the suspicion with which this remarkable manufacture of the Athole family statistician was regarded in Dunkeld and the neighbourhood. He asked the House to remember that that account had been diminished by £43,000, and he asked them also to consider the financial exactitude of a family which did not render any account of its stewardship for half-a-century, and which, when it did, sent in an account claiming four-fold more than the debt now alleged as due to it by the public. In those accounts, even the whiskey supplied to the surveyors was charged. It might be argued that whiskey was necessary for the health of

the men working in that damp atmosphere; but there were items in the bill more curious than these charges for mutchkins of "Mountain dew." Among the approaches charged for was an item for cutting a road through the Warren Park, which was about three and a-half miles up the river above the bridge; and he left it to the House to decide the reasonableness and probability of allowing that approach to be charged for under the Act. This was an instance of the way in which these accounts had been bolstered up, and when they heard that they would not be surprised that the accountant had struck off the amount he had named. Why, it would be just as reasonable to charge the construction of a road at Hammersmith as an approach to Westminster Bridge. It could be proved that under cover of making similar approaches, the best portions of the charming Athole "policy" in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld were improved and beautified. In fact, while the Athole family had practically beautified their demesne at the expense of the public, they had the sublime self-possession to state that after receiving £80,000 for what did not cost them £18,000, the public still owed them over £11,000. He thought the bare outline which he had given of this remarkable case would be sufficient to induce this House to grant some substantial tribunal which would go into the whole of this matter, and allow the truth to be brought out without putting a lot of poor people, as these Petitioners mostly were, to the trouble and hard work of fighting their way through Scotch Law Courts against Scotch advocates and writers who were not the least acute members of their acute profession, and against a rich and powerful family like the Athole family. He contended that that House ought to do something to mitigate this scandal and grave public inconvenience, and to stop this illegal levy of tolls on a bridge which he maintained had been paid for five times. The hon. Member concluded by moving for the Address.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of the Dunkeld Bridge Tolls, and to ascertain, with items in detail, the real



state of the account of moneys received and expended by the Dukes of Athole in connection with the said Trust."—(*Mr. O'Donnell.*)

**THE LORD ADVOCATE:** Sir, I shall endeavour to explain very shortly the grounds upon which the Government cannot assent to the Motion of the hon. Member for Dungarvan. It is quite true that at the beginning of the century the then Duke of Athole obtained an Act by which he gave up certain rights of ferry, and obtained power to build a bridge, and to apply the tolls in repayment of the cost of the erecting, maintaining, and repairing of the bridge; the further provision being that when that cost was fully repaid, the tolls should be reduced by a third, and £1,500 accumulated for the future needs of the bridge. The hon. Gentleman is in error in saying that by the Act the outlay on the bridge was limited to £18,000. That sum was the limit imposed on the amount the Athole family were permitted to borrow from time to time during the existence of the trust on the security of the tolls; but, in point of fact, the erection of the bridge cost nearly double £18,000. I am not going into details about all this, because it would occupy a very long time, and because in the year 1868 a number of residents in the neighbourhood of Dunkeld instituted an action in the Court of Session directed against the present Duke of Athole, who had just then come into possession of his estates. The object of that action was to have an investigation of the whole of the accounts connected with the erection, maintenance, and repair of the bridge, and to have it declared by the Court that the whole debt due to the family had been paid off, and that the bridge was free, the Duke of Athole making good any sums received in excess of the expenditure. The litigation went on very actively for three years and a-half, both sides being represented by active agents and very able counsel, and it was brought to a termination by a final judgment of the First Division of the Court of Session, pronounced in January, 1872, which might have been appealed against; but as it was not appealed against within the period prescribed by Statute, has now become final. In that action almost every one of the points set up as grievances now were examined and disposed of by that

Court. There was a very full inquiry before an accountant. There were detailed objections to his report by both parties interested. It was fought most vehemently both in the Outer House and in the Inner Court, and the proceedings finally ended in a judgment which no proceedings have been taken to challenge or set aside. It repelled a number of pleas, and found the balance due was £18,116. I am not aware, starting from that point, that there is any complaint as to the management of the bridge or as to the lodging of the accounts. I understand the object of this Motion is to rip up all the previous questions judicially settled, and to try again by Royal Commission the question of the liability of the Duke of Athole after that question has been decided by a competent Court, and after full discussion of the points involved. Since the date mentioned, the accounts have been regularly kept, and from the accounts lodged, it appears that the debt in April, 1877, was reduced to £11,721, the large reduction being due to the payment by the Highland Railway Company of £5,000 as compensation for their interference with the traffic, which they had agreed to pay, but refused to hand over until they knew who were the proper persons to get the money. Upon these grounds, I say, the question has been settled by competent Courts, and we should not attempt to upset in this House the judgment which should be regarded as final.

**MR. M'LAREN:** May I ask my right hon. and learned Friend the Lord Advocate, if he will be good enough to say how many pounds were cut off by the Court from the claim of the Duke?

**THE LORD ADVOCATE:** The claim made by his Grace gave rise to a good deal of suspicion, and naturally so, because the claim made was something like £56,000, and that was reduced to £18,000. I think it only fair to say that the Duke was unable to make a more satisfactory account in consequence of the state of the trust.

**MR. ANDERSON** said, the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate complained that the question ought not to be brought forward, because it was a claim already settled by the Court of Session; but he (*Mr. Anderson*) thought he could show that that ought not in this case to be any bar. He would like to make a few re-

marks on the way in which it was brought before the House. It might be in the recollection of the House that for two Sessions he had had a Motion on the subject on the Paper. He had balloted for it, and on one or two occasions he had been fortunate enough to gain a time to bring it on; but on those occasions he was obliged to give way to Government Business, which he could not but admit was much more important. On the present occasion, the question had passed into other hands without any communication whatever being made to him, without any request, he was informed, from the inhabitants of the district; but at the request of some committee in London, of whom he knew nothing. He made no complaint of this nor of his having been treated in a manner different from that which usually prevailed in that House, simply because the Member who did it was a raw Member, and evidently knew nothing about the courtesies of the House. Beyond that he said nothing of the matter, except that he was glad to have assistance, and was particularly glad to see an Irish Member taking such interest in a Scotch grievance. He contended, in answer to the argument of the right hon. and learned Lord, that the question having been decided in a Law Court was no longer a case to be brought before this House, that that was not so. Although half-a-dozen actions had been settled in the Court of Session, it would be open for any man to raise a new action on the same ground. It was therefore equally open to any man, and therefore for the House, to raise the question in a public manner, especially in a case where public money was at stake. If it had been a legal question between one man and another, then the decision of the Court of Law would have been final; but it was different where the public was concerned. The Dukes of Athole had reason to know that not only the Scotch but the English public had wide privilege of raising such actions as these. As against the Dukes of Athole the case was very scandalous indeed. The hon. Member for Dungarvan had stated the facts correctly, but he did not state all. At the time the Duke John began the bridge he had it in contemplation to build a palace for himself at a cost of £400,000, and he had a great desire to get this

bridge made as an approach to that palace. That palace was never finished to this day. It was now an unfinished ruin. But his wish was to build the palace himself and to get the bridge built by public money. He got himself by the Act made sole trustee, and the moment he got himself made trustee he began ignoring the position of trustee, and spending money in every way he pleased. He was his own contractor, supplied wood and lime out of his own grounds, and charged his own price for them, instead of having estimates and public tenders as a trustee should. He got grants of stone from a neighbouring proprietor for the bridge, and used them for other purposes. Then he bought land for the purpose, and used it for other purposes. More than that, he did not build the bridge across the river at all. He actually built it on dry land, and then diverted the course of the river to run under the bridge. There was no need to divert the river to meet the wants of the public. He put the bridge in such a place that it might make an approach to his palace when it was built, and a great part of the expense was for making and cutting this alteration in the course of the river. He was his own contractor, he employed his own men, and paid them. There was no separate record kept of how the men were employed and how they were engaged. One of the worst of the charges, and one the House would admit the Court of Session acted very improperly in not going into, was that he borrowed money as a trustee. The words of the borrowing clauses of the Act were that he was entitled to borrow on behalf of the trust £18,000 at a rate not exceeding 5 per cent. But what did this Duke do? Part of the money he lent himself, and part he borrowed from other people at low rates of interest, and charged the trust for that 5 per cent. If that had been done by a Jew money-lender it would have been called swindling; but it was done by a great Duke, and it was overlooked. As a trustee, he took private pecuniary profit out of his trust. Scotland was a tolerably democratic country, but even there a great Duke had great power, and he was able in the Court of Session to have his case considered with a great leaning towards himself. For nearly 50 years he had not rendered accounts as required annually

by the Act, and when he was asked by the Government to render them they did not exist. It was believed that the accounts were manufactured by one of his own agents, and thus could not be otherwise than unfair to the public. These circumstances ought to have put him out of Court altogether, and so they would if he had not been a great Duke. Then the borrowing of money at a low rate and charging a high rate was going on for some 50 or 60 years, and the amount on that account that this bridge-trust had been unjustly charged would show now over £100,000. Each Duke of Athole had continued the practice till he had called attention to it, and then to get over the difficulty the present Duke paid up all the loans and lent the money himself, and still charged 5 per cent, without ever attempting to ascertain whether on the security of the pontages he could not obtain money at a lower rate than 5 per cent. As a trustee, he was bound in common honesty to try to find out if he could get money at a lower rate than 5 per cent. Each of the Dukes of Athole had acted wrongly in the trust, and, in his opinion, there was very good ground for the granting by the House of Commons of a Commission to inquire into the manner these accounts had been manufactured, and particularly as to the payment of the interest, for that was never properly gone into by the Court of Session; for both as regarded that, and as regarded the rents of certain houses, the accountant employed by the Court passed them over as not in his remit. These were strong points, and should be properly gone into. He considered the public interest was at stake, and that the House would be justified in granting this Commission.

THE LORD ADVOCATE: May I be permitted to explain that in Scotland the public have the right to sue as individuals—that is to say, the individual member of the public may vindicate the rights of the public at large; but I entirely demur to the statement that an individual proprietor may be sued again and again as many times as there are members of the public. Fortunately there are limitations to that right. I will only add that it never occurred to me, and I do not think it would occur to anyone who reads the papers, of a trial which extended from May to December, 1872, to say that the

pursuers of the action did not do the best they could on behalf of the public.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER: Sir, I cannot remain silent after the language applied to my hon. Friend the Member for Dungarvan (Mr. O'Donnell), who, whatever might have been his method of introducing the question, will, I am sure, be prepared to justify it here or anywhere else. It appears to me that when the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) acknowledges that for two years he has failed to find any substantial or suitable opportunity for bringing the matter forward, he has to a certain extent justified the belief that he was not prepared to go on with this question, or deal with it, and for that reason my hon. Friend felt justified in taking the course he has. I certainly think the hon. Member for Glasgow did not show his courtesy when he said that my hon. Friend knew nothing of the courtesies of this House. This is not the first time I have heard language of this kind from the hon. Member directed to Irish Members, and I rise to tell him once for all that he occupies no position in this House which entitles him to lecture hon. Members about courtesy, and he is not likely to be selected as a model of courtesy here or anywhere else.

MR. O'DONNELL: I only want to say a few words about the rather unprovoked attack made on me. So far from my thrusting myself into this business unsolicited, it is, on the contrary, true that I was requested by one who has suffered very much by the dispute between the people of Dunkeld and the Duke to take up this case, and the main reason why it was pressed on me was that it was believed that the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) was not particularly anxious to press the matter. Of that I know nothing; and the reason I took it up was practically in fulfilment of statements I have made that, considering the obligations Irish Members are under to English and Scotch Members, where there was a good cause for my interference in English or Scotch affairs I should be happy to interfere. I do not care to say more of the hon. Member for Glasgow, than that I am sure he is as courteous as he is accustomed to be. One word in reply to the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate. I very carefully avoided impugning the good faith of the Court of

*Mr. Anderson*

Session. Such Courts, though not immaculate, are so perhaps in theory, and it is well in this House not to interfere with the rights of judicial personages. It is, at the same time, quite right to lay stress on the fact that a Court under certain pressure may or may not be able to give substantial justice where there is a powerful party on the one side and a party by no means rich or influential on the other. The right hon. and learned Gentleman bears out my theory of the case in stating that the litigation went on for so many years, and produced an amount of litigation that only one side was able to bear. An appeal to the House of Lords was not one that the other side could possibly prosecute. The House has passed Acts defining the position of trustees, and there is overwhelming evidence that their provisions have been violated. For half-a-century it is admitted that the Dukes of Athole have violated this trust by not rendering any account. I hold, therefore, that there are overwhelming reasons why this House, as the guardian of the public interest and the public moneys, and the guardian of its own Acts of Parliament, should interfere on behalf of the poor people of Dunkeld.

MR. M'LAREN said, there was one thing which the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate, in his clear and able address, had omitted to mention, and that was that there was a Parliamentary grant of £7,000 given in aid of the cost of this bridge. Whenever Parliament gave a grant of public money, Parliament had a right to know how it had been expended. One might well be tempted to use harsh names when one found a claim was made for about £60,000, and that the highest Court cut it down to £18,000. One need not use very soft words in describing such conduct when this fact was looked at. There was strong reason for inquiring as to whether the public had had the benefit of this Parliamentary grant. Another point which the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate did not touch upon was, that allegation of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), that if the interest had been charged at the low rate at which the money was borrowed, instead of being charged 5 per cent, it would have made a difference of nearly £100,000 in the time over which it had extended. The accountant ap-

pointed by the Court to report said it was not in his power to take this question up under the remit to him, and therefore that question still remained in abeyance. Taking into account, first, the Parliamentary grant; and, secondly, the allegation that the Duke had not only in past years but was now charging 5 per cent for money borrowed; whilst, with such undoubted security it could have been borrowed at a much lower rate—taking these things into consideration, he thought the House had a right to inquire into the whole circumstances.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 79; Noes 189: Majority 118.—(Div. List, No. 5.)

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### RACECOURSES (LICENSING) BILL.

(Mr. Anderson, Sir Thomas Chambers, Sir James Lawrence.)

[BILL 76.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. ANDERSON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it would not be necessary to make any lengthened statement. The Bill was before the House the whole of last Session; but he had not the opportunity of bringing it forward for discussion, though he was aware from private sources that it was generally approved of, and had the support of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary and the hon. Baronet the Under Secretary for the Home Department. The Government, it appeared, therefore, were conscious of the necessity of giving to the magistrates increased powers over certain racecourses. It had been stated that the Bill had been framed with the view of doing damage to a particular class of sport, and he believed those who opposed it opposed it chiefly on those grounds. But what were in reality the objections to the Bill? The racing papers had written very strongly about himself and about his Bill, and had described him as a "sour Sabbatarian Scotchman who had no sympathy with sport, and who knew nothing whatever about it." Nothing, however, could be more contrary to the fact than that. He had not only been all his

time devoted to more than one sport, but he knew a great deal about most sports, and a good deal about the sport now under discussion. He should be very sorry to do anything which was calculated to injure so noble a sport as horse-racing; but these so-called racing meetings were unworthy of the name, and therefore the existing regulations required further supervision. There was no sport at all at these meetings—they were mostly what were called gate-money meetings, and were held for the purpose of selling tickets, of nefarious betting, and of swindling transactions in many shapes—very many of them far indeed from the spirit of genuine horse-racing. The Bill he introduced did not attempt to put down these meetings, but only to put them under magisterial control. It simply required that those who desired to hold these meetings within 10 miles of the metropolis should get the magistrates' licence for them. In that way the applicant would come before the magistrates, and they would have the opportunity of judging whether in former years a particular race meeting had been respectably conducted, or whether it was in hands which would ensure its respectable conduct in the future. If these licences were required, the managers would be much more likely to conduct their race-meetings respectably than if there were no such licences. The only strong objection raised against the Bill was that it applied only to the small district around the metropolis, and was not a general measure. That might be a defect, but although it applied only to the metropolitan district, that was, he believed, the district in which the greatest evils had arisen, and it was considered a sufficient argument in its favour that those evils ought to be checked at once. There could be little doubt that if the House declared that these racecourses ought to be put under wholesome restrictions, the moral effect of the passing of the Bill would be to make managers of racecourses in all parts of the country look more to the respectability and good conduct of those places; because they would feel that Parliament having once passed a Bill in this direction would be very likely to extend the provisions of that Bill, if racecourses continued to be conducted as many of them undoubtedly now were. He should not trespass further on the time of the

House, but should simply move the second reading of the Bill, and hoped the House would support it, as the Government had signified their approval of it, and expressed thereby a belief that it would be productive of some good in the neighbourhood of the metropolis.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Anderson.*)

MR. R. POWER, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, the hon. Member for Glasgow (*Mr. Anderson*) had told the House that he was a lover of sport, but he had carefully abstained from telling them what description of sport it was that he loved—whether rabbit-shooting, rat-catching, or dog-fighting. What the opponents of the Bill contended was that if licences for holding a race were considered necessary the power of granting them should be in the hands of the Jockey Club or the Committee of the Grand National Hunt. This Bill, however, professed to take it out of the hands of the Jockey Club and place it in the hands of the magistrates. He had listened with pleasure to the speech of the hon. Member for Glasgow, because, in the first place, it was a very brief statement, and he was certain that if the House was satisfied with the hon. Member for Glasgow, the hon. Member for Glasgow ought to be satisfied with himself. The hon. Member had discharged a duty towards society, and he now appeared before the House as one of those great moral reformers who were so fashionable at the present day. During the Recess the hon. Member appeared to have accumulated mountains of immaterial facts. He had gone to some trouble in examining the political history of the hon. Member, and he found he described himself as an advanced Liberal. Now he (*Mr. Power*) had never been able to find out what an advanced Liberal was. It was a happy and a curious term, and he supposed that the hon. Member for Glasgow meant that he was more enlightened than the ordinary run of Liberals, and less advanced than the Radicals. In fact, it appeared to him that an advanced Liberal was a man who was neither fish, nor flesh, nor good salt herring. If the hon. Member could comprehend for a moment the

*Mr. Anderson*

many pleasures and advantages arising from the ancient pastime of horse-racing—if he could shake himself free from all the false ideas that he associated with horse-racing—then he was certain the hon. Member for Glasgow might become a warm patron of the sport, and a more advanced advocate of the free enjoyment of that noble pastime. Englishmen were naturally proud of the perfection to which they had brought horse-racing, and the hon. Member for Glasgow proposed that the London tradesmen and artisans must be prevented from witnessing any racing unless they went to the trouble or expense of travelling a long distance. What were the reasons, if reasons they might be called, for interfering with this national sport? He had expected to have heard something about riots, disturbances, or annoyances caused to the inhabitants of the district; but the hon. Member had carefully avoided alluding to rioting or disturbances, for he knew very well that he (Mr. R. Power) held in his hand a report from the police court that would immediately contradict such a charge; but even if the hon. Member had done so, he could not believe that the hon. Member had no compassion for people suffering similarly outside the radius of 10 miles from Charing Cross. Under this Bill races might be held just outside the enchanted circle of 10 miles, and he could not but believe that the tender heart of the hon. Member beat acutely for the whole human race; so that if he succeeded in carrying this Bill he would bring in another Bill next year extending the present scale to 15 miles. He knew that the hon. Member for Glasgow had an expansive mind, and no doubt he would go on expanding the circle until it included Punchestown and the Curragh. The hon. Member for Glasgow had told his constituents during the Recess that if he succeeded in carrying this Bill he would go on expanding the magic circle. Now, if the scenes alleged existed, and he did not believe they did, for he had attended one or two of the meetings in question, there was the common law of the land amply sufficient to cope with any nuisance that might exist; and if the hon. Member for Glasgow doubted him upon that subject—and he knew that Scotchmen always required proof—he could quote the opinions of Lord Tenterden and Lord Justice Campbell. He

objected to the principle of the Bill, which was most dangerous and pernicious; for if once the principle was admitted then the Oxford and Cambridge Boat Race, and all such aquatic contests must become things of the past, because a few people might suffer temporary annoyance. He had looked over the list of stewards who generally patronized the meeting, and he found the names of men highly and honourably connected with the Turf—the names, amongst others, of the Duke of Montrose, the Duke of Hamilton, and Lord Marcus Beresford. Would those Noblemen give their names if they thought that the gatherings in question tended to lower horse-racing in any respect? The stakes that were run for were by no means small. Was it because the man who paid his half-crown had as good a view of the racing as those in the betting-ring that this Bill was introduced to deprive the London tradesman and the artisan of his amusement? This Bill would do no harm to the rich man, who could go all over England and the Continent in search of amusement; but it was intended for the poor man, who was singled out as the victim of officious zeal. If this Bill was passed for London, it ought also to be put in force as regarded Manchester, Liverpool, Chester, and other large towns where the best races in the world were held. He called upon the House to reject this “advanced Liberal” idea of interfering with the rights of the people. That the meetings in question were an annoyance to some he did not deny; but there were, indeed, few of the occupations or pleasures of life that did not disturb somebody’s equanimity. Why, what an annoyance and what a nuisance a political demonstration must be to nervous people. What a nuisance a procession must be to some persons. Aye, even an organ grinder or an itinerant street preacher caused annoyance. Yet those annoyances existed, and were properly ranked as some of the evils that all mortals had to bear. He was sure that the hon. Member for Glasgow had his annoyance, but did he think of coming to Parliament for redress? Why, there was no greater annoyance than a bore, be he a Parliamentary or a social bore; and they all knew how difficult it was to find a remedy for a nuisance of that description, and they also knew that Parliamentary resignation

was their only resource. Let those outside Parliament learn the same lesson, and instead of coming to this House for redress, let them go to their clergymen for consolation. Their best hope lay in the Millenium, and he would advise them to wait with all good patience for the arrival of that happy time. In every country there existed a class, and a most respectable class, who, although they might possess every pleasure, every comfort of life, were never satisfied—they must always have something to complain about, something to grumble about, always have a grievance; and he thought that class was represented in the House, and was ably represented, by the hon. Member for Glasgow. The most extraordinary part of the proceeding was that the supporters of the Bill should have to go to Scotland for an advocate of their grievances. He did not think they were wrong in doing so, for the people of Scotland, not being lovers of horse-racing, were little adapted for the noble pastime. Nature had, unfortunately, bereft them of almost all sporting tastes. Their country was not suited to the sport. Their dispositions were too tame and their tempers too even, and they were a people better adapted for agricultural pursuits and statistical societies. In saying that he did not wish to cast any aspersion on the character of the Scotch people. They were, no doubt, a great people, not easily disturbed by the frivolities of life. They were accustomed to an air of melancholy, and their great productions were snuff, whiskey, and thistles. If anyone doubted the excessive patriotism of the hon. Member for Glasgow, let them be made aware of this fact, that when he left his own great country, fearing that he might forget the land of cakes and ale, he came to reside at 36, Thistle Grove, in London. He (Mr. R. Power) did not know if any of the other Scotch Members lived there, nor what might be the attractions of that romantic spot; but without being in any way personal, he might observe that they had all heard of a certain quadruped which preferred thistles to oats. If fantastical notions of this description became the law of the land, he should not be surprised that the hon. Member proposed on some future occasion to extend legislation of a similar description to the city he represented. He talked about the charac-

ter of these meetings, but he (Mr. Power) had in his hand a letter describing a meeting at Glasgow, of which he would read a few lines. The writer said—

“I have attended a Magna Charta meeting in London; I have seen the Member for Stoke address his constituents; I once saw a prize-fight near Birmingham; but the people were aristocrats compared with those I saw yesterday. I did not think such a horrible-looking crowd could be collected together. A Glasgow mob is *par excellence* the worst mob in the world. It did not talk much, but when it did it swore. Swearing in English is very bad, but in Scotch it is awful. Only one respectable man lived in Rutherglen, and he was hanged for murder.”

If the object of the Bill was to deliver them from such people, there might be something in it; but everyone knew that an English race-meeting or an English mob was proverbial for its good humour. If the Bill was to become the law of the land, let the Scotch try it themselves first. The object of the Bill was to take away from the people a popular sport which they had long enjoyed. It appeared some persons were so constituted that it annoyed them to see others amused, while conversely some people took pleasure in the annoyance of others. The Puritans hated bull-baiting, not because it gave pain to the bull, but because it gave pleasure to the spectator. Let them take the case of fox-hunting. Every Irish Member was a fox-hunter, or at least ought to be. Fox-hunting might annoy a few farmers whose fields were ridden over, but he should like to know what would be the case if the hon. Member for Glasgow proposed that nobody should hunt without a magistrate's licence. The philanthropic spirit of the hon. Member for Glasgow might find better occupation than in introducing Bills of this coercive character. He might turn his attention to some Scotch grievance, or framing some vexatious Question for Her Majesty's Government—an occupation which seemed to suit the hon. Member extremely well. The hon. Member had begun at the wrong end. There was ample scope for the clergymen and the philanthropists in this great city. Instead of putting down the poor man's amusement, let him be educated to refrain from vice, to learn self-restraint, and to enjoy rational amusement free from excess. He asked the House not to raise up a feeling of bitterness be-

Mr. R. Power

tween the aristocracy and democracy, but to show their liberality and sense of justice by voting against a Bill which was tyrannical in principle, vicious in its nature, and opposed to every doctrine of progress and good government.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. R. Power.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. J. LOWTHER said, he did not intend to follow the hon. Member who had just sat down through the observations which he had made in a manner that did credit to himself, and had been appreciated by the House; but he wished to direct his remarks to another branch of the subject. The hon. Member for Glasgow had included in this Bill a small area in the vicinity of the metropolis, and he thought the House had a right to ask why, if the principle of the measure was good, it should be adopted within this area, and not extended to Liverpool, Birmingham, Manchester, and to other large towns? He should be the last man to say a word against the "great unpaid." Justices' justice would compare favourably with stipendiary injustice, at least in some cases; but if the power proposed to be given were conferred upon magistrates in the neighbourhood of London, how could it be refused to the magistrates of other great cities? He must, moreover, remind the House that it was not only county magistrates—amongst whom they were occasionally told there existed clerical and other somewhat crotchety elements—who were involved in this question; but that, in the case of the vast majority of racing fixtures, it would be the borough bench to whom application must be made, the result of which might be that the oldest and most popular gatherings in the Kingdom would be annually dependent upon a chance majority upon the local borough bench. The House would remember that during the last year very considerable alterations had taken place with regard to the rules of racing, and the powers of the Jockey Club with regard to the regulation of races had been materially increased. They could deal with abuses in regard to racing, and under the powers which they now possessed,

they could virtually prohibit any racing against which reasonable objection could be taken. They had power to prohibit in the Official Calendar any meetings which they chose to place under their ban, and the effect of their doing so would be to prevent any horse or individual who took part in such a meeting from appearing on any racecourse where the rules of the Jockey Club were enforced; which, he need not say, amounted to an absolute prohibition. It might be urged against his view that the Jockey Club was an irresponsible body, self-elected, and not amenable to control; but in practice it left full authority in the hands of the stewards. The stewards of the Jockey Club at this moment were the hon. Baronet the Member for North Lincoln (Sir John Astley), a noble Lord a Member of Her Majesty's Government (Lord Hardwicke), and the noble Lord who led Her Majesty's Opposition (the Marquess of Hartington). He thought that the conduct of racing affairs might be more satisfactorily allowed to remain in the hands of such a tribunal than transferred to a body of magistrates varying in different localities, of whom the House had no knowledge. It was right he should mention that the powers possessed under the rules of the Jockey Club had not been allowed to remain a dead letter; for, in the case of one of the very meetings comprehended within the present Bill—West Drayton—the Jockey Club had recently taken steps which had put a stop to the meeting in a summary manner, in consequence of irregularities which had been brought to their notice. He might be told that many of these meetings were not under the jurisdiction of the Jockey Club, because the sports were steeplechasing and hurdle-racing. Those races, however, were under the jurisdiction of an analogous body, the Grand National Hunt Committee, and they had rules in the same direction as the Jockey Club. The meetings at West Drayton, Streatham, and Enfield, referred to by the hon. Member, had been put down because the payment of the stakes had not been made in the manner prescribed by the rules. The magistrates already possessed considerable power in regard to racing. They could refuse to issue occasional licences for the supply of refreshments, and he thought that the hon. Member



should get the magistrates to exercise the power they already possessed before he asked the House to confer new powers on them. He had not been to any of these meetings for years, and probably should never go again—not that that constituted any reason why such gatherings ought to be summarily abolished—but he did not think that this measure would be the best way of remedying the evil complained of. He should therefore oppose the second reading of the Bill.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he was not an ardent supporter of suburban race meetings. They were undoubtedly at times a considerable nuisance to their neighbours, and not conducive to the best interests of the Turf. At the same time, they could not forget that these meetings afforded considerable amusement to a large number of people, and that fact should not be disregarded. The Turf was an institution which, like all other institutions, was open to abuse, but it possessed many advantages, and he had its interests warmly at heart. Whatever abuses might exist, he did not think that the best way to remove them was to make the holding of those meetings depend upon the magistrates. The hon. Member proposed to limit the Bill to within 10 miles of London and to meetings established within the past 20 years; but it must be obvious that they could not impose any limits of mileage to such a principle, and if it were extended to 15 miles Epsom would be included. Did anyone think that Parliament or the country would place the Derby under the control of the magistrates of the county? The thing was preposterous; and he thought, therefore, that the subject should be left to the racing authorities.

MR. ASSHETON said, his sympathies ran with the hon. Member for Glasgow. He thought the hon. Member had proved the Preamble of his Bill out of the mouths of his opponents. He believed the suburban meetings were looked upon with much disfavour by the Jockey Club. They had heard, however, that the attention of the racing authorities had been called to the evil, and he would suggest that the Bill should not be pressed to a division, in order that time might be given to the racing authorities to reform the abuses which existed.

*Mr. J. Lowther*

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON said, there was no question that at these suburban meetings there had been scenes which the Jockey Club disapproved, and the Department with which he was connected had received incessant complaints of the disturbances created at the races and of the abuses which had occurred. It certainly had been a source of disquietude that these abuses should be allowed to continue. Not being so much mixed up with racing matters as the hon. Member for York (Mr. Lowther), he was not aware of the powers which had been given to the racing authorities, and he was glad to hear that those authorities had at last woken up to the fact that they should put a stop to the abuses. He would rather leave the matter to the proper racing authorities than create a fresh authority for the purpose. He knew that these meetings tended immensely to degrade racing, and that they did an immense injury in the neighbourhood of the metropolis—an amount of injury which was almost incalculable. We could not be certain that the object aimed at could not be attained in a better way than that proposed by this Bill. He should therefore wish the hon. Member for Glasgow to allow his Bill to drop for the time, in order to see what the action of the existing authorities might be; and if that should prove insufficient, then something in the nature of this Bill would be necessary in order to protect the neighbourhood of the metropolis from scenes such as had very much disgraced them on the occasions under consideration.

SIR HENRY JAMES said, as far as he could understand the matter, the Jockey Club really exercised no control whatever over these suburban meetings. The object of them was simply to get the gate-money. At other race-meetings that plan was not so extensively acted upon, and that was one of the reasons he presumed, why this Bill should be limited to the proposed area. The system of local meetings was not practised elsewhere as it was in the suburban area. These meetings, together with some persons fond of sport, brought together large crowds of others, who came distinctly with the intention of committing crime in the neighbourhood, and these persons interfered materially with the value of property in those

neighbourhoods. When they found that as many as eight race-meetings were held close to the metropolis, they would see that it had grown into a nuisance that did not exist in other places. He knew that this Bill would be opposed by many of the supporters of legitimate sport; but he would ask them to reflect upon the fact that not one horse ever went to these meetings that could be sold for more than about £20, and that the meetings were principally promoted by publicans to serve their own interests. It was, therefore, idle to pretend that these meetings promoted the love of sport, or the improvement of the breed of horses. No one who wanted a good horse would dream of attending these meetings for the purpose of purchasing one. If these races were advocated on the score that they administered to the amusement of the poor, he would say that he doubted whether any poor man ever resorted to them in order to enjoy fair honest sport; but they were rather resorted to by the dregs of the population for a very different purpose from that of amusement. He feared the Jockey Club could do nothing in the matter, and he should therefore support the Bill, though he feared his hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow would stand a poor chance of success.

MR. ANDERSON, in reply, said, that he had spoken briefly in making the Motion, because he could not anticipate what objections would be urged to it, so he would now enter a little into the proposals of the Bill and answer the objections. The hon. Member below him (Mr. R. Power) had made a very irrelevant speech, as the largest part of what he said had little to do with the Bill at all. He treated it as a Bill to put down and discourage horse-racing, whereas it merely sought to regulate it, and to put down abuses. It was in no sense a Bill to stop the amusements of the poorer class. The hon. Member had spoken in strong condemnation of the mobs that gathered in the neighbourhood of Glasgow; but he might tell the hon. Member that if there was a meeting at Glasgow at which there were large crowds of roughs, they were entirely composed of the Irish element. He had limited the area to which his Bill applied because the evils so far only extended over a limited area. He had been asked what facts he had laid before the Government to justify

his Bill. It was entirely unnecessary to lay any facts before them, for they knew the facts perfectly well, and last year they cordially approved of this Bill, and the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for the Home Department had told them that still he would approve of such a Bill if it was impossible for the Jockey Club to deal with these race-meetings. He believed he could show that the Jockey Club would be unable to deal with them, for these new rules had been in existence more than a year without effect. He was glad to hear that the Jockey Club, through his Bill of last year, had been driven into attempting to check the abuses which had become so notorious; but that Club had no real power in the matter. It was said they could take steps which would prevent horses which had run at the suburban race-meetings going to more respectable meetings; but the owners of such horses did not want them to go to more respectable meetings, and plenty of jockeys could be found of the class that was wanted. There was a class of horses that never could go to respectable meetings. The winner at Eltham races was sold for £25, and that being so, he left the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary for the Colonies to conjecture what could have been the price of the losers. It was not regular racing men that attended these races, and nearly all the steps taken by the Jockey Club had been failures. The most recent races had been characterized by the same abuses as before. They were not fair races, because the winning horses and the losing ones were known beforehand. The horse that was to win was an arranged matter. They were a great nuisance in the neighbourhood. A detective officer from Scotland Yard had been engaged to attend four days' racing at Kingsbury, and his report was a melancholy picture of the kind of racing they had to deal with. He said that the roulette table was busy, and so were some 50 betting men in and about the ring; the betting for the most part was as unfair as the racing, and card-sharping was carried on with the greatest of ease. With all his—the officer's—experience he had never seen a greater number of scoundrels and blackguards collected together before in his life. The promoters of such meetings did not care a jot for the Jockey Club, and simply laughed at it. He, there-

fore, claimed the vote of the Under Home Secretary, because the Jockey Club was utterly powerless to remedy the evil.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 84; Noes 82: Majority 2.—(Div. List, No. 6.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed for Friday*.

#### LIBEL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Hutchinson, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Cowen, Mr. Puleston, Mr. Morley, Mr. Waddy, Mr. Edward Jenkins, Colonel Gourley.*)

[BILL 81.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. HUTCHINSON, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the Motion had accidentally come into his hands, as it should have been moved by the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), or the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen). He supported the Bill, but had had no part in drawing it up. It had been framed under the auspices of the Provincial Newspaper Society, which represented about 600 newspapers published throughout the length and breadth of the land and of the most diverse political opinions. Those hon. Gentlemen who were connected with the Bill had not come forward on account of a special interest of their own; but because of their special knowledge and long familiarity with the defects of the existing system they were most qualified to give evidence on the subject. It was not for the first time that controversy had been raised on this subject in the House of Commons. In the Sessions of 1867, 1868, and 1869 proposals almost identical with those in many respects which he had the honour to submit passed the second reading, received the sanction of the Law Officers of the Crown, and were only prevented going further by sheer want of time, or other causes which he need not now particularly refer to. The declaration, therefore, in the Preamble of the Bill, "that it is expedient to amend the law of libel," rested on repeated Parliamentary decisions. He would, in the first instance, give a brief summary of the

*Mr. Anderson*

Bill. A public newspaper was defined to be a newspaper registered at the General Post Office, or entered at Stationers' Hall, and it was provided that any report of a public meeting published in such a paper should be exempt from any action for libel providing it was a true and fair report of a meeting of a representative character, and that the report was *bond fide* and without actual malice, and in the ordinary course of business. The House would observe that the language was very peculiar—the meeting must be of a "representative character." That phrase was introduced by the Attorney General (Sir John Rolt) who was in office in 1867, as he distrusted the ambiguity of the term "public meeting." By public meeting of a representative character was meant a meeting at which reporters were present, and at which the speakers were speaking under some degree of responsibility to public opinion; and although it might be exceedingly difficult to give a terse definition of something so complicated in its character, he thought there would be no difficulty in deciding what was a public meeting should the issue ever be raised. Thus, then, repeatedly as the House had affirmed that the reports of public proceedings should be held to be exempt from actions for libel, he trusted the House would not now reverse that decision. While the Bill took care of the newspaper, it was also mindful of the interests of any individual who might consider himself aggrieved. He could if he pleased claim to have an explanation or contradiction inserted in the newspaper, and that claim must be allowed. That was in accordance with the maxim that where there was a wrong there should be a remedy. The Bill went still further in the same equitable direction, for it provided that if any person should at such a meeting utter matter which came under the operation of the law of libel he should himself be as much responsible as though that matter had been written and printed by himself. On that point Lord Lyndhurst said, that a man who went to a public meeting knowing that the words he uttered would be taken down and sent through the length and breadth of the land, and uttered words which were libellous was morally, and ought to be legally, as liable as the man who printed

them. Sir John Karslake, when Solicitor General, gave it as his opinion that a clause of that kind would work extremely well. He hoped that up to this point the proposals of the measure would command the sympathy of the House. He would not linger on Clause 4, which provided that the defendant in an action for libel might pay money into Court by way of amends. Clause 5 was what was known as the 40s. clause, and according to it a defendant should not be mulcted in damages or costs to a greater amount than 40s., except the Judge should certify that there had been malice. To this latter clause he proposed to add—"Except the jury shall find, and the Judge shall certify, that there was malice." That would make the clause more in accordance with the spirit of British law. He now came to the second part of the Bill, which related to criminal prosecutions. It was proposed that no proprietor of a public newspaper should be liable to a prosecution of that character unless he was himself either the author, the joint author, or the writer of the alleged libel; unless he had seen, or had had an opportunity of seeing it, prior to publication; or unless he omitted from any cause whatever, when required to do so in writing, to give the name of the author or writer. There were other conditions to which he need not advert; but the object of the clause was to make clear by Statute that with respect to which the Judges of the land were at the present moment divided in opinion. There could be no question that in a matter of this importance, where such weighty public interests were involved, directly contrary interpretations of the law had been given by the highest functionaries appointed to administer it; and surely there was a necessity here for something, were it only in the nature of a declaratory enactment, which should reveal the true intent and meaning of the existing Statutes. If a journalist refused to comply with any of the conditions of the present Bill, he would thereby himself assume the responsibilities of authorship, and, under the measure, he would be justly left to bear the consequences. The Bill likewise provided for securities against the setting-up of criminal prosecutions by men of straw, by demanding that the person who brought such an

action should enter into his own recognizances to proceed, and should find securities for costs in case they should be awarded against him. It also provided for the same kind of security against what the late Sir Colman O'Loughlen had termed "pettifogging attorneys." Further, the Bill demanded, in order that a criminal prosecution might not be kept hanging perpetually over the head of the unfortunate journalist, that the prosecutor should within one year after pleading bring the matter to an issue. To that clause, also, Sir John Karslake in 1867 gave his unqualified approval. In short, while the Bill endeavoured to provide some security for the Press, it had also regard to the security of the individual, and while proceeding on the principle that the general welfare was the supreme consideration, it tried to bring that principle into harmony with private rights. There were many instances in which newspapers had suffered from the present state of the law. In 1876, *The Manchester Courier*, a highly respectable Conservative journal, was condemned in heavy costs for publishing the proceedings of a Board of Guardians, though the paper gave insertion to two letters of explanation.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. HUTCHINSON proceeded. *The Times* newspaper was prosecuted for denouncing the concocters of a great commercial fraud—some eminent merchants subscribed a large sum of money and presented it to the proprietors of *The Times*; but they, instead of applying the money to their own purposes, founded therewith a scholarship in a great public school. On whatever side of the House hon. Gentlemen might sit, or in whatever part of the country one might live, it might be said of *The Times*, in language like that applied by the late Sir Robert Peel to Lord Palmerston—"We are all proud of it." The measure did not refer to Scotland but only to England and Ireland. Scotland was already in possession of the immunities which he desired to see extended to the rest of the United Kingdom. North of the Tweed there were no criminal prosecutions for libel. It was a remarkable fact that in

Scotland offences against the libel law were almost unknown. There a journalist was put upon his honour, which weighed more heavily and constantly upon his conscience than pecuniary and all other penalties. Why should not there be an assimilation of the law all over the United Kingdom, especially when the tone of the Press was undoubtedly becoming more courteous, more generous and forbearing in proportion as the code by which it was regulated became milder? Putting Scotland out of the question, there remained the fact that in England, Ireland, and Wales there were 1,188 provincial newspapers, and that last year there were only a score of actions brought against them for libel. In some of these cases a verdict was given for the plaintiff; and in others, where the defendant was cast in damages, the public had stepped forward to indemnify him. He knew it might be said that a new form of journalism was springing up which demanded stringent and cogent regulations; but he would point out that the articles which appeared in such publications were not quoted in respectable newspapers. He regretted that journals of that new form should be bought and read by respectable people; but the absurdity of the thing was that the very classes who were most alarmed at what they called the "licence of journalism" were precisely the classes who supported these chiefs of sinners. Society, in short, created that which it affected to deplore, and desired new safeguards against an evil which was to be attributed only to its own shortcomings. In this country public opinion was the ultimate court of appeal. The wiser policy was to leave the newspapers largely to the influence of that potent public opinion. It was said that the Judge himself was condemned when a criminal man was acquitted, and so it might be true that the law itself had fallen into disrepute when the punishment exceeded the offence. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Hutchinson.*)

freedom of the Press, but it was also well known, he believed, that he was anxious for the accuracy of reporting. The present Bill attempted to reverse the principle of Lord Campbell's Act with regard to slanders and libels. The principle of Lord Campbell's Act was that whoever published a libel was liable to action or to indictment for that publication, and that law extended to the reports of speeches made—whether in that House, at public meetings, or in municipal assemblies—in fact, to all reports. Well, he held that that principle which Lord Campbell, who had himself been a reporter in the Gallery of that House, enacted when he became Lord Chancellor, was just and essential at once to the preservation of private character and to the restraint of the publication of matters defamatory or libellous. Now, the principle of this Bill was that the reporter should not be liable—he was not liable now—for what he reported as having been said by any speaker; and it went further, and said that the proprietor of a newspaper should not be liable for the report of anything contained in a newspaper, however defamatory or libellous. But the principle of the Bill was that the person who was reported to have spoken the words should be liable. Why, that rendered every speaker liable for the actions of persons who were not his agents, and over whose conduct he had no control. That was a manifest violation of the first principles of law and justice. He had seen in the Provincial Press reports of his own speeches which he could scarcely recognize, and even lately he saw in the papers five different versions of a speech which he made in that House that Session, and they all differed. Was he to be liable for what appeared in all those five different versions?

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter after Eight o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Wednesday, 30th January, 1878.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—*First Reading*—Dental Practitioners \* [96]; Threshing Machines \* [97].

*Second Reading*—Public Baths and Washhouses \* [37].

*Second Reading*—*Referred to Select Committee*—Criminal Law Evidence Amendment [23].

*Third Reading*—Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis) \* [14], and *passed*.

## NOTICE OF MOTION.

## THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

CAPTAIN PIM gave Notice that tomorrow, on the Motion for the Vote of Credit, he should move as an Amendment the following Resolution:—

“That this House, while giving Her Majesty’s Government due credit for having hitherto maintained the policy determined upon after the solemn assurances given on his sacred word of honour by His Imperial Majesty the Czar, published in the *London Gazette* by his own request, on the 21st November, 1876, that he desired only the safety of the Christians and aimed at no aggrandizement whatever, is of opinion that those assurances are being deliberately evaded by the proposed terms of peace and the advance of the Russian army, and believes that the time has now arrived when immediate action on the part of Great Britain is an absolute necessity. And the House requests Her Majesty’s Government to lay upon the Table forthwith the estimates for placing the Navy and Army on a war footing.”

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## CRIMINAL LAW EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL—[BILL 23.]

(*Mr. Ashley, Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Clive.*)

## SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that as the measure was before the House last Session, he would avoid repeating again what he said on the previous occasion, and he contended that the burden of proof that the measure ought not to be sanctioned by the House

rested with its opponents. It was for them to show that in the administration of justice there should be a rule contrary to what common sense and the practice of ordinary life would *prima facie* sanction; and that the Criminal Law should be an exception to the general law as to the admission of the parties themselves to give evidence in the interests of truth. The Preamble of the Bill recited that it was expedient for the better administration of justice that, in criminal cases, both as regarded the conviction of offenders and the acquittal of the innocent, the accused and their wives or husbands should be permitted to give evidence. The rule that prisoners should not be examined originated in the tyrannical conduct of the Judges at the time of the Revolution. As the reason had disappeared, and as he believed for ever, the rule ought also to vanish. The change he now proposed would tend to the surer conviction of the guilty, while it would afford a greater chance of escape to the innocent. He did not suppose there was a Member of the House who would not wish, if he were charged with a criminal offence, to have the opportunity of giving evidence. The only objection to the change proposed by this Bill was that there were evils which would counter-balance the advantages of allowing prisoners to be examined. He had found from conversation with men of high position and repute that there were persons in this country who seemed to think that it was rather right that a certain number of chances should be given to a man to escape. A great number of people looked upon the administration of justice as a game based on certain rules, and spoke as if it would be unfair to modify these rules to the disadvantage of one of the parties to the game. That was not a reasonable view. He considered the certainty of punishment as far more important and efficacious than its severity. The escape of the guilty was a great encouragement to the criminal class. He believed that nothing would tend more to ensure the conviction of the guilty than to examine them. It was a blot on any system of justice when many offenders escaped. *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*. Many persons objected to the foreign proceeding of examining prisoners being introduced into this country, as they knew that sometimes the Judges on the

Continent put the prisoners through a system of torture; but he would ask whether it was possible, with such a Bar and Bench as existed in this country, there was any danger of the Continental system of bullying being introduced. The Judges would act as moderators, and would prevent any excesses taking place. Even since last Session cases had occurred which showed the practical grievance which this Bill would remedy. Among others was that case of rape which was tried at the Liverpool Assizes, and in which three men were sentenced to various terms of penal servitude. Owing to the chance that two of the men were defended by counsel, a memorial with reference to their case was sent to the Home Office. Three other men were in consequence charged at the following Assizes, and the three convicts were brought up to give evidence. The result of their evidence, agreeing as it did in all respects, as pointed out by the presiding Judge, was to convince the Court that no crime had been committed at all, and the three men, who were under sentence of penal servitude, had since received a free pardon. It had been urged against the Bill that the majority of persons brought into Court charged with offences were of a low moral condition, and would be likely to give lying evidence merely from the habit of lying, that thereby the jury would be prejudiced against them, and that thus prisoners would often be "found guilty" of offences which they had not committed. To that argument his answer was, that he would not sacrifice the interests of the innocent to the moral defects of some of them, and that under the present system the statement made by a prisoner at the time of his arrest was laid before the jury. In cases of complicated commercial fraud, in which several persons were implicated, the only way to ascertain the full truth would be by examining the prisoners. The principle which this Bill would establish in this country had been incorporated in the new Code of India, which had been described as English law with all the nonsense taken out. New Zealand had adopted it, so had the United States of America; and the answer to inquiries made as to its operation in those States was that in all of them except one, which did not speak very decidedly, it gave satisfaction to all the Chief Justices and

Attorneys General, and did not inflict hardship or injustice on any prisoner. He believed that in this country, whenever there were ample means and ample time, the administration of justice was nearly perfect; but he did not think so well of the trial of the ordinary cases at Assizes and Sessions. An undefended prisoner was now virtually questioned at the trial by the evidence given against him, and yet was forbidden to answer in the only way which his low education usually permitted; but was perplexed and baffled by being called upon to lay the foundation for a skilled address to the jury by questions which he was told to put to the witnesses, but which invariably took the form of statements in which he was constantly being checked by the Court. It was often a most unsatisfactory scene. What he asked the House to do now was to affirm the principle of the Bill—namely, that a man accused of a crime should himself, by his own evidence, in answer to the evidence produced by the prosecution, be able to show that he was perfectly innocent, and be prepared to prove it by submitting to a cross-examination. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving that the Bill be read a second time.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Evelyn Ashley.*)

MR. SERJEANT SIMON, in moving, as an Amendment, that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, that he did so, not so much for the purpose of opposing the Bill as for eliciting a full discussion of the measure. It was one of the greatest importance, and had not, as it seemed to him, been sufficiently considered either by the House or the public. He should regret extremely if Members of the Bar who held seats in that House and were practically concerned in the administration of justice allowed a measure of this kind to pass *sub silentio*. His objections to the Bill were by no means strong. The subject was one to which he had given much and anxious consideration. At first sight it did seem unreasonable and unfair that a prisoner charged at the bar of a Criminal Court should have his mouth closed and not be able to tell his own story. There was a general senti-

*Mr. Evelyn Ashley*

ment—and he did not ignore sentiment—that no man should be allowed to convict himself out of his own mouth. But he did not press that sentiment as an argument against the Bill. His own opinion was rather in the direction of the opinion of his hon. and learned Friend. But he viewed this matter as a practical question. What would be the practical effect of a measure of this kind on the administration of justice? His hon. and learned Friend said that the adoption of his Bill would secure the conviction of a larger number of guilty persons; while, on the other hand, a larger number of innocent persons would be acquitted under it. He (Mr. Serjeant Simon) believed that under it a larger number of guilty persons would be convicted; but he entirely dissented from the opinion that a larger number of innocent people would be acquitted. No doubt if an innocent man were charged with an offence, he would desire to have an opportunity of telling his own story. But where they found one innocent person of strong nerve and will, ready to speak the whole truth, conscious of innocence, how many persons who were entirely innocent would be able in that position to undergo such an ordeal, and to undergo a searching cross-examination? Those who knew much of our Courts could say that few witnesses ever could give a clear and succinct account of what they knew without bias; or who, having told a story without bias, could undergo a searching cross-examination. Take the case of an accused person, ignorant of the rules of law, being cross-examined by counsel skilled in his art, the odds would be immeasurably against the accused and in favour of the prosecution. Where you would find one intelligent person who had the power of facing the difficulties of a cross-examination you would find 20 others, equally moral, equally innocent, utterly incapable of such an encounter; and although it might be that no man ought to be a victim from a state of the law which some deplored, yet in his opinion it would be far worse for the accused, and they would be placed in much greater danger if the law were altered in the way proposed by this Bill. Then what would be the effect of the change in the law upon the demoralized class? He thought that the policy which had been pursued during the last 20 years

or more was one most calculated to do good—namely, to punish offenders, not for the mere sake of punishment, but to reform them, and to redeem them from their bad habits. To throw the class of habitual offenders into the category of hopeless criminals would be unwise and cruel. The tendency of this measure, he feared, would have that effect. The great majority of persons charged with crime were of this class. They were too poor to employ counsel, and even after stating their case and going through the test of cross-examination, who was to re-examine them to clear up points which had arisen on cross-examination? Such a re-examination was one of the most delicate and difficult offices of an advocate, requiring the greatest discretion. Poor ignorant persons who were put upon their trial had not intelligence enough to conduct their own cases. They would be placed at great disadvantage under a law which would practically compel them to give evidence; they would be cross-examined by skilled counsel for the prosecution, and they would not be able to clear up difficulties which had been raised against them in the course of cross-examination. Why should the large mass of prisoners, very many of whom were innocent of the offences imputed to them, be placed in a position of such peril? It might be said that the Judge was entitled to put any question in order to clear up points, and his hon. and learned Friend had referred to the system adopted in the French Courts. But God forbid that our Courts should ever present such a spectacle as was often seen in the French tribunals! If there was one thing that Englishmen were more proud of than another, it was the serene aspect of our Courts and impartiality displayed by the Judicial Bench of this country. Yet he did not think that even an English Judge would be wholly free from the taint which sullied the administration of justice in some other countries if the present Bill became law. “The ermine which clothed the Judge clothed also the frailties of mortal man.” If there was to be a sharp encounter of wits between the Bench and perhaps some guilty rascal in the dock, in process of time they might find the Judge turned into an advocate for the prosecution and the adversary of the prisoner. That would shake public confidence in the adminis-



tration of justice, and impair the reverence now felt for our Judges. So far he had spoken of the Superior Courts, but the argument was even stronger against the Bill if they turned to the inferior tribunals. He had known some Chairmen of Quarter Sessions who, although they might not be trained lawyers, were yet admirable magistrates. But for one man like the right hon. Member for Oxfordshire (Mr. Henley)—whose retirement from that House they all so much regretted—who was so well qualified to guide the judgment of the Bench, how many were there of a different description? He had heard of a case in which a prisoner on his trial at County Sessions, when asked what he could say for himself, blurted out that he was as innocent as a child unborn, whereupon the Chairman—a gentleman of high character—said to the prisoner—"Why, your face is enough to hang you." That was considered a very good joke by the youngsters of the Bar; but it was considered in a very different light by the older barristers. He did not say that such scenes as that occurred frequently; but if by any possibility such a thing could occur in an English Court of Justice at present, great care was necessary before changing the law so as to place the prisoner at the mercy of a partial or incompetent Judge. He might be told that his argument went to the abolition of Judges who had not received a legal training and did not possess judicial impartiality. He admitted that; but he maintained that the evil would be considerably increased if they put into the hands of magistrates, or Chairmen of Sessions the additional power which that Bill would give them. The 6th section of the Bill said it should be optional with the prisoner to tender himself as a witness, and the 10th section said that the neglect or refusal of any prisoner or defendant to give evidence should not create any presumption against him, and also that no adverse comment should be made at the trial on such neglect or refusal. Such a provision must be wholly nugatory, for the moment they gave a prisoner power to tender himself as a witness he would be practically bound to do so; and, if he refused, they could not exclude adverse comment. Moreover, even if there were no such comment made, the jury would

*Mr. Serjeant Simon*

know that the prisoner might have tendered himself, but had not done it, and they would be influenced accordingly. The Bill virtually reversed the just and wise principle of our law that every man must be taken to be innocent until he was proved guilty, and it shifted the onus of proof from the accuser to the accused. It sought, in fact, to place in the same category two totally distinct classes of persons, whose positions could not be assimilated, and to treat a prisoner in the dock as an ordinary witness. If a prisoner was to be a witness, he must be liable to the penalties of perjury; and if he were a timid or nervous man and made a slip in his statements, he might expose himself to another prosecution. In fact, the provision amounted to this—that every prisoner would be bound to accuse himself under the penalty of condign punishment. Again, what would be the effect on a prisoner who refused to answer a particular question because his answer might subject him to another charge? Why, his chance of acquittal would be entirely gone, and there would be an end to his case. He (Mr. Serjeant Simon) did not think our present system was perfect, or that there were not instances in which it would be an advantage to be able to question the prisoner; but cases of that sort would be better provided for by a rehearing or appeal before a properly constituted tribunal, having larger powers than were now given in ordinary cases of appeal. The practical operation of the Bill would be, instead of putting the prisoner at an advantage, to put him at great disadvantage; for he would not only have to prove his innocence, but if he did not accuse himself where he was guilty he would be punished for that refusal. The safeguards which the measure was intended to throw around accused persons were no safeguards at all, but rather the reverse. The hon. and learned Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Serjeant Simon.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

Mr. RODWELL, in opposing the second reading, said, that the whole

question put to the House was one affecting the interests of the public at large in every mode and shape, and not one to be dealt with by professional men only. It intimately concerned the principles on which our Criminal Law was at present administered; and if this Bill was passed it would make a total revolution in the administration of our law. Although he had had considerable experience in the practice of the Criminal Law, it would be presumptuous in him, knowing how many eminent authorities were in favour of a system of that sort, to say it would be wrong that a prisoner in some circumstances and under certain restrictions should be examined. The boast of Englishmen was that the prosecutor had to prove the guilt of the prisoner, and that the prisoner was not called upon to prove his innocence. If the Bill was made law the direct result of its application would be to call upon the prisoner, not quite, but almost in as many terms, to prove his innocence before the jury could acquit him of the charge. The 10th section of the Bill said that the refusal of a prisoner to give evidence should not create a presumption against him; but the jury were the persons who would have to draw the inference that might be drawn from such a circumstance; and how, by any clause it might pass, could the House possibly control the feelings of an English jury, often a very capricious body indeed? Moreover, the question of such a presumption was rather a metaphysical one; but if the accused did not, or could not, answer a question that was put to him, and the question was in doubt, the prisoner would probably go on his trial with a presumption against him. He was at a loss to understand what were the advantages to be derived from that Bill, and whether its object was to obtain more convictions of the guilty or more acquittals of the innocent. The Liverpool case which had been referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Poole might have occurred under that Bill. He could not quite concur in what had fallen from the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) as to the perils of cross-examination. His own experience was that where a witness was the witness of truth—as in the case of a child or a young person—the evidence so given was the most difficult to shake on cross-examination.

He would suggest in no unfriendly spirit to the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Ashley) that, having brought this question before the House, he should allow it to be dealt with, not by a fragmentary measure such as that under discussion, but in a larger and more complete way, after a Commission or some other competent body had been instituted to examine it in all its bearings, and hear the conflicting opinions which might be held upon it by those who were well qualified to speak on such a matter. As for the proposal to admit the evidence of husbands and wives, it was one in favour of which there was a great deal to be said. It was strange, to say the least of it, that a man's mistress might be admitted to give evidence in his favour while his wife could not; and if the part of the Bill dealing with that anomaly had stood alone, he should probably have felt inclined to support it. That was a very large and important question, however, and he hoped to see it dealt with in a more satisfactory manner than that now proposed. All things being considered, he did not think the Bill, in its present shape, was worthy the acceptance of the House.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER said, that it had been maintained that to permit a prisoner to offer himself for examination would be contrary to the interest of the prisoner and would not be favourable in many cases to an innocent man on his trial. It would be remembered by the House that at one time a prisoner indicted for felony was not allowed to have the benefit of counsel except for the purpose of cross-examination. His counsel was not allowed to address the jury in his defence. The argument then advanced was that if the prisoner's counsel was allowed to address the jury on his behalf the trial would be a contention between the counsel for the prisoner and the counsel for the prosecution; and that in many cases prisoners were not able to secure the services of very able or experienced counsel, as very often their defence fell into the hands of young men, while the prosecution was generally entrusted to more experienced persons. Moreover, they said the Judge would be put in this position—that in summing up the case he would have to refute many things advanced on behalf of the prisoner, and that, therefore, the pri-

soner would not be in such an advantageous position as if he left his case in the hands of the Judge. Parliament, however, overruled these objections, and at present counsel for the prisoner were allowed to address the jury, while none of the dreadful consequences to prisoners which had been prognosticated had arisen. For his own part, he should deeply deplore the adoption in this country of the French system of examining prisoners; but, at the same time, he believed that the cause of truth would be promoted by allowing the prisoner to tell his own story. However uneducated or nervous he might be, an innocent man could hardly fail to impress the jury favourably with his plain, unvarnished tale. The Bill did not propose that he should be presumed to be guilty unless he defended himself; it only enabled him, if he thought fit, to call an additional witness in his own favour—namely, himself. No doubt a prisoner's refusing to tell his own story would be *prima facie* evidence against him; but if he had an honest reason for his refusal—such as over-nervousness or mental prostration—it could be stated and would have due weight with the jury. In the present state of the law there was always the possibility of an innocent man being convicted; and he thought, therefore, it would be a clear advantage to have the prisoner's evidence. Who could doubt that in the Penge case, for instance, if the prisoners had been allowed to come forward as witnesses, the truth would have been much more clearly elicited? There were many points in that case which were not cleared up, and which could only have been cleared up by the prisoners themselves. The principle which prevailed in civil law—namely, to admit as much evidence as possible, seemed to him a sound one for civil and criminal cases alike. If a defendant could be examined in a civil case, why should not a prisoner be examined in a criminal case, the object being exactly the same in both cases—namely, the ascertainment of truth. The hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) might have used the same arguments against allowing a defendant to be subpoenaed in a civil case as he had urged against the Bill; because a civil case might be quite as serious, and perhaps even more serious,

to a defendant than a criminal one. The House was well acquainted with such cases as that of a man who, having been convicted of some crime, afterwards indicted the principal witness against him for perjury, and obtained a verdict against him, thus making it obvious that if he had been originally heard in his own defence he would have been acquitted. As to the clause in the Bill with regard to the examination of husband and wife, he would merely observe that as the law stood the well-known murderer Rush would in all probability have escaped scot-free had he happened to have married the woman who was the chief witness against him, and the ends of justice would have been defeated. The real principle in both civil and criminal law was that the Judge and Jury should have before them all the evidence bearing upon the question which they had to decide, and any law which prevented that was objectionable, inasmuch as it placed a barrier in the way of the ascertainment of truth.

Mr. HERSCHELL said, he agreed on many points with the author of the Bill, but he thought it was open to several objections. The object of the Criminal Law should be to secure the maximum of convictions of the guilty with the minimum of peril to the innocent. He agreed with his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Ashley) that by allowing prisoners to give evidence a greater number of convictions would be obtained; but that advantage would be dearly bought if it increased the peril of the innocent. No doubt there were cases where an innocent man would be able to establish his innocence if he were allowed to tell his own story; but he feared there were many cases where the right or liability of the accused to be called as a witness would be anything but serviceable to him, even although he was innocent. Many a man, who, if he told a plain unvarnished tale, would clearly show that he was not guilty of the crime imputed to him, would be tempted to lie in order to make his case better, and the detection of the lie would create an impression exceedingly adverse to him in the minds of the jury. The temptation to men of a low moral nature, who formed the majority of persons tried for criminal offences, to say what was false would be enormous; and on that ground

*Sir George Bowyer*

he doubted whether, on the whole, the right of the prisoner to be examined would be for the advantage of the innocent. At the same time, he doubted whether you had any right to deny the innocent who would tell the truth, that which would be an advantage to them, because it might be a disadvantage to those who would yield to the temptation to speak falsely. He admitted that it was a serious question whether the advantages of this Bill outweighed the disadvantages; but he thought the question was not yet ripe for decision, and that there were great difficulties in the way of settling it as now proposed. He did not profess to have arrived at a very clear decision on the subject, and he had the less hesitation in making this admission because Sir James Stephen, whose opinion was entitled to the greatest weight, and who had at one time written strongly against prisoners being allowed to give evidence, now acknowledged that he had come to the opposite conclusion, though he thought the examination should not be made as proposed by the Bill, but through the medium of the Judge. To a man defended by counsel, or an educated man, it would, he believed, be of great service that he should be able to tell his own story; but it was only a fraction of prisoners who were able to secure legal assistance, and the rest would have no means of having their attention called to those facts which really told against them. If they were to be examined, somebody must put the necessary questions to them, and who, he should like to know, was to perform that duty? [Sir GEORGE BOWYER: The Judge.] If that were to be so, the House would be giving its sanction to something very different from anything contained in the provisions of the Bill—the judicial interrogation of the prisoner—a proposal for which there was much, he admitted, to be said, especially in the case of trials at Quarter Sessions and at the Assizes. There was, however, the objection to the general adoption of such a proposal that public feeling with respect to it might change, especially if any tendency were shown towards the introduction into this country of the torture of the Continental system of examination from the Bench. The change was one, therefore, which required, he thought, very serious consideration be-

fore it could receive the sanction of the House. It also appeared to him, although he was altogether in favour of enabling prisoners to make a statement in their own defence, that it was not desirable they should be examined on oath, because most men who stood in that position would be sure to lie; it would come to be considered by the jury a matter of course that they would do so, and in that way the sense of the validity of an oath would come to be gradually weakened, while nothing would be gained by its administration in such cases. He made these few observations rather with the view of pointing out the difficulties of the subject than in any spirit of opposition to the Bill; because he thought it expedient that some means should be found of giving a prisoner the opportunity of explaining away the charge against him if he could. He felt, however, at the same time, that the whole subject ought to be considered by a Committee of that House or a Royal Commission, which would have an opportunity of hearing the views of those who had had the greatest experience, and, entertaining that opinion, he would suggest to his hon. and learned Friend below him that he should withdraw his Bill if he could obtain a reference of the subject to a Select Committee.

MR. PAGET observed that as the debate had been hitherto confined to legal Members, he should claim, as a non-legal Member, to say a few words. He regretted that the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) had commented unfavourably on the Quarter Sessions. If the jurisdiction of Quarter Sessions was to be attacked, let it be done upon worthy grounds, and not upon old stories like those quoted by Mr. Willes in *The Nineteenth Century*, or because on some particular occasion a foolish Chairman made a foolish remark. Were there no foolish Judges, and did no foolish remarks ever fall from the Bench? With regard to the proposals of the Bill, if it were once laid down that a prisoner might present himself for examination, he must always do so, or he would create a strong presumption against himself. The hon. and learned Member who introduced the Bill wished to throw the *onus probandi* on its opponents; but surely when they were asked to effect a grave and vital revolution in the law of the land those who

proposed the change were bound to show the necessity for it. They had, however, entirely failed to show that any great number of innocent persons were convicted and punished under the present system; and he, for one, was not disposed to add to the torture which an unhappy prisoner now suffered by inflicting upon him the additional torture of cross-examination. Last autumn he had the opportunity of discussing this question with a distinguished Frenchman who held the office of Procureur de la République. That official said to him—"I was always impressed with your principle of English procedure that no endeavour should be made to interrogate or cross-examine prisoners. Indeed, I once determined to put this principle in practice myself, and at the next trial in which I was engaged I abstained from exercising my undoubted right of cross-examining the accused. But the prisoner addressed me in indignant terms. 'What have I done, Monsieur le Procureur,' he exclaimed, 'that I should be left thus without being cross-examined; I feel it is an insult to me.'" There was one clause which would, no doubt, be an improvement of the present law—that which allowed a wife to give evidence for her husband, or a husband for his wife—but that was not sufficient to justify the House in adopting a measure so objectionable in other respects, and which, if passed, would be a serious misfortune to the country. There had not been shown a sufficient balance of good as against the balance of evil which would be produced by the change to justify the House in consenting to it, and he should therefore most unhesitatingly give his vote against the second reading.

DR. KENEALY said, that he should be sorry that a great question of this kind, affecting the general administration of justice, should degenerate into a wrangle, as it seemed likely to do, between the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) and the hon. Member for Mid Somerset (Mr. Paget) as to the respective merits of those who presided in Her Majesty's Superior Courts, and those who presided at Quarter Sessions. The hon. and learned Serjeant had cast a ludicrous air about his speech, in which he had praised the "divine impartiality of our Judges," while he aspersed the manner

in which Chairmen of Quarter Sessions sometimes performed their judicial duties. On the other hand, the hon. Member (Mr. Paget) had said that there were foolish Judges who made foolish speeches, and did foolish things, while he passed loud encomiums upon the Quarter Sessions.

MR. PAGET: No; I do not wish to be misunderstood. I asked the hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Serjeant Simon) if in his experience he had never heard of a Judge making a foolish remark from the Bench?

DR. KENEALY thought the hon. Member had said there had been Judges who were fools, but whether he had said so or not they were all aware that there had been. He (Dr. Kenealy) did not pretend to say who was right in this controversy; it was within the knowledge of all that there were what was called, "hanging Judges," while there were unquestionably honest and able Chairmen of Quarter Sessions. On the other hand, there were some Judges of pure integrity, while there were Chairmen who thought it their especial duty to convict all who came before them. These dissensions upon this delicate matter were, however, rather beside the present question; and he was sorry that such a controversy, which did not reflect lustre upon either side, should have sprung up. Passing from this, he owned that at first he was rather against the Bill of the hon. and learned Member for Poole; but further and deeper consideration had satisfied him that the Bill was a valuable one. He therefore hoped that the hon. and learned Member would not withdraw it, as he had been advised by the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell), in the rather doubtful expectation that the present Law Advisers of the Government would introduce what had been called "a great measure." That was an expectation in which he (Dr. Kenealy) did not indulge. He advised him, therefore, to press the measure on. A good deal had been said of the existence of a sentiment in this country that no man should be called upon to accuse himself. That was a sentiment praiseworthy at the time when it originated, but it was wholly inapplicable to present circumstances. In ancient days, when men were hanged for the most trifling offences—for larcenies of goods above 5s.

*Mr. Paget*

in value—it was well that great jealousy should prevail in dealing with criminals; but now the penalty of death was not inflicted even for crimes of great magnitude, and we might fairly enlarge that antiquated maxim. The object of all legislation was to repress crime, to punish the guilty, and to protect the innocent. But criminals as such did not deserve the sympathy that had been too often wasted upon them. It had been said that some writer in a magazine had stated that if this Bill were to become law, criminals would tell so many falsehoods in their defences of themselves that the jury would be prejudiced against even the innocent accused. That did not speak very highly for juries; but he did not adopt such a theory. He was convinced that all innocent persons would gladly avail themselves of the chance of being examined and even cross-examined. The consciousness of their innocence would support them; and he saw no probability of their being overwhelmed by nervousness, or that they would lose their self-possession; but, on the contrary, he thought that the language and demeanour of the innocent would carry conviction to the hearts of the jurors, and that wrongfully accused persons would escape. It had been asked, if the prisoner had no counsel, who was to re-examine; and it had been rightly answered, “the Judge.” He did not believe that Judges, who were as highly paid as they were extravagantly praised, would shrink from this duty; and when the hon. and learned Member for Durham (Mr. Herschell) said that if the witness gave the Judge a curt answer which might probably turn the laugh against him, the Judge would lose his temper, and be in antagonism to the prisoner, it proved, at all events, that the hon. and learned Member did not agree with the hon. and learned Serjeant in his rather wild notions on “the divine impartiality of our Judges.” He was surprised and sorry that a learned jurist like the hon. Baronet the Member for Wexford (Sir George Bowyer) should join in the parrot-cry against the Continental system of interrogating the accused. There were as good lawyers on the Continent as among ourselves; and they found no fault with the system, nor did the public generally. He believed that justice was quite as purely administered in France as here; and if abuses

occasionally existed, he asked under what earthly system abuses could not be found? Interrogation frequently succeeded in eliciting the truth, and bringing home punishment to the guilty, who might otherwise have escaped; but he never yet heard that questioning had brought an innocent person to condemnation. It had been said that innocent persons might be induced to tell a false story in the hope of getting off. To this he answered, what was that to them? If a man resorted to falsehood let him suffer the penalty of his vice or his folly; but do not let them refuse to legislate because perhaps some falsehood-speaking man might endeavour to deceive the Court and fail. In conclusion, he hoped that the hon. and learned Member would not reject the advice which he respectfully offered to him, which was to press on his Bill to the second reading, and then refer it to the Select Committee, who might examine the various objections that had been taken to it in course of the debate.

MR. FORSYTH supported the second reading of the Bill. No doubt the Bill would make a considerable change in the administration of the Criminal Law; but, in his opinion, that change would be beneficial. The great object of the administration of Criminal Law was to secure the punishment of the guilty as well as to prevent the conviction of the innocent, and from both points of view this change would be a great improvement. When it was first proposed to allow the parties in a suit to give evidence, the alteration was resisted because it would lead to perjury; but the principle had now been in operation for many years, and no one suggested that it should be abolished. In recent times various disabilities of witnesses had been removed, and each successive change, although vehemently opposed at first, had proved beneficial. It was now proposed to proceed one step further, and to allow prisoners in criminal cases to tender themselves as witnesses on their own behalf. He could not see that any danger was to be apprehended from taking that step. As regarded the guilty, he supposed hardly anyone would contend that this measure would not be advantageous, as it would often clear up doubts in cases of mystery and difficulty which the examination of the prisoner would make plain.

As regarded the innocent, it was certain in many cases that if the accused could be examined, the real facts proving his innocence would be much more readily elicited. A difficulty, it was true, arose as to the mode in which the examination should be conducted, and from the fear that entangling and ensnaring questions might be put. The French system was as bad as could be, because there the Judge put himself into the position of prosecutor; but he had no fear that that would be the case in this country. There was one reason in particular which induced him to support the Bill. It was that the name of his right hon. and learned Friend the Recorder of London (Mr. Russell Gurney) was upon the back of it. The Recorder of London, of whose resignation they had heard with the greatest regret, had had more experience in criminal trials than any man in England; and it was quite certain he would never have put his name on the back of the Bill unless he was sure that the change proposed would be safe and beneficial.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD said, the question was, were they prepared to adopt the Continental system of examining prisoners with all its consequences? The law as to the examination of prisoners must either be left in its present state, or they must be prepared to go to the extent of making prisoners not only capable of giving evidence for themselves, but compellable to give evidence against themselves. At present a prisoner who was not defended by counsel might make any statement he pleased, and if a jury did not believe it, they would not be induced to place more reliance upon it by the circumstance that it was made on oath. Even when counsel was engaged for the defence, there was nothing at the present moment to prevent a Judge permitting a prisoner making a statement of the facts either before or after his counsel had addressed the jury. And there was no rule of law which prevented a Judge from saying to a prisoner—"Such and such circumstances appear to tell against you; do you wish to give any explanation on those points?" The reason this was not done was probably because it was thought better not to interfere with a prisoner in any way. In various States of the American Union the change now proposed had been already introduced,

and the result had not been very favourable. The Chief Justice of the Court of Appeal in the State of New York said, in answer to a question officially addressed to him on the subject—

"The change has not given very great satisfaction; at least, there is a great difference of opinion as regards its justice and result. It will not, however, I think, be repealed."

Again, the Chief Justice of New Jersey replied to a question on this subject—

"The system with respect to the elucidation of truth has worked well. It leads, however, to so much perjury that it is generally thought the testimony should be received without any religious sanction."

He was prepared, however, to extend the Law of Evidence Amendment Act of last Session to all offences which might be made the subject of civil actions—such as libel, nuisances, and common assaults—and to make prisoners and their wives competent witnesses for and against themselves, and each other in such cases; but it appeared to him that the present Bill went a great deal too far, and he was unable, therefore, to give it his support.

MR. RUSSELL GURNEY said, he quite admitted that the Bill would introduce a considerable change into our mode of procedure; but he denied that it would introduce any change into the principle on which our Courts of Justice now acted. The great object, on all criminal proceedings, was the ascertainment of truth; and every step towards the ascertainment of truth was a gain to the innocent, and a loss to the guilty. It was on that principle he supported the Bill. He did not do so mainly for the purpose of securing the conviction of the guilty. In the course of his experience he had met with instances in which innocent persons had been exposed to danger because they were not capable of giving evidence on their own behalf. Cases had frequently been sent to him from the Home Office, where, after the conviction of the prisoner, statements had been made by the prisoner or his wife which he confessed caused him great difficulty as to the advice he should give the Home Secretary. They were important statements, which, if they could have been established at the trial, would have caused the acquittal of the prisoner; but no opportunity was afforded of bringing them forward at the trial, and of ascer-

*Mr. Forsyth*

taining how far they were supported or contradicted by independent evidence, and there was no opportunity of sifting the value of the statements by means of cross-examination. He remembered two cases in which, after the prisoners were brought up for judgment, doubts had arisen in his own mind; and, in consequence of inquiries, in which he was assisted by the City magistrates, having confirmed the prisoners' statements, he felt it his duty to apply to the Home Secretary for a remission of the sentence. In one of these cases the principal witness against the prisoner was afterwards tried for perjury, and convicted; and yet at the first trial the prisoner had no opportunity of contradicting the witness and showing that he swore falsely. He had long felt the mischief of the present state of the law; but he knew that there was great difficulty as to a remedy. He would not say a prejudice, but a righteous feeling of indignation existed in this country at the way in which proceedings were sometimes conducted abroad; and there was difficulty in getting a hearing for the question as to whether a prisoner should be allowed to be examined; but if English Judges deserved one-tenth the credit which had been given to them by the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon), there was no fear of their being dragged into such conflicts as sometimes occurred in the French Criminal Courts. The hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury did not see the application of the cases cited by the Mover of the second reading. Could he not? What did he think of the case of the three men in Liverpool who were convicted of an offence? They were afterwards, when they had become convicts, examined as witnesses, and both Judge and Jury came to the conclusion that no such offence as that of which they had been convicted had been committed. They could not be heard on their own trial, and were only restored to competency when brought from a convict prison in the convict dress. Did not that, in some degree, bear upon the subject the House had to deal with? When they called to mind the Penge case, in which one of the four prisoners, after having been found guilty, was discharged as innocent, it was enough, with many other cases that

had occurred, to make them doubt the efficiency of the present system, and to see whether some means could not be devised by which it might be improved. In this case the evidence of the innocent prisoner was excluded, although it might have been most important for the exculpation of the other prisoners. There was a class of cases in which there could be no evidence but that of a policeman and the accused; and why should the evidence of a policeman be admitted and that of the accused excluded? In a case of alleged fraud—say by a joint-stock company—there might be either a civil suit for the recovery of deposits or an indictment for conspiracy; and the defendants might exonerate themselves by their own evidence in a civil action, while the exclusion of their evidence on a criminal trial might involve their conviction and ruin. Such a possibility showed the great necessity for some change. In one case tried a few months ago a very strong *prima facie* case was made out against the defendants, which probably would have led to a conviction in a criminal proceeding; but which, mainly by the evidence of the defendants in the civil action, was shown to be capable of complete explanation. He felt strongly upon this subject; it had been a burden upon his mind for some time. The day was over when it would be a matter of personal interest to him; but he trusted he should see the day when no jury would be called upon to decide on the fate of a fellow-man until all the means of ascertaining the truth had been exhausted, and they should be able to decide on the guilt or innocence of the accused. Fear not to let in upon them the full light of day. Walking in the light their steps would be firm and their course secure. It was only in the twilight, or when a portion of the light was artificially excluded, that their steps were likely to be faltering, and their course doubtful and uncertain.

SIR HENRY JAMES, in supporting the Bill, said, he considered he was not only expressing the regret of the legal Profession, but of the public generally, at hearing that the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Russell Gurney) was about to withdraw from the Bench, and that so judicially constituted a mind would not continue to exercise its functions in a sphere for which



it was so suited, as shown by the present debate. He (Sir Henry James) believed the time would come when this debate would be quoted as a striking illustration of the tenacity with which lawyers clung, not only to the principles of law, but to the forms under which it was administered in bygone times. When the Law of Evidence was amended in 1851, in the direction of allowing parties to a suit to become their own witnesses, they were warned in the same manner, and the same dangers were predicted as were now predicted. They were told of the position timid witnesses and inexperienced witnesses would be placed in, and of Judges coming in conflict with the witnesses, and refusing justice; and yet was there one then present who would not be appalled if he were told that the parties on both sides to a civil suit could not be examined? He would take another example of how they had advanced in the direction of allowing every man to be heard before he was condemned. There was the procedure under a comparatively new Court—the Divorce Court. A short time ago it was impossible to examine a co-respondent, but the sense of injury became so great that it was necessary to make a change in the law. Might he ask hon. Gentlemen who opposed the second reading of this Bill if their objections to its provisions did not apply in an equal degree to the examination of witnesses in the Divorce Court? If co-respondents there declined to go into the box, their guilt was held to be established, and was justly established; but if they were not guilty, could there be any greater injustice than saying to them—"You are innocent, you can clear yourself if you are allowed to speak; but the law says it would not be just for you to have an opportunity of clearing yourself, and, therefore, you cannot be heard?" If what had occurred in the Divorce Court tended to clear the innocent, did not that example, which so closely approached the subject under discussion, show them what would be the effect of passing the measure? There they had women as witnesses in a public Court where their name and susceptibilities were most affected. When the experiment was successful there, how could it be said that it would fail in another Court? The right hon. and learned Member

opposite had touched upon one point upon which he (Sir Henry James) would also like to remark. Most cases of misdemeanour closely approached to cases that might be brought forward in another Court. What would the defendant say in the Civil Court if he could not make an answer to any charge preferred against him? In the Civil Court he would be allowed to speak, but in the Criminal Court, he would be denied that opportunity. The Bill would promote the chief interests of the public in the administration of justice, regarding which there were two objects, which must be borne in view—first, the object that the innocent should be acquitted; and secondly, the object that the guilty should be convicted. Happily the spirit of our law had been that the first object should take higher precedence than the second. It was held that sacrifices should be made by the public in order that abundance of precautions should be taken that the innocent man should be acquitted; but in their case to acquit the innocent they often acquitted the guilty, and often, too, caused the innocent to be convicted. Could they, then, object to so alter their procedure as to render more certain the acquittal of the innocent, and the conviction of the guilty? He could not conceive any more natural desire on the part of an innocent man, than that he should stand face to face with his accusers—not with his tongue tied, for there could be no greater injustice to him than to compel him to be silent. Why should he not be allowed to speak when he stood in peril of life, liberty, and property? There could be no benefit to the innocent man in forbidding him to speak, and in considering this point they must separate in their minds the innocent from the guilty; if they did not, he could understand their imagining they injured a man by allowing him to speak. They must divide also the class with an advocate from the class who had none. In the first case, a statement was made which was true, he would say, but which required explanation. The counsel could not make the explanation, but the prisoner, if allowed to be examined, could make the explanation which would clear up the matter. A witness stated a bare fact, and the prisoner said to his counsel, that is untrue. What position was the counsel in? He could only ask

*Sir Henry James*

the Judge and the jury to believe that the witness had committed perjury. The person who knew the statement to be untrue was unable in person, and in the presence of the jury to say so. An objection—raised to the Bill, was that if they allowed prisoners to be examined they would be baited both by Judge and counsel. He did not believe there was anything in the objection, for at the present day, as things were, it would be fatal to his case if a counsel endeavoured to exercise his power of cross-examination unduly, as juries always protected prisoners, especially if they were ignorant. Why was it to be said that when a prisoner was to be allowed to speak frankly, the Judges would go from all their former impartiality and become unjust? No doubt the Judge would remain what he was said to be now, the prisoner's counsel, and we should not change our ideas of justice and admit any presumption adverse to the accused. A man who was innocent would be able to speak with that earnestness which would carry conviction. Why, then, should they be unjust and deny him the right he should have of being heard? It was said that a man placed in such a position as that of being criminally charged would be sure to tell untruths to clear himself. If he did so, the man who would speak the truth, and who would be benefited by doing so was not to be sacrificed for the sake of those who would not; and, of course, the objection applied equally to plaintiffs and defendants, to respondents and co-respondents. Let those who told untruths bear the penalty, the same as witnesses did in other Courts; but it was the duty of the tribunal to discriminate between what was true and what was untrue, and to give the accused the benefit of all ascertainable truth. He considered that the Bill was a most important one, and as he hoped it might tend to remedy what at present was an admitted injustice, he should vote for the second reading.

MR. WHEELHOUSE said, that something had been said about the great advantage which had been reaped in the Divorce Court by allowing certain persons to give evidence on their own behalf. However that might be, he was bound to say that, rightly or wrongly, he had heard much to the contrary, and

he knew that there was throughout the country a very strong feeling that, in that particular Court, a considerable amount of perjury took place—a circumstance not very improbable when it was remembered what kind of inquiries took place there; and he feared that there could be little doubt that this so-called privilege, in whatever Court it might be exercised, might lead to the same result. Indeed, it was by no means necessary to resort to Westminster Hall to see something of this in operation nearly every day. Some few years back a Statute empowered the putative father of an illegitimate child to be placed in the witness box, in reference to the inquiry affecting him; he was, in other words, enabled to give evidence on his own behalf. Almost any one of the magistrates sitting around him, or on the opposite benches, would scarcely wonder at the assertion he (Mr. Wheelhouse) was now prepared to make, that if they heard 50 cases of that kind in the twelvemonth, and the alleged putative father was sworn on his own behalf, it was far more than an even chance that perjury would not be the result in pretty nearly one-half of them. In all such cases the temptation to speak falsely was almost overwhelmingly powerful, and the consequence was precisely that which they might reasonably anticipate. Besides, the very fact of such a charge superinduced upon the mind of almost everybody, naturally, its own inherent probabilities; and thus the witness was always in danger from the very moment he entered the box of being disbelieved. As to the propriety of evidence being given by the husband or the wife, he apprehended there could not be two opinions. It was only just, fair, and reasonable, that the husband on the wife's behalf, or the wife on that of the husband, should be in a position to give evidence; but, even in such case, there must not be any compulsion; but it was a totally different question, a totally different inquiry, and a branch of the subject wholly distinct, as to how far it was desirable to put the accused himself into the box. With all due deference to those who had spoken, or written on the other side of that question, he could not do otherwise than incline to the belief that an accused, when placed in the dock, would resort to every means, whether right or wrong, that human nature could suggest, to

clear himself of the guilt alleged against him; and, in the vast majority of cases, he was also quite prepared to think that if a prisoner refused to give evidence on his own behalf, it would be asked by jurors and Judges, as well as by the people generally—"Why don't you put the prisoner into the box?" The answer would never satisfy the public, and scarcely ever a jury either, though to a practising lawyer the reason was palpable enough—namely, whether the witness were to speak truthfully or the reverse, they knew perfectly well that there was a prejudice against him, which, in the outset even, it was almost impossible to be overcome, and which, if the poor unfortunate wretch—for in such case he would indeed be so—were to be found tripping, in the slightest degree, his case, however really good it might be, would be instantly, and most probably, irreparably damaged. Again, the several speakers had treated this Bill as being confined to practice at Assizes and Quarter Sessions; but, on looking over it, he scarcely saw anything to lead to that conclusion; and if it were intended to allow the practice of such examinations to be also conducted on like principles in Courts of Petty Sessions or before magistrates—and he could not see how any distinction could reasonably be made in this respect—he felt the evil would be greatly aggravated and intensified. It had been said that great good had been effected, in civil causes, by allowing plaintiffs and defendants to testify on their own behalf, but the analogy was by no means the same in criminal cases. In the one instance, it might be that it was merely a few pounds at stake on the one side or on the other; but where a man felt himself to be giving evidence, with the pressure of prison-walls around him and with "gyves upon his wrists" mentally if not physically, the case was of an entirely different complexion. Was it desirable to let a Bill of this kind override and overturn the practice of our Courts which had now been for centuries the same? If it were, surely it ought to be undertaken on the responsibility of the Government, and should form part of some great legal code for which the Law Officers of the Crown should be answerable as a whole.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY, in supporting the Bill, said, he had a few

*Mr. Wheelhouse*

observations to make from a layman's view of the question. He did not speak, however, without experience, and over and over again he had heard prisoners say after conviction—"Oh, if his Honour had only heard me!" It had been said that under the present system innocent men would be less liable to conviction; but he would confine himself to showing what might take place in another direction, and the House had heard of it previously. At the trial of the Fenian prisoners at Manchester, for the occurrence by which Sergeant Brett lost his life, four men were capitally convicted, each upon the same evidence, and the Judge had no doubt as to their guilt. He was the present Lord Justice Blackburn. The reporters at that trial were so convinced of the innocence of one of these men that they originated the movement on behalf of him, Maguire, a marine, for an application to the Home Secretary. The result was that, to the satisfaction of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War (Mr. Gathorne Hardy), who was at that time Home Secretary, the man was declared absolutely innocent of the crime for which he with the others was convicted. Yet upon the same evidence the other three men were hanged, and it was impossible to convince anybody who knew the circumstances in Ireland that one of the men so executed was not innocent. He had talked and reasoned with men all over Ireland on this subject, and he found that the invariable opinion was "they hanged an innocent man; the innocence of one they discovered and they let him off." The moral effect of this on the minds of the people of Ireland was very great. The effect of these convictions was disastrous, and explained why the Irish had no confidence in the administration of justice. That was a very serious statement to make, but they could not make the Irish people think differently. One man was let off, they said, upon the same evidence as that on which three others were executed. This was a deplorable state of things, for which a remedy ought to be found, and it would be partly met by allowing a prisoner to state his case. Believing that, he heartily gave the Bill his support.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, that hon. Gentlemen who had spoken had spoken as if there were no doubt

in the matter, and as if the side they took must be the correct one; but he felt that the subject was an exceedingly difficult one, and he had great hesitation in making up his mind as to whether it was politic to make the change proposed by the Bill. The hon. and learned Gentleman who laid the matter before the House assumed that there was an inherent virtue in the Bill which rendered it incumbent upon those who opposed it to show that it was a bad Bill; and, on the other hand, those who opposed it thought it was incumbent on those who supported it to prove it to be a good one. One hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Serjeant Simon) said that at first he did entertain some doubts, but he rose not to oppose the Bill with energy and with vigour, but to promote discussion. He, however, went on growing in energy and vigour, and when he sat down it was difficult to imagine, if his speech was only to promote discussion, what sort of a speech he would make if he intended to oppose the Bill. There were difficulties in the way of adopting the measure before the House on which he desired to make a remark or two, although he did not wish to treat it in an unfriendly spirit. The measure did not, on the face of it, propose to subject a prisoner to interrogation. He could quite understand anyone, after considerable experience in the administration of justice, coming to the conclusion that it would be a desirable thing for the purpose of detecting guilt more easily than it was now detected to subject prisoners to interrogation. In such a measure as that proposed the difficulty which struck him was this—he thought, perhaps, they might secure convictions more easily—they would secure, perhaps, a greater number of convictions than now; but he doubted very much whether they would not do it at the expense of inflicting considerable injustice on innocent people. They must not forget the case of a person unjustly accused, and if they adopted a system of interrogation they would place such a person at a great disadvantage. Persons who were unjustly accused were, generally speaking, persons of bad character, and it rarely happened that a man of bad character had brought against him a false accusation. But what would be the position of a man of a bad cha-

racter falsely and unjustly accused? Let them suppose that somebody had his pocket picked in the market-place and that a man who was known to be a thief stood near the person who was robbed. This man might be arrested though innocent. In that case, if they allowed the accused person to be tried under the present system, he would probably escape; but if they were to allow him to be cross-examined, he might be cross-examined in a score of ways, and it would be shown that he was a man with no employment and that he associated with improper characters. Under the present system, the prosecution was bound to make out the guilt of the prisoner by direct or circumstantial evidence, or both, in so clear and perfect a manner that no reasonable suggestion of his innocence could prevail against the evidence. But there was another difficulty. It might be made to appear that if they adopted the system of interrogating prisoners, they would weaken the confidence the public had in the administration of justice. Whatever might be the feeling that existed in Ireland, certainly in this country there was a most perfect confidence in the proper administration of justice, and this confidence was shared in by the prisoners themselves, and seemed to him to be one of the glories of the present system. Might they not shake that confidence if they altered the system which at present existed? The belief now was, not that innocent people were never convicted, but that innocent people were rarely convicted, and people might think that innocent people would be more frequently convicted than at present. If that would be the result, it would be disastrous. He did not say that it would be the result, but he said it might be the result, and therefore they had to consider the Bill with great care. He did not intend to offer any serious opposition to the measure, but there was one feature to which he wished to direct special attention, and it was this—the Bill not only provided for the examination of criminals in the case of indictable offences, but it provided for the examination of prisoners in all cases punishable by summary conviction, if they were so inclined. He doubted whether the system set up in the Bill would work well, and whether it would not afford a means of escape to clever rogues. If

prisoners were to be cross-examined, the cross-examination must be conducted under a tribunal which would secure that perfect fairness would be done to the prisoner. That would be so, no doubt, in the Superior Courts and in the Courts of Quarter Sessions, but he doubted if it would be always so in the Court of Petty Sessions. In that Court the cross-examination of the prisoners would very likely be conducted by a policeman; and he would ask hon. Gentlemen, would that be fair, would it be a seemly proceeding? If not the policeman, then the duty would fall on the magistrates; and it seemed to him a most undesirable thing that the tribunal which was to judge a man should conduct the cross-examination. Under the proposed circumstances, the sacredness of an oath would be brought almost into contempt. If a man accused of a crime was allowed to attempt to clear himself on oath and was then convicted, he would be liable to a further prosecution for perjury. He did not think this would be a wise thing to do. Having made these observations in a direction against the Bill, and having carefully considered the matter since the hon. and learned Member for Poole introduced his Bill last Session, he did think there was a great deal to be said in favour of some measure of allowing prisoners in certain cases and conditions to give evidence, and in certain cases, and under certain conditions, to subject them to interrogation. He should not suggest that they should give evidence on oath, or be subject to interrogation when under oath; but he thought a measure might be framed which would obviate the objections that might fairly be urged against the present system. Notwithstanding some sneers which had been uttered against the Law Officers of the Crown—a sneer which had not even the advantage of giving offence—he had to say it was the intention of the Government and the Law Officers of the Crown to introduce a measure on the subject of the Criminal Law, with a code of criminal procedure in indictable offences as part of it, and it was proposed to introduce into the code of procedure some clauses which would have the effect of carrying out to a great extent the desires of the hon. and learned Member for Poole, and of those who shared his views. These clauses would be considered as carefully

*The Attorney General*

as was possible. He need not mention their exact nature—indeed that had not been decided; but if they were introduced and were effectual, to the hon. and learned Member would the credit be due to a large extent of having secured their introduction into this measure. He did not intend to oppose the second reading of the Bill, but he hoped the hon. and learned Member would consent to refer the Bill to a Select Committee, and let the Select Committee investigate the subject thoroughly. He thought the result would be that the Select Committee might be able to make an extremely valuable Report, which could be utilized by the Government when they brought in their measure.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he knew a principle of such importance as was contained in the Bill could not be adopted at once, and he would gladly accept the offer of the hon. and learned Attorney General. As the Bill was to be referred to a Committee, he would not take up the time of the House by answering the objections which had been urged to some of its provisions. He would only remark, with reference to the clause which forbade any presumption against the prisoner who declined to go into the box, that it was merely intended to guard against any legal presumption and against any comments being made on the abstention of the prisoner. There was no notion of attempting to prevent mere inference on the part of the jury, which inference would, in 999 cases out of 1,000, be the truth.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, he was disposed to withdraw his Amendment. [*Cries of "Divide!"*]

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 185; Noes 76: Majority 109.—(Div. List, No. 7.)

Main Question put, and agreed to.

Bill read a second time, and committed to a Select Committee.

#### DENTAL PRACTITIONERS BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBROCK, Bill to amend the Law relating to Dental Practitioners, ordered to be brought in by Sir JOHN LUBBROCK, Sir PHILIP EGERTON, Mr. GREGORY, and Dr. LUSH.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 96.]

## THRESHING MACHINES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. CHAPLIN, Bill for the prevention of accidents by Threshing Machines, ordered to be brought in by Mr. CHAPLIN, Mr. CLARE READ, and Mr. MACDONALD.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 97.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 31st January, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament—*The Marquess of Ailesbury, after the death of his brother.

## THE EASTERN QUESTION—MOVEMENTS OF THE BRITISH FLEET.

## QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD CAMPBELL rose to put a Question, having given Notice to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. What passed on Monday had led to a general impression that the noble Earl was, under any circumstances, opposed to the advance of the Fleet towards Constantinople. Its advance might be necessary—he (Lord Campbell) thought it was necessary—to guard honour, to protect interests, and avert a state of things which hostilities would follow. If the Government was unable to advance it, the country was deprived of its executive. He wished to know whether the noble Earl had been correctly understood upon the subject?

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I think the Question put by my noble Friend is of rather a peculiar character, but I will answer it to the best of my ability. I certainly never asserted that under no conceivable circumstances would it be right or proper for the British Fleet to be sent up to Constantinople. Obviously, it is conceivable by me or by anybody else that circumstances might arise in which the sending our Fleet to Constantinople would be quite right; and in which, without in any manner endangering the general peace, it might be for the interests of humanity that such a step should be taken. When

my noble Friend asks me to define what the circumstances are which would afford such justification—

LORD CAMPBELL said, he had asked no such Question.

THE EARL OF DERBY: I am glad I was mistaken, because, had my noble Friend asked me such a Question, I must have declined to answer it.

EARL STANHOPE wished to ask one or two Questions of his noble Friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, relating to the rumoured armistice and terms of peace. The situation changed so much from day to day that it was desirable they should have from Government the fullest information of what was going on. They had had presented to them a great mass of Papers relating to the Eastern Question; and he thought that anyone who had read that portion of the diplomatic Correspondence which had hitherto been published would be of opinion that while the despatches of the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary were clear, direct, and intelligible, those which had proceeded from the Russian Government, and also certain of the verbal statements of the Russian Government, were eminently unsatisfactory and evasive. In proof of the latter proposition he need only refer to the reply made by Baron Jomini, on the part of Prince Gortchakoff, to Lord Augustus Loftus, in reference to the intentions of the Russian Government with respect to Gallipoli, which was—"The Russian Government have no intention of directing their military operations on Gallipoli unless Turkish regular troops should concentrate there." Again, a short time ago, when the Porte asked for peace, the Russian Government, instead of sending a telegraphic message in reply, sent messengers who were 10 days on the journey, and all this time the Russian Army was advancing towards Constantinople. Their Lordships would have also read in a despatch published to-day, and dated 29th January, from Mr. Layard, that he had received an assurance from the Grand Vizier to the effect that no delay on the part of the Turkish authorities could have been possible. Really, therefore, what in the name of British truth and straightforwardness, he asked, did all this mean? Did it mean that the offer of a crushed Power for an armistice and negotiations for peace had not been acceded to, or, if agreed to, why not acted

upon? The facts stated in that telegram were very strange. He begged to ask his noble Friend, whether Her Majesty's Government had received any information respecting the conclusion of an armistice between the belligerents in the East? Also, whether the question of an occupation of Constantinople, either by the Russians alone or conjointly with one of the other great Powers, had recently arisen in the negotiations for peace?

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, in answer to the first part of the Inquiry of my noble Friend—whether Her Majesty's Government have any information as to the conclusion of an armistice?—I can only answer in the negative. I have no information of the kind; and having seen the Russian Ambassador about two hours ago, I found that he was equally uninformed. I read a communication addressed to him direct from his Government, and in it the delay was unexplained. On the other hand, as your Lordships know from Mr. Layard's telegram, to which my noble Friend has referred, the Turkish Government say that more than a week has elapsed without official information, that the delay does not rest with them, and that they are unable to explain the cause of it. Under these circumstances, I am not in a position to give any information or offer any opinion; but I do not suppose we shall have to wait long for an explanation of what certainly is a most perplexing matter. With regard to the second Question of my noble Friend, I must answer it also in the negative. No proposition has been made by the Russian Government for diplomatic sanction to a Russian occupation of Constantinople, and no proposal has been made for a joint occupation of that city.

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY, in rising to ask, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government, in the coming negotiations, to insist on adequate measures being taken for the security of the lives and property of the Mussulman population of European Turkey? said: My Lords, Before putting the Question which stands in my name, I hope I may be allowed, by the indulgence of the House, to say a few words on the matter to which it relates. I do not think I need make much apology for bringing this question

forward at this particular moment. It is one which must be raised now if it is to be raised to any purpose; and I think I may plead, besides, that it is not, in one sense, a political question. It has nothing directly to do with "British interests," "Russian ambition," "the support of Turkey," or any such dangerous and inflammable matters. It is in itself a simple question of humanity, upon which it would be perfectly reasonable to appeal to Russia herself, as a civilized nation, for co-operation and support. A few days ago, I hoped and believed that the necessity for putting this Question had ceased to exist. The terms of peace, as first rumoured through the newspapers, seemed right and reasonable enough. Christian Governors were to be appointed in the European Provinces of Turkey; due measures were to be taken to afford complete protection to the Christian population, but, apart from this, these Provinces were to remain a part of the Turkish Empire. Some such arrangement would have been, I think, a just one. It would have fulfilled the avowed object of the war; it would have given security to both Christian and Mussulman. But it seems now that a very different arrangement is in contemplation—an arrangement which will certainly free the Christian from Turkish misrule, but which will afford to the Mussulman population no security whatever. I apprehend that no one in this House is inclined to make light of the sufferings that the Mussulman population of Turkey have undergone during the last year, or the intense suffering and peril of thousands of them at this moment; so it will be unnecessary for me to inflict upon your Lordships the loathsome details of the massacres that have taken place, or the still more terrible particulars of the agonies of those who have preferred the horrors of flight to the tender mercies of the Bulgarians and their allies. It will be enough to say that at this moment nearly the entire Mussulman population of European Turkey is undergoing every conceivable form of human misery. I would rather ask your Lordships to look forward, and consider what can be done to enable these unfortunate creatures to return in security to their homes and property when the war is at an end. This is not a matter that can be left to take care of itself. The Bulgarian may

*Earl Stanhope*

have all the virtues with which he has lately been credited; but he does not exercise them towards the Turk. Those who expect to see the Christian Slav as tolerant towards an alien race and an alien creed as the unspeakable Turk will, I fear, be disappointed. And Turkey, under the arrangements that are now foreshadowed, will be very weak; not very able—probably very unwilling—to assert the rights of Mussulmen in the autonomous Provinces, for fear of giving an excuse to her ambitious and implacable neighbours for a fresh series of aggressions. Nothing but pressure from without—nothing but proper safeguards devised and firmly insisted on by the Powers of Europe, will make it possible for these refugees to return to their homes and obtain their civil rights under Christian rule. I do not wish to sneer at Humanitarianism—indeed, this question has a purely humanitarian object; but I must say that, from the very beginning of these troubles, I have felt it to be a most grave reproach against those who raised the anti-Turkish cry in 1876—not merely that they were reckless, that they were hounding on Russia to a war that would cause more sin and suffering than half-a-century of Turkish misrule—but that they were reckless that by so doing they were inevitably exposing the whole Mussulman population to the risk of expulsion or extermination. They were reckless then, and they are apathetic now. The very men who insisted that every crime committed in Bulgaria should be registered and reported home by Her Majesty's Consuls are now silent and apparently indifferent to the sufferings that the Turks have already endured, and careless of horrors that may be still to come. We have most of us read this morning a highly ingenious speech on the Eastern Question, delivered by Mr. Gladstone. In that elaborate speech I could not find one word of horror at, or commiseration for, the misery they are now enduring. The only mention of it by any of that Party, that I can call to mind, was when one spoke lately of a "baptism of blood." "A drowning" would have been a more appropriate expression. Putting aside, as unworthy of a serious answer, the small band of fanatics who regard this question solely from the crusader's point of view, and care nothing for any sufferings of the

infidel so long as the Christian triumphs, I think there are two great mistakes at the bottom of this apathy. The first is a vague idea that these unfortunate people are in some way or another so connected with the perpetrators of the famous atrocities as to be unworthy of protection or assistance. There are no grounds for believing this is true of one in a hundred of them. The other consists in the Darwinian view of the question, mentioned the other day in the debate on the Address by the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll). The view that this unfortunate race is being destroyed in consequence of their inferiority—not merely by the forcible and most terrible means that we see at work, but by some subtle and mysterious law of Nature at the back of them which it is impossible for us, or anyone else, to resist or avert. Now I want to say one or two things about this Darwinian view. In the first place, it seems to be morally a dangerous view—a view that would justify a treatment of lower races to which we are always too prone, and which I am sure the noble Duke would be the very first to denounce. And I do not think it can be a very safe method of studying such matters. When we look back on past history, and see how great nations have sprung apparently out of nothing; how other nations have, when apparently in the fullness of their vigour, suddenly withered and faded away, I think he will be a bold man who will undertake to prophesy the ultimate destiny of any European or Asiatic race. But, apart from all this, supposing that the Darwinian theory is a safe and proper guide to the study of contemporary history, does it apply in the present case? Is it true that this degree of superiority of the Bulgarian over the Turk exists? Is it the fact that the Bulgarian, by virtue of this superiority, intellectual, moral, or physical, has exemplified the Darwinian theory by becoming the governing race and improving the Turk off the face of the earth? Why, my Lords, a few years ago, before the angelic nature of the Bulgarian was discovered, it was almost invariably held by those who visited the country that the Osmanli was the equal or superior of any of the subject races in everything except monogamy and the commercial instinct. And, as to the other question, we all know



perfectly well that the Turk has been conquered—after a desperate struggle, in which he has given the strongest proofs of national vitality—not by the superiority of the Bulgarian, not by any subtle and mysterious law of Nature, but by a military force which might have overrun Italy, or even England, if it could have been landed on our shores. I should like to know whether, in the event of such a misfortune taking place, the noble Duke, or anyone else, would attribute it to the action of the Darwinian theory? When I hear the subject treated in this pseudo-scientific manner—when I hear people indulging in this sort of slipshod fatalism—I feel reminded of nothing so much as the somewhat ribald lines of Lowell, the American poet—

“Parson Wilbur, he calls all these arguments  
lies,  
Says they're nothing in the world but just  
fee-faw-fum,  
And that all this grand talk of the Destinies  
Is half of it ignorance, t'other half fum.”

I need not say that these lines are not intended to have any personal significance. I think these poor wretches have the strongest claim upon the sympathy and assistance of this nation; for what is the cry that we have heard throughout England for the last two years?—“We must not support Turkey, because by so doing we make ourselves responsible for the misgovernment of the Christians.” If there was truth in that cry, and our Government partially endorsed it by their policy, must there not also be some truth in its converse—“If we assent to the destruction of Turkey, we make ourselves responsible for the fate of its Mussulman population, whose sole security for life or property lies in the supremacy of the Porte.” I think that this is a very strong claim, and I earnestly hope that in the coming Congress our Government will see that proper measures are taken to enable the Mussulman population to return to, and remain in, their homes. I cannot conceive it to be a matter of insuperable difficulty. It is not a question on which the interests and jealousies of the European Powers are likely to clash; and it will not, I fear, be a very large question. Many of them will be dead; many more, too, heartbroken, too terrified of the very name of Christian rule, to make any attempt to return and claim

their own. But those who wish to return ought to be enabled to do so; and in obtaining for them the necessary security I am sure Government will find the country at its back. I will now put the Question that stands in my name.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, if it were possible under the forms of Parliament to second a Question as one would second a Motion, I should say—“I rise to second the Question of the noble Earl who has just sat down.” That Question involves matter of much more interest and importance than one might gather even from the speech of the noble Earl himself. My Lords, that Question implies, in the first place, and in the strongest possible language, that we have the right of protectorate over the subject-populations of Turkey. In that I entirely concur, and I rejoice to hear it from the other side of the House. The next proposition involved in the Question is that this right of protectorate and its corresponding duty is not a duty or a right founded upon Treaty, but upon the general principles of humanity. We have the right of protectorate over the Christian population by Treaty, but we have none by Treaty over the Mussulmans; therefore the Question implies, quite apart from Treaty, that England has a general right of protectorate over the whole of these people. I only wish that admission had come from the front Bench and not from the second. I do not expect to hear anything of the kind from the Government—especially from the cautious lips of my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I will say for myself and those who generally act with me, that we desire good government and protection of the lives, property, and honour of the Mussulman population as well as the Christian. My noble Friend—if he will allow me to call him so, for I had the privilege of friendship with those from whom he derives his name—taunted us with not having expressed any sympathy until now with the Mussulman population of Turkey. Did it never occur to him that it was a taunt which might be turned upon himself? Has he till this moment expressed any great concern for the Christian population, when it was the Christians who were underneath and the Mussulmans who were above? I admit the right of every man, whatever be his religious be-

*The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery*

lief, to claim the privileges which belong to every man of every nation under every Government under the sun. But, my Lords, if my noble Friend means to tell me or to tell the House that under the Empire of Turkey the Christians and Mussulmans have been equally oppressed—

THE EARL OF PEMBROKE AND MONTGOMERY: I never said anything of the sort.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: I am very glad to hear it. But my noble Friend did say that more misery had been inflicted in this war than would have been inflicted by half a century of peace. What I complain of is that noble Lords and right hon. Gentlemen will not read the evidence which is placed before them on this subject, which their own Government places at their disposal. They read books such as *Burnaby's Ride to Khiva*, and stuff of that sort. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, I read this book with interest myself, as the account of a spirited ride by a spirited officer; but certainly I should not go to it for my information respecting the condition of the Christian population of Turkey; and what I complain of is that people will not read the official evidence which the Government places on the Table of this House. With regard to the question of the comparative incidence of the Government of Turkey upon the Mussulman and non-Mussulman population, it so happens that there was laid on the Table of this House towards the middle of last Session a thin Blue Book—very small indeed—so small that any of your Lordships could read it in an hour; but which gives complete and conclusive evidence as to the character of the Turkish rule in these Provinces. It is a collection of the Consular Reports on the condition of the various Provinces of Turkey during the 20 years which have elapsed from the Crimean War down to the commencement of the present war. This evidence is wholly unconnected with the Bulgarian massacres—wholly unconnected with everything which can bear in a Party character on this question. I will from this Book show to the House what is the condition of that Government, what has been its conduct upon the subject-population, and what its effect upon the Mussulman population. The first witness I will call into Court is Sir William Fenwick Williams. I will read

from a despatch which Sir Fenwick Williams wrote to Lord Clarendon just before he undertook that defence of Kars which will ever remain a noble specimen of British bravery, skill, and endurance. This despatch is dated from Erzeroum, the capital of Armenia—that Province of Turkey which some of the friends of the Turks in England regard with so much jealousy. Let us see what is the condition of Armenia, according to Sir Fenwick Williams. He says—

"The whole body of cavasses, whether employed as police in the capital or other cities and towns of the Empire, or in the Provinces as the agents through whom the revenue is collected, constitutes an engine of tyranny perhaps unequalled in the world. It is needless for me to assure your Lordships that no language can portray the infamy which characterizes the life and character of this body of men; the scenes of their exploits lie in the villages, and more especially Christian, though it must be stated the Mussulman cultivator does not escape their insolence, extortion, and rapine. Throughout the vast extent of this Empire over which I have travelled I have invariably found the last stroke of ruin inflicted on a crumbling village to have been perpetrated by a cavass. The Mussulman villagers might, and possibly did, remonstrate, but woe to the Christian serf who opened his mouth before the tax-gathering and tyrannical cavass. I feel convinced that the Allies who have fought and bled to keep the Russians out of these fertile countries will not allow their triumph to be a barren one to the unhappy and oppressed Christian, nor to his fellow-subject, the Mussulman cultivator."

That was the account of them by Sir Fenwick Williams in 1856. [A noble Lord: Twenty-two years ago!] Yes, twenty-two years ago—and I suppose the noble Baron who makes that observation has some reason to suppose that things have mended since. I have evidence to the contrary. Here is a despatch, dated 13 years later, dated from the same place, from Consul Taylor to Lord Clarendon. This is what he says—

"It was dispiriting on my onward route to Kaghizman, through Shuragel, the ancient Shirai, formerly the richest and most populous district in Armenia, to pass so many spots marking the sites of towns and villages, some of them only recently deserted, but now encumbered with their ruins or the mean huts of the indigent population that remained. On many of these deserted sites the massive fabrics of early Armenian churches had successfully resisted the ravages of time and the efforts of man, urged by an implacable hostility to everything Christian, to destroy them."

A few pages further the same Consul says—

"The Kurds belong to the Hassananlee and Millikanlee tribes living in the vicinity of Akhlut, Boolanik, and Malazgerd, under the chieftainship of Soofie Agha, Khaznadar, and Eeseh Oghli. The depredations of their dependants, encouraged by, and proceeds shared in by them, are manifest all around. Deserted villages, ruined churches, crumbling mosques, abandoned fields meet the eye everywhere. The ruthless conduct of these ruffians, rendered bolder by the feebleness of the Executive, has rendered what ought to be a paradise a desert. People who formerly possessed 30 to 40 buffaloes, besides sheep and cows, at the same time working ten ploughs, are now begging their bread; and within the last two years the Christian villages of Medzk Koshiyan, Tapa Vank, Jizroke, Khulleek, Pogkey, and Sivratore have been utterly abandoned by the Armenians, owing to the depredations of the people mentioned above."

That is the account of one of our Consuls in 1869; but there is one later still in this little and instructive Blue Book. We have a Report from Consul Zohrab, and his evidence goes down to 1875. He says, in a despatch to the noble Earl who is now at the head of the Foreign Office, dated July 19, 1875—

"The real condition of this part of the Sultan's Dominions is, I fear, so little known, that the cases I expose may seem exaggerated. I have, however, reported authenticated facts. Were I to report all the cases of cruelty and oppression which have come to my knowledge, but which I have not been able to investigate, but one conclusion could be deduced from them—that fanaticism, cruelty, and dishonesty are the only incentives to action which move the men who are sent to administer this unhappy country. Unfortunately, such a conclusion would be the correct one. Bribery alone can now obtain an appointment; honesty and administrative capacity are not required; the ability to pay is the barometer of a man's ability to do duty. The country is consequently overrun with a crowd of hungry, unprincipled, ignorant men, whose only object is to enrich themselves as far as they can. They are surrounded by satellites, who work for them and for themselves. Extortion is the every-day work of these men. I believe but few of the officials coming from Constantinople are imbued with fanatical ideas; generally they are very indifferent, but as they cannot enrich themselves without the aid of the influential Mussulman classes they are obliged, in return, to permit cruelty and oppression towards the Christians."

This same Consul, Mr. Zohrab, a few days later, in a despatch addressed to the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby), speaks of an atrocious case of the robbery of a daughter from a Christian family. He draws the noble Earl's attention to two cases. He says—

"I have brought two cases to your Excellency's notice. In the first case a girl was forcibly taken from her home by the authorities,

and for her courageous adherence to her faith she has been punished by a sentence of perpetual exile and separation from her parents, her safety being the untenable plea of the authorities. The second case this despatch reports."

The Consul goes on to say—

"It is clear that any Mussulman can now legally rob Christian children from their parents, and, with the aid of the authorities, forcibly convert them to Islamism. Christians, therefore, are no longer safe, and Europeans are equally in peril. A Turk has merely to go and swear before an authority that he heard some member of an European family declare a desire to embrace Islamism to plunge that family in grief and trouble."

And that takes place in the Province which you are anxious to keep under the dominion of the Turk; and you speak as if it were the most terrible misfortune in the world that this Government should be brought to trial. Before I pass from Armenia I should like to relate a case which I learned from reading this Blue Book. A man who was, I think, originally a sausage maker, raised himself to the position of a contractor to the Turkish Government, where he amassed an enormous fortune. This man undertook to rebuild at his own cost a large part of the town of Erzeroum, and also to rebuild at his own cost one of their own mosques. That man became the victim of a Mahometan conspiracy. A body of fanatics, with the Chief Justice of Erzeroum at their head, made up their minds to burn all the new buildings which that man had erected. They set fire more than once to the quarter of the town which he had erected; but after each successive burning he proceeded to rebuild with extraordinary energy and perseverance; but very soon after, when this poor man was sitting in the streets of Erzeroum, he was approached by a man, who shot him dead in the open day with a pistol, and the crime has to this day never been punished. It was instituted by a fanatical society of Mahometans, who were jealous of his success. My Lords, these things are disgraceful; and yet we are told that the Turkish Government is a Government which should be upheld. What is the natural effect of conduct such as I have described? Why, that the Armenians are becoming Russians—that the Russian feeling among them is rapidly increasing. No doubt they would be very glad to have a Government of their own, and I

*The Duke of Argyll*

do not say that they wish to remain under Russia as the best thing in the world; but they do desire to come under Russia rather than to remain under the Turks. I submit that the evidence of these two men, Consuls Taylor and Zohrab, proves to demonstration that when the Russians advance in Armenia they will be welcomed by the great mass of the population. I now pass to another part of Turkey—to the European Provinces. In doing so, let us suppose that such an occurrence as the massacre of Batak, for example, was a mere accident attendant upon the putting down of an insurrection. I am not talking of this war—of the causes of it, or of the probable consequences of it. I am speaking of the permanent Government of Turkey. Well, then, with regard to Bosnia, we have heard a good deal as to the evidence of Consul Holmes—and in referring to that gentleman I may make this general observation, that the position of men accredited from this country to a Government which is thoroughly barbarous and entirely rotten, like that of Turkey, is somewhat peculiar. It is so peculiar that you may almost get from any of our Consuls two contradictory views—the one in violent abuse of the Turk, and the other in defence of him. They look upon themselves as accredited to a Government which is entirely barbarous and rotten, and they think themselves free to comment upon the proceedings of that Government until it is attacked by others—then they turn to defend it. Consuls in Turkey may be compared to vultures who are feeding on a carcase, but who every now and then stop to fight with each other, and when they are fighting with each other, they appear as though they were defending the carcase. That is exactly the position of our Consuls; and when you want to get at the truth you must take their evidence, not when they are fighting with the Consuls of other European States, but when they come voluntarily forward and give their unbiassed and spontaneous testimony. Considering what has been said of Consul Holmes since the war broke out—considering the strong manner in which he has taken what may be called a Turkish side—I confess I was amazed in reading this little Blue Book. Referring to a period when there was no particular fighting going on between the

Consuls, I find from it that immediately before the war Consul Holmes gives the most emphatic evidence as to the horrible condition of Bosnia, and shows that the Mussulmans were in a perpetual state of conspiracy against the Christians of Bosnia. Writing on the 24th of February, 1871, he says—

“The unnecessary delay and neglect, to the prejudice often of innocent persons, the open bribery and corruption, the invariable and unjust favour shown to Mussulmans in all cases between Turks and Christians which distinguish the Turkish administration of what is called ‘justice’ throughout the Empire cannot fail to suggest the question, What would be the lot of foreigners in Turkey were the European Powers to give up the Capitulations? I am convinced that their position in the Provinces, at all events, would be intolerable, and that they would quit the country to a man, while the outcry and feeling in Europe against Turkey would ultimately cause her ruin. The universal ignorance, corruption, and fanaticism of all classes preclude all hope of an efficient administration of justice for at least another generation.”

That is not the only passage to the same effect in Consul Holmes's Report. There is this curious circumstance as to Consul Holmes. Sir Henry Elliot was at that time our Ambassador in Constantinople, and he does not seem to have approved of the Report of Consul Holmes to which I refer. In regard to that point, I may say that I do not generally agree with the principle of choosing men to represent England abroad who are favourable, upon the whole, to the Government to which they are accredited; but I am bound to say that some of our recent Ministers at Constantinople—and eminently our Representative there now—have taken a more zealous part in defending what is indefensible than was necessary to their position. However that may be, the Report of Consul Holmes goes to Sir Henry Elliot; and Sir Henry, referring to a remark in it as to corrupt Turkish officials, says to him in effect—“You ought not to use this sort of language unless you are prepared to give names.” But Consul Holmes stands to his guns, and he writes back—“You ask me to give you the names of the men who are corrupt. You had better ask me to give you the names of the men who are honest. There is hardly such a thing as an honest official in Turkey.” The same Consul also says that in any law case in which Mussulmans are concerned against Christians, there is no possibility of getting justice for the

Christians. I pass on to Syria. And here again you have distinct evidence from our Consuls that the fanaticism of the Mussulman population has been rapidly on the increase in recent years, and especially since the political submergence of France. I do not know exactly why, but we all know that France has always assumed a particular right of protectorate over the Christians in Syria. It may be a mere matter of feeling, but we are all aware that the French are very much governed by sentiment, and your Lordships must have seen, from evidence laid before you, that our intervention in Syria, in 1860-61, was very much due to the insistence of the French Government. At the present moment, however, Syria is not under the watchful eye of France as it was before, and the result is the state of matters which the Reports of our Consuls disclose. Our Consuls at Damascus and Alepp describe the state of things in Syria as daily growing worse. As regards Bulgaria, when Her Majesty's Government sent Mr. Baring to inquire what was going on there, such were his discoveries that he wrote in his despatch—"The result of my inquiries is that the condition of the Christians in Bulgaria is intolerable." I now pass from Bosnia and Bulgaria to Greece. With regard to the Provinces of Turkey closely bordering upon Greece, I agree with what was said the other night by my noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Derby), in answer to a Question asked by Lord Emly, that no Government could possibly wish to bring about an extension of the area of this dreadful war. At the same time, there is as great a responsibility in advising people not to rebel against Turkey as there is in giving contrary counsel. It is all very well to say that peace is the interest of all the world; but I agree with the Prime Minister when he recently said, in alluding to a remark of my noble Friend (the Earl of Derby), that "the greatest of all British interests is peace," that that is a passage of rhetoric and not a maxim of politics. I deny that war is the greatest of all human evils, and I say you must compare it with the permanent condition of the country in respect of which an insurrection is spoken of. What, then, as to the Turkish Provinces contiguous to Greece? Most ample proof of the condition of things in Epirus is contained in the Report of

Consul Stuart addressed to the Foreign Office in 1873, but published not very long ago. Until I read that Report I had no conception that matters were so bad in the Greek Provinces of European Turkey. The Report shows that there is great inequality before the law in the case of Mussulmans and Christians, the inequality being much in favour of the former, and based, in the view of Consul Stuart, on "a fixed intention to keep back the Christian." We have it from Consul Stuart's reply that in Epirus the so-called "equality" of Mussulman and Christian evidence in courts of justice is a mere catchword, and has never been anything else. We have it that the country is governed by Mussulmans, who are armed, that the Christians are unarmed, that their evidence is not received in courts of justice, and that acts of violence and spoliation are not unfrequently heard of, and are almost always connived at by the Government authorities. We also have it from Mr. Stuart that in the matter of taxes the last farthing is wrung from the Christian, while the Mussulman is easily dealt with and mildly let off. What is the result? That the population of Epirus is rapidly diminishing—diminishing at the rate of upwards of 20 per cent in 12 years. That is the condition to which Epirus has been brought; and it may be taken as an illustration of the other and contiguous Provinces. But a great movement of deliverance has been commenced, and, by the help of Russia, I trust may be successful. Well, my Lords, I would ask whether it is fair for any man belonging to either Party—and in this matter I care nothing for Party—to write or to speak on this question without carefully reading such evidence as I have adduced—evidence which clearly shows that the Government of Turkey has been getting worse and worse. I ask the Government whether, in the negotiations which are about to take place, they will consider it their duty to "insist," in the language of the noble Earl who has introduced the subject, upon securities for the better government of the whole population, Mussulman and Christian alike, of those great Provinces. I have said that our Treaty right is confined to the Christians. We are in a position to protect them, and we have a right to do so. I confess that on that point I have never thought the language of the Foreign Secretary

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entirely satisfactory. Along with the other European Powers, we extracted from Turkey a promise that she would protect the rights of her Christian subjects; and I lay this down as a proposition which cannot be disputed—that when one man extracts from another a promise in favour of a third, it is his duty, as far as he can, to see that that promise is fulfilled. Lord Russell, speaking in 1864, recognized this, saying that the Cabinet of the Earl of Aberdeen, while actively defending the independence of Turkey, felt that in objecting to the separate interference of Russia, they were bound to obtain some guarantee for the security of the subjects of the Porte professing the Christian faith, whether of the Greek or Roman Catholic Church, or Protestants, whether Christians by descent, or Turkish converts. The same noble Lord on another occasion used these words—

“The Treaty of 1856 contemplated the substitution of a collective protectorate of the five Powers on behalf of the Christian subjects of the Porte, in place of an exclusive protectorate by one Power alone, which is in the Treaty expressly renounced and abolished.”

It might be asked why the Liberal Party did not express its views fully on this question when it was in Office? And on this question I must say that in my opinion it is not politic for any Foreign Office voluntarily to raise the Eastern Question, which has for years been the nightmare of every Foreign Minister in Europe. But, at the same time, I must say that the late Lord Clarendon, who was neither a sentimentalist nor a humanitarian, but, in the best sense of the term, a man of the world, has spoken frankly on the question. On the 30th of June, 1857, Lord Clarendon, writing to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, used these words—

“I transmit for your Excellency’s information copies of a despatch from Consul Churchill and of my reply respecting the bad treatment of the Christians in Bosnia.

“Her Majesty’s Government know by experience the utter inutility of appealing on such matters to the Porte; but the Turkish Government should be made aware that if this systematic misgovernment and persecution of Christians and violations of engagements continue, it will be impossible to arrest the progress of opinion which is now manifesting itself—that Mahomedan rule is incompatible with civilization and humanity, and can no longer be endured.”

I wish a similar tone had been adopted in all the despatches written by

my noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Derby). Before sitting down I should like to refer to a Paper which was not before us on the first night of the Session, but which has since been produced. I refer to a despatch dated December 14. That despatch I have read with no small concern—I would even say I have read it with alarm—for it refers to an expression of thanks on the part of the Porte for an assurance which had been given that when

“negotiations for peace were set on foot Her Majesty’s Government would do what lay in their power to obtain favourable conditions for Turkey.”

I ask what does that mean? In diplomatic language it is known that when we speak of Turkey we mean the Government of Turkey. Is it really true that the Government of England is to go into a Conference or into the Councils of Europe in some less formal shape, and give the influence and authority of England in favour of Turkey without check and without security against misgovernment? I am glad to see from a gesture of my noble Friend that he repudiates such an interpretation. In that case you ought to guard yourselves, for you may depend upon it that the Turks will understand that that attitude is in favour of them as a Government, and they will say—“We are effecting reforms—we have a Parliament as well as you, and we have a Constitution as good as yours;” and they will give no weight to the indignant denunciations of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury), that these institutions are mere delusions. The language which I have quoted was quite sufficient to encourage the Turks; and the guarantees which have been mentioned were illusory, if it were not for the fact, at which I rejoice, that the military power of Turkey has been crushed. I wish the noble Earl and his Government had taken a different course at first. I should have been glad that the very moderate conditions proposed to Turkey in the Conference had been adopted and carried out; but from the moment the Porte is told that no coercion will be resorted to it is clear what the result will be. It is remarkable that there is not a hint or an indication in all the Papers before your Lordships of the Government of Turkey repenting. Take the case of

Sheket Pasha, a monster who has been the cause of the massacre of thousands of men, women, and children. His punishment was demanded; but not only has he not been punished—he has been honoured and rewarded—by the Turkish Government, who are wholly unable to comprehend why the people of this country should care about the massacres and atrocities that have occurred. When my noble Friend answers the Question of the noble Earl, I trust we shall have an announcement to the effect that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to use the power and influence of England in order to obtain the best possible conditions for the Government of Turkey; but that they will use that power and influence to the last degree to obtain good government for the subject-populations of Turkey. I fully and readily admit the personal humanity of noble Lords opposite, and that they desire good government for Turkey; but it seems that throughout the negotiations their effort has been to obtain as much good government for Turkey as they could consistently with the maintenance of the independence and integrity of Turkey. I hope that such language will be given up. The independence and integrity of Turkey, as the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) has said, are gone. The conditions of peace, to use the language of Mr. Layard in one of his recent despatches, are inconsistent with the existence of the Turkish Power in Europe. I do not know whether it is in the contemplation of Her Majesty's Government that the Sultan shall be kept at Constantinople in the same way as the Mogul was kept at Delhi; but this I know—that Turkey, as an independent European Power is—thank God!—gone. It is a Government which has abused every power it possessed, and has been a curse to the population over which it ruled; and it will be a shame to England if her power and influence are used to get the most favourable terms possible with a view to the maintenance of such a Government. I will only add that, much as I differ from the policy pursued by my noble Friend (the Earl of Derby), there is no man in the House who more sincerely rejoices than I do at his convalescence and at his re-appearance in this House and at the Foreign Office. The opportunity has not passed away,

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and my noble Friend may yet take an active part in the deliverance of the subject-populations of Turkey. I am fully satisfied with the policy of neutrality which my noble Friend has persistently and consistently advocated. During the last two years my noble Friend has been the object of incessant personal attacks—personal in one sense only, of attack directed with great keenness, sometimes with some excess of keenness of language—with respect to his conduct of the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government; but I am bound to say—and the fact has the homage of my sincere respect—that during the whole of this controversy not one single hasty word or intemperate expression has passed the lips of my noble Friend. Under the circumstances, that could be said of very few indeed; and anything I have said of my noble Friend has been actuated solely by a regard for the merits of the question, and in no respect by any personal and political hostility towards himself.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, it was quite clear that the Question of the noble Earl referred to the Mussulman population that might be torn from Turkey, and included in an autonomous Bulgaria, or in Servia, or Montenegro, and not to the Mussulmans under the rule of the Sublime Porte. The previous speeches of the noble Duke who had just sat down had not accustomed their Lordships to the special pleading with which he had followed the Question of the noble Earl; but the object of that special pleading was to renew his assertion of a Treaty-right to protect the Christians in Turkey, which had been formerly denied by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The noble Duke said there was as much responsibility in advising people not to rebel, as in advising them to rebel, and he had advised Her Majesty's Ministers to be more guarded in their language; but he had not been so, and their Lordships would remember how, at the beginning of last Session, the noble Duke had incited the subjects of an Ally of Her Majesty to rebel. He did not refer to that passionate harangue, at which most of their Lordships murmured, but to the subsequent speech, in which the noble Duke toned down his first speech, and said that insurrection was justified where the tribunals were closed. These were

two-edged words, and the noble Duke had less right than any other to use them, for when he had been Secretary of State for India, he had been most inaccessible both to the Natives of India and to members of the Civil Service; and he had closed the doors of the Privy Council on the first disputed case which arose under Lord Canning's Sunnud, which was the Charter of India and the foundation of the new Indian Empire. If the noble Duke thought that no one should have an opinion without having read the Consular Reports in the Blue Book, why had he discredited these Consuls by comparing them to vultures fighting over a carcase? As to the Question before the House, it was one which in ordinary times would meet with the support of everyone in the House; but was it not too late, and whatever the Answer might be, only adding to our humiliation? For England was humiliated and made ridiculous before Europe by the orders and counter-orders to stop troop-ships at Port Said and at Malta, and by the Fleet being sent to the Dardanelles and then back again. That was not the fault of the Government, but the fault of the country, and of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) and the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll), who had misled and divided England. It was now two or three weeks since the Government made proposals to the Russian Government in reference to an armistice for peace, and yet we had been told this evening that no armistice had yet been signed. The Russians were advancing on Constantinople and Gallipoli, and those British interests which the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said were so precisely defined in his despatch of May 6, 1877, would disappear. When England was thus played with and hoodwinked, there was only one course for the Government if it wished to be respected at home and abroad, and that was to send his passports to the Russian Ambassador. This was not necessarily a rupture, for in recent years the Representatives of England had received their passports from two countries—first from Spain, and later from the United States.

THE DUKE OF BUCOLEUCH said, he should ask their Lordships to come back to the Question which had been submitted to them by the noble Earl. The noble Duke opposite (the Duke of

Argyll) had been discussing another subject, and he had not read the Question as it was on the Paper.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: I read the words.

THE DUKE OF BUCOLEUCH said, they were words he could not find. It struck him that the noble Duke had raised a new question—the bad government of Turkey; and certainly if Turkey had been upon its trial, they could not have had a more fervent, vehement, and active advocate for the prosecution than the noble Duke had been that evening. He had no doubt the noble Duke had read the last Blue Book laid before them. If he read it, he would find there plenty of those horrors which they had heard talked of in former days. He was not surprised at a noble Earl opposite asking, why load the Table with additional horrors?—because those horrors were perpetrated by his own friends—by those mild Russians and civilized Bulgarians. They could read there how the Jews were treated, and of the Mussulman population flying before the Russians, suffering immense hardships and dying by hundreds by the roadside. They had been told that the Turks were to be turned out of Europe bag-and-baggage. They had been told by the noble Duke—though he had modified it a little afterwards—that they should be thrust out of Europe, the just and the unjust alike. It was to be hoped the House would come back to the Question, and not let the world imagine that every one was impressed with this *furor* against the Turks—many in this country looked upon such a policy with no favour. They had already thrown over their old Ally, and he thought that was enough without heaping insult and abuse upon him.

EARL FORTESCUE said, he had listened to the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll) with some surprise when he heard him utter the fervent aspiration that the Turks might be driven out of Europe, because he could not forget—not to speak of the Treaty of Paris in 1856—that the noble Duke was party to the Treaty of 1871, and now when he spoke against maintaining the integrity of Turkey, he must ask—what had happened since to effect this striking change in his views? He could not learn from any official accounts that there had been any sudden and very marked deteriora-



tion in the Turkish Government since the noble Duke left Office and the present Government came in. The noble Duke had quoted a Consular Report of a startling character in 1869. In 1871 a Question was put to the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs by Sir John Gray to this effect—If any information could be given to the House “whether the Sultan’s Government had recently taken steps in favour of civil and religious liberty?” Viscount Enfield replied that—

“All the accounts from Turkey agreed in confirming the progress made in that country by the Sultan’s Government towards toleration; and much had been done of late years towards raising the position of the Christian population in Turkey.”—[3 *Hansard*, ccviii. 313.]

In 1872 Sir John Gray asked whether effect had been given to the provisions in the various edicts? and the reply was that—

“The latest reports stated that, as a general rule, the edicts were fairly carried into effect, and that the Christians as a class had no reason for complaint.”—[ccxiii. 454.]

He could not understand how deterioration and improvement could be going on simultaneously in the same country. He confessed that what he saw in his short tour in the East did not impress him favourably of the Turkish Government, and nothing that he had read of since had led him to take a very favourable view of that Government either in its conduct or in its results upon the population. But he thought it was rather extraordinary that such a sudden access of horror should have seized the late Prime Minister and the noble Duke, both parties, if not to the Treaty of 1856, to the Treaty of 1871. If the Turk was so very anti-human last year, he could not have been very human in 1871 and 1872. The Bulgarian atrocities, committed under the influence of panic at a real though abortive insurrection, suppressed by the local authorities in the absence of regular troops, were no doubt abominable; but they had been certainly very much exaggerated as to their number and extent. They had conclusive evidence that the Bulgarians, though shamefully insulted, had not been materially altogether unprosperous under Turkish rule. He did not say at all that such a Government as that of Turkey was satisfactory. Far from it. But he did not think that the struggling efforts of the new Represen-

tative Assembly in that country merited the utter contempt with which the Liberal Party had spoken of them. The Spanish Junta, sitting in Cadiz as a refuge left from Napoleon’s domination, committed follies and absurdities in abundance; but they had the sympathies of England, because they represented the struggle for independence of a nation, whose country had been seized by a hypocritical invader under the plea of giving it a better government than its previous notoriously bad one. With sympathies inclined to the side of a nation that had been unjustly invaded, he did not feel more reconciled to the proceedings of Russia when he contrasted her profession of disinterested zeal for humanity at the commencement of the war with her present vague but unquestionably large demands. In former times Russia used to be regarded as the chief enemy of Liberal principles. She was identified abroad with the most determined hostility to Constitutional government and representative institutions, and was identified at home with the sternest and most despotic administration; with religious intolerance, if not persecution, and with the most stringent protectionism. These features in her character caused her to be viewed with even more disfavour by the Liberal than the Conservative Party; but both were agreed as to her habitual duplicity in diplomacy and disregard of Treaties. The language of Lord Palmerston and other Liberals in 1854 was mild in comparison with that of the late Lord Derby and the Tory ex-Chancellor Lord Lyndhurst, who said, citing examples to prove his case, that the history of the Russian Empire from its first establishment down to the time when he spoke was a history of fraud, duplicity, trickery, artifice, and violence. Since 1854 her religious intolerance had been illustrated by the persecution of the Uniate Catholics, her contempt for Treaties by her conduct in 1871, and the untrustworthiness of her most solemn diplomatic assurances by her annexation of Khiva. He did not wish to compare the milder reign of the present Czar with those of his Predecessors; for his reign would go down to posterity as made illustrious by the noble act of the emancipation of the serfs; but, as a matter of fact, there were no germs of Constitutional freedom in Russia, no security for personal liberty, and her

tariff was as protectionist as ever. In considering how it was that the views of the Liberal Party in regard to Russia had undergone such a complete change, it was necessary to remember that some theological questions might have had something to do with it. The extraordinary zeal and activity of the Ritualist Party—with which the right hon. Gentleman had in many ways shown his sympathy—had latterly been withdrawn from that course which had conducted so many of the most eminent among them, lay as well as clerical, to Rome. They looked of late to the Greek Church, for which the Party now professed a warm sympathy, in spite of the denunciations of that creed whose continued use in the services of our Church he could not help deploring as an undesirable heritage received from sterner times. The Greek Church recognized Anglican Orders, while the Church of Rome scornfully repudiated them—that might have had something to do with it. Moreover, the right hon. Gentleman had been personally engaged in angry controversy with the Roman Catholics. His chief supporters in his anti-Irish agitation had been the Ritualists and the Nonconformists. The latter, partly no doubt, from the zeal for humanity which had so honourably distinguished them since the earliest days of anti-slavery agitation; partly, also, from gratitude to the right hon. Gentleman for his past services on questions especially interesting to them; and partly, also, probably, from the hope of similar services from him hereafter. He could not but feel that just indignation at the misgovernment of Turkey and the suffering of the Christian people under Turkish rule had blinded many to the evils resulting from the domination of Russia, and had led them to take a too sanguine view of the probable prosperity and well-being of the Christian Provinces if they became autonomous under Russian auspices. He believed, too, that those feelings had blinded many to the greatness of the British interests involved in the maintenance of the Black Sea as an open sea to the commerce of all nations. He could not conceive a more formidable state of things than Russia with a powerful Navy in the Black Sea and Constantinople as a base of operations from which to attack our highway to India. He had been pained to hear the

denunciations of the Crimean War as having been a mistake. He was one of those who believed then, and believed now, that that was a wise and just war, and that its consequences to the liberties of Europe could hardly be overrated. He believed that the Constitutional liberty enjoyed at this moment by Germany and Austria would have been much less if the influence of Russia had not been seriously diminished by the defeats she sustained in that war. He was a supporter of that war, and he believed the whole nation supported it. At any rate, there was evidence that the large constituencies supported it in his own case. He contested at the time one of the most important constituencies in the Empire, and was returned by a large majority against another Liberal, between whom and himself there was only this ground of difference—that his opponent was a follower of Mr. Bright in regard to that war. He hoped and trusted peace would be maintained, but he quite agreed with the noble Duke, that war was not the greatest of evils that might befall a nation. He had always understood that the efforts of the Peace Party had much to do in inciting the ambition of the late Czar to take steps which at last rendered it imperative on England and France to resist him; and so he now believed the interests of peace would be best served by putting our Forces by sea and land in such a position as to enable England to speak with confidence and authority, as he was sure she always desired to speak with justice and moderation.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON rose to enter his protest against the criticisms of the noble Earl (Earl Fortescue) on the speech of the noble Duke behind him. The noble Earl had twitted the noble Duke with having expressed an ardent desire that the Turks should be driven out of Europe. Now, he did not understand that the noble Duke made use of language of that kind. What he did say was that the Turkish Government in Europe was on its last legs—almost destroyed—a matter of fact about which, he thought, there was very little difference of opinion. The noble Earl had used against the noble Duke the *argumentum ad hominem* of why it was, when his noble Friend was in Office, during the time these evils of which he produced proofs were going on, no pro-

tests were made against the conduct of the Turkish Government by the British Government or the Liberal Party, such as they had made during the last two or three years. His (the Marquess of Ripon's) answer to that was that the Eastern question had been the bugbear of all the Foreign Offices of Europe, and one which not any of the Powers would single-handed have ventured to raise. His noble Friend had read the vigorous and energetic protest of Lord Clarendon and others against the proceedings of the Turkish Government; and the great complaint against that Government at the present moment was, that they had from time to time made promises which they had broken, and promulgated ordinances which were so many dead letters. The noble Earl said how strange it was that Liberals should be found to speak with disrespect of the Turkish Government, since it had granted the country a free Constitution. The worthlessness of that Constitution had been demonstrated in the incisive language of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The real friends of free government could surely place no confidence in that Constitution, produced as it was at a particular moment for obvious purposes. It was a Constitution on which it was impossible for anyone to place the slightest reliance, and in which no friend of free institutions could be called upon to believe. He did not stand there as an advocate or a defender of Russia. He had no sympathy with Russian Governments—he knew the truth of many of the charges brought against her; but he regretted that, owing to the course which events had taken during the last few years, it should have been left to the Russian Government—a Government not famous for its love of freedom—to be alone the defender of the freedom of the Christian populations of Turkey, and that England should have been deprived of a share in that great and noble work.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, when I came down to the House to answer the very simple and inoffensive Question of my noble Friend behind me (the Earl of Pembroke), I certainly did not expect to have to encounter these formidable masked batteries which have been opened upon me by the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll). I am al-

ways ready to listen with interest and attention to anything he says, whether I agree with it or not; but I must point out that there is some inconvenience in a debate which arises in this manner when there is really no definite question before the House. A great variety of topics are mentioned; it is scarcely possible to know what are the points to which the several speakers desire that the attention of the Government should be directed; and as a discussion of this kind begins with no especial reason, so it ends with no particular conclusion. Having made that preliminary observation, I begin by saying I am not inclined to follow the noble Duke through that very long and very elaborate series of accusations which he has brought against the Government of the Porte. General attacks of that kind cannot, I think, prove a great deal. Those who are most conversant with Turkey have never given her credit for having a well-administered Government; but, on the other hand, if you take the history of countries—especially of semi-civilized countries—for some 20 or 25 years, and put together every instance of crime, outrage, and miscarriage of justice which you can collect out of a long series of reports, there are a good many countries which you might paint in very black colours. The noble Duke, in quoting from the Reports made by our Consuls, points out that one particular Consul reported occasionally in more favourable terms of the administration than he did at another. The conclusion I should draw from that fact would be that the despatches show him to be an impartial man, who merely reports the facts which come before him without reference to the inferences which may be drawn from them. But my noble Friend gives a different explanation—He says that when our Consuls are criticizing the Turkish Government on their own account their criticisms are in disparaging terms; but when criticizing statements made by the agents of other countries, then the feeling of jealousy is so strong between them that they are sure to take up the Turkish defence. Well, my Lords, that is my noble Friend's view of Consular Reports, not mine. I do not think I should have undertaken to frame an indictment against the Turkish Government based on Consular Reports if I held that

*The Marquess of Ripon*

view in regard to them. Nor, my Lords, do I think it advisable in the present state of things to dwell, as my noble Friend has done, on the disinclination of the Armenians to remain under the Turkish Government and their decided preference for that of Russia. I doubt the wisdom of using language of that kind in this House; and though I do not attach that extreme importance to Armenia which some people are inclined to do, still I do not think any of us would like to see an indefinite extension of the Russian Empire along the southern coast of the Black Sea. My Lords, the noble Duke has referred to a statement which he said he had seen somewhere as to the increasing fanaticism of the Mussulman population in Syria in recent times. He ascribed that increase, with a good deal of ingenuity, to the comparative political insignificance of France during the years immediately succeeding the Franco-German War of 1870; and he went on to draw the inference that it was French influence which had kept down that fanaticism, and that when that pressure was withdrawn the fanaticism showed itself with increased strength. I think, however, that there may be a different explanation of the circumstances than that which is given by the noble Duke. I think that any of the Turkish officials or population who have paid attention to European politics must perfectly well understand that the comparative weakness of France would diminish the chance of that protectorate of the Empire against Russian encroachments, which arose out of the Crimean War, being appealed to with the same effect on a future occasion; and that the anticipation of danger in the future would lead on the part of the Turks to exasperation against those who sympathized with the country to which Turkey was opposed. That, I think, is a simpler explanation of the matter than the one suggested by the noble Duke. Then the noble Duke speaks of the complaints caused by the oppressive manner in which the tax-gatherers collect the finances; and I have no doubt that there is much foundation for those complaints. It must be remembered, however, that the last few years have been years of great calamity and financial depression in the Turkish Empire. No doubt the pressure of taxation has been very severely felt, and there has been great

discontent among all classes of the community. But the temporary eclipse of France has had nothing to do with that. I need not follow the noble Duke through all the details to which he adverted; nor shall I enter into the question, which has been discussed over and over again, of what is the real state of the people of Bulgaria; but I believe there is some truth in the statement which has often been made of late that when the Russian troops entered that country they were much disgusted to find that they had come for the liberation of a people who were, upon the whole, much better off than they were themselves in their own homes. The noble Duke, in alluding to a phrase of mine that peace is the greatest of British interests, said that war was not the greatest of all evils. I quite agree with the noble Duke that phrases of that kind have very little value, except in relation to the particular circumstances under which they are expressed. When the noble Duke says that war is not the greatest of all evils, I answer that I do not know that anybody ever said it was. What I do say is, that when you attempt to remedy misgovernment in any country by the rough method of arms—by internal revolution or invasion from without—you run a great risk of creating a larger aggregate of human suffering than that which you seek to remedy; and that opinion I would not be unwilling to express as applied to the present case. The noble Duke has said that nobody is entitled to express an opinion on this question who has not made himself master of all the Blue Books. I sympathize with him to this extent—that it is certainly an inconvenience to hear opinions so continually expressed upon public affairs by persons who have not taken the trouble even to make themselves acquainted with the most elementary parts of the subject. But the argument is one which cuts both ways. There are a great many people out-of-doors to whose opinions we are invited to listen, and who from time to time send up Petitions and Memorials on the subject, expressed in extreme terms, who have not, I believe, any clear or definite idea of the subject, and who, probably, if they were questioned, would be found to be ignorant what the war is really about. But if nobody is to express an opinion on

the subject except those that read all the Blue Books, then popular opinion—in the generally accepted sense of the phrase—is entirely swept away as a factor in the discussion. The noble Duke expressed an opinion in the course of his speech which I can scarcely think was seriously put forward. He said that had we written despatches in the tone of those who preceded us as to the Christian subjects of Turkey, this war would never have taken place. I can only say that if that is the view of the noble Duke—if he believes that the war really arose out of local disturbances in the Herzegovina—if he does not see that there were other and earlier causes at work which led up to the conflict, and which led up to it through the action of those Powers who took the principal part in bringing it about, then his position and mine differ so entirely upon the whole question that we have no common ground on which to argue. But I do not admit that there is that distinction which the noble Duke assumes between former Governments and the Government now in power in anxiety to do what in them lay, and what in us lies, to secure protection and good government for the Christian populations of Turkey. I have never been inclined to lay much stress upon the mere theory of the question, or to argue how far, according to the mere wording of the Treaty, we were entitled to interfere in the affairs of Turkey. Whatever right of interference we claim, or have been in the habit of claiming, does not, I think, rest upon the wording of a Treaty so much as upon that general duty of protection which, subsequent to the Crimean War, we did assume. Obviously, when you undertake the protection of a State, you acquire a moral right to see that its power and independence are not abused. But that is a view of the question which it would be well not to press too far; for it may be argued that if our right of interference depends entirely on assuming the position of protectors of the Turkish Empire, those now in power in Turkey would be entitled to say—“Last year you did not protect us, and we must decline any interference whatever.” I state that merely as a theoretical consideration. But I have always thought, in considering the question of the proper limit of our interference in the internal affairs of Turkey, that the

great obstacle to its efficacy as a remedy for misgovernment consists in this—that there must manifestly be extreme difficulty in carrying out any such interference persistently and in detail. I repeat, what I have already stated in this House on a previous occasion, that it is impossible to govern a country through a Committee of foreign Ambassadors, all of whom would generally be pulling in different directions. The noble Duke has said that in our most recent official documents there is no mention of “the integrity and independence of Turkey.” Well, my Lords, it is not for me to anticipate. Whatever one may have said at the beginning of the war it was pretty clear that something in the nature of territorial concession was likely to follow from it, and territorial concession must obviously affect the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. That is a sufficient reason for the omission of the phrase from the more recent despatches. The noble Duke hopes that in dealing with this subject Her Majesty’s Government will insist upon obtaining good government for the Christian populations of Turkey. My Lords, I believe we shall; and I think that the exhortation which has been addressed to us on that point was, if I may say so, a little superfluous. The question with which we have to deal is very important. It is not sufficient to secure good administration within a certain area, and to take no care for another. We must look to the various parts of the Turkish Empire and endeavour to secure a settlement which will possess the elements of stability, which will have a fair chance of lasting, and which will not involve the almost certainty of future wars at no distant date. It is not enough to consider what arrangement may be most satisfactory to those who inhabit particular districts—what we have to consider is the chance of maintaining permanent peace amongst the various districts and races which compose the Turkish Empire. That is the real difficulty of the situation. The noble Duke has said that the Turkish Empire is gone, and that he thanked God for it. Perhaps that is anticipating a little; but in any case, before I broke out into such an expression of pious gratitude, I should like to see my way a little more clearly than I do at present as to what is to replace the Empire which is “gone.” My Lords,

*The Earl of Derby*

there can be no question that there is a formidable difficulty before us—a difficulty which will require for its solution all the care and skill, and, I should add, all the justice and right feeling of the European Powers. I think our first care should be to secure that the settlement shall be one made with the assent and concurrence of all the European Powers. For ourselves, we do not claim any special, peculiar, or exclusive privilege. On the other hand, we are entitled to deny the existence of any exclusive right or privilege on the part of any other Power. At present we know but imperfectly the proposed bases of peace, which must eventually form the subject of our most careful consideration. As far as that is concerned the noble Lord opposite and my noble Friend behind me will assent when I say that it will be our duty to see—one of our most obvious duties—that, as far as possible in a semi-civilized country, where a good deal of fanatical feeling exists on both sides, strict and equal justice shall be dealt out to Mussulman and Christian alike.

House adjourned at a quarter before  
Eight o'clock, till To-morrow,  
half past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

Thursday, 31st January, 1878.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBERS SWORN—Lord Charles Bruce, *for* Marlborough; Andrew Grant, *esquire, for* Leith District of Burghs. SELECT COMMITTEE—Commons, *appointed*; Turnpike Acts Continuance, *appointed and nominated*.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading—Parliamentary Elections (Boroughs)* \* [98].

*Second Reading—Licensing Laws Amendment* \* [82].

*Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—Public Health Act (1875) Amendment* \* [66].

*Committee—Report—House Occupiers Disqualification Removal* [45]; *Public Parks (Scotland)* \* [34].

*Third Reading—Linen and Yarn Halls (Dublin)* \* [2], and *passed*.

## QUESTIONS.

### ARMY—THE ROYAL WARRANT OF 1877—ARTICLE 88.—QUESTION.

MR. PRICE asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in reference to Article 88 of the Royal Warrant of 1877, on the appointment, promotion, and retirement of officers, it is true that service rendered before the age of twenty will not be allowed to count in the case of officers applying for permission to retire on permanent half-pay under the provisions of Article 95; and, whether the words "other than on retired full-pay or half-pay" in Article 88 apply equally to the case of officers retiring on half-pay with liability to service under the provisions of Article 95, and to the case of officers who have an unqualified right to retire after twenty-five years' service, in accordance with the provisions of Article 119; and, if not, whether he would be willing to consider the expediency of allowing service before the age of twenty to count towards retirement in both cases?

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: Sir, service before 20 does not count for the permanent half-pay granted by Article 95. The words in Article 88 apply only to retired half-pay after 25 years' service granted by Article 119, and this will be made clearer in a revise of the clause. It has been decided to adhere to the age of 20 as the limit, except as regards the year's service allowed for Lucknow. The intention of the Warrant was that, for any new retirement created by the Warrant, service before the age of 20 should not count; but that as regards retirements already existing—and which will gradually die out—namely, retired full-pay and retired half-pay after 25 years' service—no change should be made. In the *corrigenda* Warrant about to be issued, it is proposed to insert a few words in Article 88 which shall make this quite clear.

### HIGHWAYS BILL.—QUESTION.

SIR BALDWIN LEIGHTON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in the Highways Bill, he would be disposed to introduce a Clause for the regulation of wheels, seeing that since the removal of turn-

pike gates the width of wheels of ordinary vehicles has been in many cases altered, to the detriment of the roads?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, that in the Bill referred to by the hon. Baronet, which he hoped would be in the hands of hon. Members on, if not before, Saturday, he had introduced a clause which would enable County Boards, among other things, to make regulations as to the width of the wheels of vehicles.

#### CROWN TEINDS (SCOTLAND)—LEGISLATION.—QUESTION.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he intends to introduce a Bill this Session dealing with the subject of Crown Teinds in Scotland?

THE LORD ADVOCATE, in reply, said, the subject of Crown Teinds in Scotland was under the consideration of the Government, but he could not give the hon. Gentleman any assurance that a Bill would be introduced this Session.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION — BRITISH SUBJECTS IN CONSTANTINOPLE.

##### QUESTION.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will state to the House approximately the number of persons at Constantinople who are entitled to the protection of Great Britain?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, in answer to my right hon. and gallant Friend, I have to state that we are now in communication with Constantinople on this subject, and I hope to be able to give the information in a day or two.

#### INDIA—KHELAT—OCCUPATION OF QUETTA.—QUESTION.

MR. GRANT DUFF asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table a Copy of a Despatch from the Secretary of State for India to the Viceroy in Council, in reply to the Despatch of the Viceroy in Council (No. 50, of 1877) dated Fort William, March 23, 1877?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, the despatch asked for by my hon. Friend is a reply to the Viceroy's proposals for

the pacification of Beloochistan and the occupation of Quetta, and was sent through the Secret Department of the India Office. The Secretary of State might, therefore, refuse to produce it; but as some misapprehensions seem to be prevalent as to our reasons for occupying Quetta, my noble Friend (the Marquess of Salisbury) will not object to the publication of this despatch, in which a full explanation of the policy pursued by the Indian Government on their North-west Frontier is given. Therefore, if the hon. Gentleman will move for it, it shall be laid on the Table.

#### EPPING FOREST—LEGISLATION.

##### QUESTION.

MR. COOPE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he is prepared to bring in a Bill this Session in respect of the arrangement and future management of Epping Forest?

MR. GERARD NOEL, in reply, said, the Government were preparing the Bill referred to; but he could not state at what time it would be introduced, as it depended upon the progress of other Business.

#### THE EGYPTIAN OBELISK (CLEOPATRA'S NEEDLE).—QUESTION.

MR. HEYGATE asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he proposes to take the opinion of the House before finally deciding on the site of the Egyptian obelisk, or in what manner it is proposed to elicit public opinion as to the position most suitable for its erection?

MR. GERARD NOEL: Sir, when the announcement was first made that the Obelisk had left Alexandria and was coming to this country, it was intimated to me by the gentlemen who were bringing it over that they were anxious it should be placed in Parliament Square. I therefore requested that a model might be put up, in order to elicit public opinion; and, on the whole, I think public opinion was favourable to that site. We now find it cannot be erected there on account of the Metropolitan District Underground Railway, which runs exactly under that site, and I am informed that they demand a perpetual guarantee against accident, which, of course, could not be granted. Another site has now

*Sir Baldwin Leighton*

been selected on the Embankment, at the Adelphi Steps, between the Charing Cross Railway Bridge and Waterloo Bridge. Over this site the Office of Works have no jurisdiction. It is under the control of my hon. and gallant Friend the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and he, no doubt, will facilitate the erection of the Obelisk there. Should, however, this site be found unsuitable, and another in the neighbourhood of the Parks or elsewhere has to be selected on the ground under the jurisdiction of the Office of Works, I assure my hon. Friend that I will give it careful consideration, and every opportunity shall be afforded for public criticism before any decision is arrived at.

#### RAILWAYS—LEVEL CROSSING AT RADSTOCK.—QUESTION.

MAJOR ALLEN asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether it is the fact that the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mellor, in their judgment of the 19th November last, "Re Bristol and Somerset and the Somerset and Dorset Railway Companies," ruled that the law is powerless to protect the public from the danger and nuisance at Radstock, where these competing lines obstruct the turnpike road in the middle of the town with two level crossings within sixty feet of one another; and, whether he can see his way to remedying the grievance complained of?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL: Sir, as I appeared for the Board of Trade in the case to which allusion is made in the Question of the hon. and gallant Member, I have been requested by my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade to reply on his behalf. The application which was made to the Queen's Bench Division of the Supreme Court, and with reference to which the Lord Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Mellor gave judgment on the 19th of November last, was an application under the Railway Clauses Act, 1863, Section 7, for a *mandamus* to oblige the Bristol and Somerset and the Somerset and Dorset Railway Companies—whose lines cross the turnpike road in the town of Radstock at a very short distance from each other on the level—to make a bridge for the purpose of carrying the turnpike road over their lines. It was clear from the nature of the case that a bridge over

one of the lines of railway would be of no service—indeed, could not be made; and in order that a sufficient viaduct should be constructed, it was essential that both Companies should join in the work. It appeared, however, that the Bristol and North Somerset Company was absolutely without funds and practically defunct, having made over its undertaking to the Great Western Company in perpetuity, and that if a *mandamus* were issued against the Bristol and Somerset Company it could not be enforced. The Court, therefore, decided, in the exercise of its discretion, to refuse the application altogether. With respect to the Great Western Company, the advisability of applying for a *mandamus* against them was considered by the legal advisers of the Board of Trade; but these gentlemen came to the conclusion that there was no obligation upon that Company to make or join in making the necessary works. I fear there is no remedy for the grievance complained of unless the Legislature be resorted to. It is to be regretted that the Railway Companies originally induced Parliament to sanction the crossing of a highway on the level by two lines of railway placed so near to each other as to create danger.

#### SERGEANT M'CARTHY—THE INQUIRY. QUESTION.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, having regard to the fact that the inquiry which he has ordered into the death of the late Sergeant M'Carthy must partake of a medical character, he will consider the propriety of associating with Sir James Ingham in that inquiry, an independent and unofficial medical man?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that he informed Sir James Ingham when he appointed him to make an inquiry into the death of Sergeant M'Carthy that, if he required professional medical assistance, it would be afforded him.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION IN TURKEY.—QUESTION.

MR. CHAPLIN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,



Whether he can state to the House if it is true that all telegraphic communication between Adrianople and Constantinople is interrupted, and that all correspondents have been sent away from the Russian armies south of the Balkans?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, in reply to the hon. Gentleman, I have to say that, with respect to the telegraphic communication between Adrianople and Constantinople, we have heard from Mr. Layard, and the despatch was laid on the Table yesterday (Turkey, No. 4), that telegraphic communication between Constantinople and Adrianople was still open on the 29th. With regard to the telegraphic communication between Constantinople and Gallipoli, we heard this morning that the telegraph wires had been cut. As to the inquiry whether all correspondents with the Russian Army south of the Balkans have been sent away, I have to state that we have not heard that such is the case.

#### THE GREEKS—CORRESPONDENCE OF MR. GLADSTONE.—QUESTION.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If his attention has been called to a paragraph in the "Daily News" of the 30th instant, with reference to an official Correspondence which is alleged to exist on the subject of certain Letters addressed by the Right honourable Member for Greenwich to Mr. Negropontis, a Greek Merchant at Constantinople; whether such a Correspondence is in existence; and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government have any objection to lay a Copy upon the Table of the House; and, whether he can contradict a current report that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has admitted that he was the author of statements as to the contents of the aforesaid Letters of the Right honourable gentleman which the latter has publicly contradicted?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I have not myself seen the Correspondence, but I understand from my noble Friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs that there will be no objection to lay it on the Table, and it shall be laid on the Table forthwith. I understand that the Correspondence will

answer the last part of the Question of the hon. and learned Member; but I am unable to do so myself.

#### HYDROPHOBIA—LEGISLATION.

##### QUESTION.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If his attention has been directed to the alarm prevalent in the Country from the increase of hydrophobia, and to the existence of a number of wandering and ownerless dogs; and, whether he is prepared to deal with the matter by legislation or otherwise this Session?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, that in common with the public generally the Government had had their attention directed to the subject, and they were considering it, in hopes to be able to propose some measure relating to it.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE ARMISTICE—ADVANCE OF THE RUSSIAN FORCES.—QUESTION.

MR. CHAPLIN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government are yet in a position to state to the House that an Armistice has been concluded; whether it is the case as reported that the Russian forces are still rapidly advancing in the direction of Constantinople and of Gallipoli; and, whether, in the event of the continued advance of those forces, Her Majesty's Government are still prepared to adhere to the conditions laid down in Lord Derby's Despatch of the 6th May; and, if necessary, to resist the infringement of those conditions?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, up to the latest date that we have received there is no information that an armistice has been concluded. It is true, I believe, that the Russian Forces are advancing southwards; but upon what particular points they are directing their advances I am unable to say. Some Papers will be laid on the Table to-night which will give the latest information we have of the movements of the Russian Forces. In reply to the last part of the Question, I can only say that Her Majesty's Government do entirely adhere to the conditions laid down in Lord Derby's despatch.

*Mr. Chaplin*

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.



## SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
 "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

## THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

## ADJOURNED DEBATE. SECOND NIGHT.

MR. W. E. FORSTER, in rising to move the following Amendment:—

"That this House, having been informed in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech that the conditions on which Her Majesty's neutrality is founded had not been infringed by either belligerent engaged in the war in the East of Europe, and having since received no information sufficient to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, sees no reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies."

said: Sir, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in bringing forward his Motion for a Vote of Credit, or a Supplementary Estimate, stated at the commencement of his speech that, although it was almost the most important proposition which ever had been made in his time, yet just for the reason that it was so important, he would not detain the House with any prefatory remarks. I would wish to follow his example in that respect, and will not detain the House with any other prefatory remark than that neither I nor those who think with me would refuse any appeal from the Government for aid or pecuniary support in any matters affecting our relations with foreign Powers, unless we felt it our duty to do so, not merely as guardians of the interests of our constituents, but as men who have at heart, as much as the Government themselves and any of their supporters, the protection of the interests of the country and the fulfilment of its duties to foreign Powers. I think the Chancellor of the Exchequer can hardly have intended to say that this Vote was necessary, and I think it will not be difficult to show that the demand, and the manner in which it is made, is unprecedented, and that it establishes a precedent as unconstitutional as it is dangerous. But I admit my chief motive in moving this Amendment is my belief that the purpose of this Vote and the grounds on which this purpose is

based are those against which I feel it my duty to protest, and to ask those who concur with me to join in that protest. But before discussing those grounds let me say a very few words upon the Vote itself. My Amendment shows that we think the Government gives no "reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies." Undoubtedly it is our duty to have good reason for adding to those burthens; but do not let it be supposed that we should abstain from such addition, or that our constituents would wish us to abstain from it, or would pardon us from abstaining from it, if we saw the necessity for such a step. It is true that trade is depressed and that the industrial taxpayer is less able than usual to bear fresh and pressing burthens; but if the Government could make out its case for these £6,000,000, then, notwithstanding the depression of trade, I am sure our constituents—and I speak as fully for an industrial constituency as any other—would earnestly desire not only to vote that, but any other sum of money that may be required. But the Government has also its duty. It is our duty to give the money when it is wanted; but it is their duty to tell us, in the first place, how much they want, and in the second what they intend to do with it. Now, the Government has neither told us how much money they want, nor in what manner they intend to spend it. On the contrary, though they ask £6,000,000, they tell us they have no Estimate, and, indeed, they acknowledge that the sum hardly can—that it cannot be expended within the time for which alone they ask it—that is, before the 31st of next month. And if they were pressed to say what they intend to do with this Vote of Credit the only answer they will give us is that they will flourish it as a piece of paper in the face of the Representatives of the great Powers at some Conference which they expect speedily to be called. I challenge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to produce a precedent for the course he has taken. Other hon. Members more versed in financial affairs will follow me to attack this unprecedented Vote; but let me say that if money is thus to be granted, the House of Commons will lose one of its dearest and most valuable and most cherished privileges—the privilege—and it is very difficult to maintain it—of

voting no money without such control as can be given by Estimates at once complete and precise. We oppose the Vote now in order to oblige the Government to tell us how and why it is to be spent. Here we have an Estimate—but I never read an Estimate like it before. It is this—The Estimate speaks of a

“sum required beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, in increasing the efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey.”

Now, I challenge the Chancellor of the Exchequer to produce another Estimate similar to this. Much has been said about the action of the late Government with regard to the Vote of Credit in 1870. I was a Member of that Cabinet, and was jointly responsible for that Vote, and I fully believe that we were right to ask for it. The Vote of 1870, however, was no precedent for this Vote, for it was then clearly stated how much money would be required, in what way it would be spent, and for what purpose. There was also this difference between the position of the Government and of Parliament then from what it is now. We took that Vote at the close of a lengthened Session. The Government now asks for this Vote for an uncertain sum, which they know not whether they will spend, just when they have summoned Parliament together to keep it informed of their action and in order that it may be ready to assist them. But, with regard to the Vote of 1870, it was moved as a Vote of £2,000,000, and was taken chiefly

“to further increase the Land Forces by a number not exceeding 20,000 Men (All Ranks), to be maintained for the Service of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, during the year ending the 31st day of March 1871.”

That was not a Vote to flourish about in the face of anybody. It was a Vote for which we asked Parliament, because we felt that there was a necessity for it. It was for 20,000 men; we stated exactly what we wanted, and my argument would not apply at all if we had got from the Government an exact statement of what they want this money for. My right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich, then Prime Minister, stated precisely the object of that Vote. On the 8th of August he said—

*Mr. W. E. Forster*

“On Saturday, the 30th of July, the Government made a proposal to France and Prussia severally in identical terms, and that proposal was that an engagement should be contracted by this country with each of them, whether under the name of a Treaty or whatever other designation might be given to the agreement, to this effect—that if the armies of either one of the belligerents should, in the course of the operations of the war, violate the neutrality of Belgium, as secured by the terms of the Treaty of 1839, this country should co-operate with the other belligerent in defence of that neutrality by arms.”—[3 *Hansard*, ccciii. 1700.]

Nothing, then, could have been clearer than the object of that Vote; and it is in vain to quote it as a precedent for this one, because you do not say that you intend to add to your number of men—I think you say you do not intend to add to your men—or to your ships, or to your stores; and we do not know for what precise purpose or action you want it. We may know what speeches you mean to make to other Powers if you have this money, but we do not know what action you mean to take. The House ought to be jealous of the way in which the Estimate has been introduced; because, although it is on the face of it a sham Estimate, yet I am by no means sure that it will entirely remain a sham. I think that an Estimate for more money for the Services of the country than is acknowledged by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be wanted or likely to be used, is a great temptation to extravagance, and it is exceedingly probable that the result of passing this Vote will be that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will lose that control over the purse strings which I am sure he wishes to exercise, and will find it extremely difficult to prevent more money being used by the Services than he desires. We are told that some of this money is already spent. If that be so, let the Chancellor of the Exchequer come forward and tell us, and he will not find the House ungenerous or wanting in sympathy with the Government in their present circumstances. Leaving these financial, but to my mind most important considerations, I come to the political meaning of this Vote. And here I would take the House back to the first day of the Session. What did the Government advise Her Majesty to tell us in Her Gracious Speech? Her Majesty informed us of three things—first, that neither of the belligerents in this war had infringed the conditions on

which her neutrality is founded; secondly, that she believed that both of the belligerents were desirous to respect those conditions; and, thirdly, that, as long as those conditions were not infringed, her attitude would continue the same. Now, we know that, although we have not been informed that those conditions have been infringed, yet Her Majesty's attitude would not have remained the same unless, in consequence of a most fortunate mistake, the order which was sent out to the Fleet last Wednesday had been speedily countermanded. Her Majesty's Speech goes on to say—

“I cannot conceal from Myself that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on Me to adopt measures of precaution. Such measures could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation, and I trust to the liberality of My Parliament to supply the means which may be required for that purpose.”

Now it will be recollected that in the debate on the Address, there was considerable doubt among hon. Members, I think on both sides of the House, as to the meaning of this important paragraph. Some supposed that the appeal to the liberality of Parliament was to be made immediately, in order that measures of precaution might at once be taken to guard against an occurrence which might come, though it was not expected. Others thought that this was merely a warning to Parliament that something might happen that would necessitate the taking of those measures. It was very difficult thoroughly to understand that paragraph, and there was general wonder that in that most important passage of the Queen's Speech there should be this ambiguity. That, however, has, I think, been explained; for, looking at what has transpired within the last 10 days, I think it is not an unfair inference that that ambiguity arose from the difficulty felt by the Cabinet in deciding precisely what they should do, and that there was a compromise between the two sections of the Cabinet, of whose differences we have lately heard so much. But the Chancellor of the Exchequer was appealed to to explain that ambiguity and he gave a re-assuring explanation. He declared that no immediate appeal would be made, that no additional supplies would then be asked for; and he referred to the terms of peace which were about to

be proposed by Russia as the unexpected occurrence which might require an appeal to be made to the House. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head. His words were—

“It is necessary, therefore, that we should maintain an attitude of watchfulness and reserve until we see and know what it is that they (the Russians) are prepared to demand. The answer cannot be very much longer unknown to us, and when we know it we shall see more clearly where we are.”

He pointed to the terms of Russia as being the occurrence in consequence of which it was possible the demand might be made. Well, since then the occurrence, whether expected or unexpected, has come to pass which the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the Government would wait for before they took measures of precaution. But what is the information that has been received or the occurrence that has taken place? I say, taking the Speech and the explanation given by the Government together, the natural interpretation of this Vote of Credit, and the one that will be put upon it in this country and abroad is, that the Government ask for this money because they consider these terms unsatisfactory. And that interpretation is confirmed rather than contradicted by the manner in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer dwelt on those terms, and described them; and that explanation has been clung to with the desperate tenacity of drowning men by the war party in Constantinople. The first six proposals do not, in my mind, in any way directly affect British interests. The first of them is this—

“Within the limits of nationality, not less than those of the Conference, Bulgaria to be an autonomous Principality with a national Christian Government, a native Militia, and no Turkish troops except at certain places to be fixed.”

There are some hon. Members, no doubt, who are sorry that that has been asked for by Russia; but, for my part, I am not sorry. Any attempt on the part of the Government or their supporters to pass a War Vote, or to get us into any warlike action to protest against this first, and perhaps most important, of these conditions would, I believe, be disavowed by the enormous majority of the country. [“No, no!”]

I only wish that those who say "No" could put this matter in issue before the country. The next term is the

"independence of Montenegro, with an increase of territory corresponding to the military *status quo*, the frontier to be decided hereafter."

Now, is there in that, I would ask, anything likely to affect English interests, or anything endangered that Englishmen would protect? We have then the "independence of Roumania, with a sufficient territorial indemnity;" and although there may be some difference as to the conduct of Roumania, I do not suppose any hon. Member thinks this is a condition on account of which we should go to war with Russia. I am glad to learn that Roumanian nationality has distinguished itself, and that by their promise in the late war the Roumanians may be depended upon as patriots fighting for their country. The next term is the "independence of Servia." ["Oh, oh!"] I am aware that Servia is not popular, but I think those who thus express their views might with advantage have studied the history of that country, in order to see what were the influences of past generations which have produced the feeling in Servia that may have led to some infraction of Treaties, an infraction which I am not defending, but in which hon. Members who complain of it might have joined had their ancestors had the same experience as the ancestors of these Servians had. However, even though Servia may be unpopular with hon. Gentlemen opposite, in any case I do not imagine this condition would be deemed sufficient to justify a War Vote. The next term, I am glad to find, is "autonomous administration, sufficiently guaranteed, to Bosnia and Herzegovina;" and the next, "similar reforms for the other Christian Provinces of Turkey in Europe." I rejoice to find that the terms asked for by Russia will give some hope to the inhabitants of Thessaly and Epirus, and that there will be some chance for the Greeks and Christians in the Turkish Empire to be freed from the terrible hardships to which they have lately been subject. Now, taking these terms, which are undoubtedly the most important—so far, at least, as Turkey is concerned—they do not, as it seems to me, so affect English interests that we should agree to a War Vote of £6,000,000. Next in order is the indemnity claimed by Russia for the expenses of the war,

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"in a pecuniary, territorial, or other form, to be decided hereafter." I do not think myself there is anything in that item which calls for a special attitude on our part for a War Vote. It is very probable, I suppose, that the condition points to an indemnity in Armenia, and to such an indemnity I have never understood the Government to say that they were opposed, although that they should do so may be the wish of many of their supporters. Indeed, I have observed with great satisfaction that from the time the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for the Home Department made his celebrated speech up to the present time—and I have carefully looked through all Lord Derby's despatches—there has been no attempt whatever on the part of the Government to pledge this country against Russia obtaining an indemnity in Armenia. Not that I wish the territory of Russia to be increased, and I will say, once for all, that I am as much opposed to the Russian form and manner of government as any hon. Member whom I see before me; but, however bad may be their government, it is my firm belief that if an appeal were made to the inhabitants of Armenia, they would themselves, by an overwhelming majority, declare that, with all its faults, they would prefer it to the Government of Turkey. Upon this question of indemnity I would add that if there be anything in that shape demanded by Russia which would be injurious to English interests, Parliament is not going to separate directly—let the Government come forward when such a demand is made, and prove it to be so, and Parliament will respond to the appeal. But I now come to that which is, I have no doubt, in the minds of many hon. Gentlemen the most important of these items, and I myself am prepared to admit that it is the most important as far as England is concerned—I allude to the last, the "ulterior understanding for safeguarding the rights and interests of Russia in the Straits." Now that is a very natural demand for Russia to make upon Turkey. [Laughter.] Does any hon. Gentleman think it is not a natural demand? It is not an absolute demand, and I am not telling hon. Gentlemen that it is a demand which we should allow to be enforced without any remark on our side; but no one, I think, could expect that

war would close, and that Russia should have obtained a great triumph, without her saying to Turkey—"We expect to have our power in the Black Sea, and our power to take our ships out of that sea, placed in a different position so far as you are concerned." I forget by what Minister it has been said, but it has been said, that this demand by Russia was a matter which ought to have been avoided; that it would be greatly to the interest of England to avoid the result that Russia should ask Turkey for another arrangement with regard to the Straits of the Dardanelles. That would not be a reasonable position for the Government to take up now, for I am of opinion that from the moment Russia was allowed to carry on the war by herself, you were bound by the logical result that, if she conquered Turkey, she would ask, so far as her relations with the latter country were involved, to make her own terms, and to appeal to us and the other Powers for their sanction only so far as related to our and their interests. If you did not look forward to that result, another line of conduct should have been taken—indeed, I believe some of your supporters wished it to be taken—namely, that Russia should not have been allowed to go to war with Turkey. But having adopted the line you did, in which you have the overwhelming support of the enormous majority of the country, you must put up with the consequences; and there is, it appears to me, nothing to surprise us in Russia making this demand. If there had been any wish to induce Turkey to continue fighting—I do not charge the Government with such a wish, but many individuals have entertained it—because we should not like to see such an arrangement made directly between her and Russia, that, I contend, would have been most unreasonable and cruel to Turkey; and I must at once admit that I was glad to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer state that "we could not ask the Turks now to continue the war." I was sorry, however, to hear that word "now" used. We ought never to have asked the Turks at any moment to continue the war for one moment. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: We never did.] There remains, however, the fact that our interests as a naval Power are concerned in this question of the Straits; and let me suppose that Russia, having made

this demand on Turkey, intended to defy the other Powers of Europe, or to defy us, in that case the Government might have made out a case for an appeal to us for aid. But there is no such attempt whatever, for the very next despatch, which follows these terms of peace, reads as follows (it is from the Earl of Derby to Lord Augustus Loftus, and is dated from the Foreign Office, January 25):—

"My Lord,—Count Schouvaloff read to me to-day the following extract of a telegram from Prince Gortchakow: 'We repeat the assurance that we do not intend to settle by ourselves (*isolément*) European questions having reference to the peace which is to be made (*se rattachant à la paix*).'"

We were informed, and no doubt the other Powers, that the Russian Government admitted that the arrangement made by Treaty in 1856, and confirmed by Treaty in 1871, was an arrangement which could not be altered without the sanction of the other Powers. It is possible, however, that Russia may propose, instead of the present arrangements with regard to the Straits, that they should be open to the ships of war of all the Powers. I am not saying anything in favour of such a proposition; but it is not one which, I contend, ought to be received with hostility, or one which we should refuse to admit to be a matter of European consideration, to be decided on by the Powers who were parties to the Treaty of 1871. I will go further and say that if the Government have good grounds for believing that Russia means to make the unfair and unreasonable proposal of procuring for herself a passage through the Straits without allowing us or other Powers to have also the same right of passage, then I think the Government would be joined in protesting against such a proposal by an immense majority of hon. Members on both sides of the House. We have, however, no reason whatever to suppose that Russia has made any such proposal; and here I must ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer to be so kind as to answer me this Question. I was very much surprised when we got the Papers on Tuesday morning to read the last despatch—the despatch from Lord Derby to Lord Augustus Loftus, dated the 28th of January, in which occur these words—

"The Russian Ambassador called on me late this afternoon, and read me an extract from a

telegram which he had received from Prince Gortchakoff, authorizing him to affirm categorically that the Russian Government consider the passage of ships of war through the Dardanelles as an European question, which they do not intend to settle by themselves (*résoudre isolément*)."

I was surprised to read this despatch—not because of its tenour, but because the Chancellor of the Exchequer made no allusion to it. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I had not seen it when I spoke.] I am very glad to hear that explanation, because I am sure that it was impossible that the Chancellor of the Exchequer could have received that despatch and not have read it to us. I think it contains very important information, and ought to re-assure the minds of some hon. Gentlemen opposite. I will not detain the House any longer on the Russian terms. To me there is nothing in these terms that requires us to arm, or justifies an appeal for a War Vote, and I think that our arming or our passing a War Vote would be misinterpreted, not merely in this country, but in every capital of Europe; and especially at Constantinople, in Bulgaria, and in the other Christian Provinces of Turkey it would be supposed that we were arming against the fact of the terms of peace. It would be taken to mean resistance to Russia, and that, to my mind, is a very strong reason why we should not pass the Vote on any ground yet adduced by the Government. Now, has anything else happened since the opening of Parliament or has there been any other information which the Government has been able to give us which would justify this appeal for a special Vote? I know there is a great feeling of surprise at the delay in the armistice. Nothing can be more extraordinary than the despatch produced by the Government this morning, from which it appears that, although the telegraph is open between Constantinople and Adrianople, the Porte cannot give any information whatever with regard to the proceedings of its own Ambassadors. That is a most extraordinary and most unintelligible circumstance. But the unintelligible part of it is the conduct, not of Russia, but of Turkey. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, I think hon. Gentlemen must admit that if any other Power were in that situation—if it had sent its Ambassadors so long ago as the 23rd instant on the most important business that could concern a

country, and yet had got no answer from them up to the present time, they would admit that the circumstance was extraordinary and unintelligible. There are two interpretations which might be put upon this delay, and hon. Members may take which they like. They may say that the Russians, who proposed the terms of peace, are delaying the acceptance of them for purposes of their own. How they could do so, I do not precisely see. They proposed the terms of peace and they are waiting for their acceptance. It may be that the Turks are hesitating about accepting them. I do not for a moment deny that they are very hard terms for Turkey, but they are such terms as Lord Derby warned Musurus Pasha Turkey might have to accept, and which she ought to have contemplated when she went to war. It is quite possible, I repeat, that Turkey is hesitating; and I do not admit that there is no danger that that hesitation may be increased by the proceedings of the Government. I am not going to quote the opinion of newspapers. We have got into a region in which we have to consider the opinions of Members of the House of Commons under the guidance of their constituents; but one newspaper, *The Daily Telegraph*, which is constantly receiving information from Turkey, stated the day before yesterday, upon the authority of its correspondent in Constantinople, that the Turkish Government had sent counter proposals. That may, or may not be true; anyhow, I need not further refer to it. All I wish to say is this—if the Government have any information, or can produce any further information before the close of this debate, as to the delay either in the signing of peace or in the signing of the armistice, or, if any fact has passed since the opening of the Session which, in their opinion, injures English interests and justifies their calling upon us to give them Supplies, let them state it. As yet it has not been stated, and to do the Chancellor of the Exchequer justice, he does not base this appeal upon anything that has passed since the opening of the Session. He said—

"We are asked why are you asking for this money, and what are you going to do with it? We asked for this money, not necessarily that it, or the greater part of it, may be expended at all; but we desire to be armed by you as we go into these negotiations; we desire to go

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armed with this Vote, which is not only a Vote of Credit, but a Vote of Confidence."

In his explanatory speech he said—

"We do not ask for this Vote of £6,000,000 to be expended upon this or upon that; we ask it in order that we may be able to go into Conference and negotiation with the force of England at our back."

The grounds upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer puts the matter are these—first, that the Vote will give weight to the Government in the coming negotiations; and, second, that the Government think they have a right to ask for a Vote of Confidence. Now, take the first argument, as regards the weight of England in the approaching Conference. I can understand the Parliamentary ground on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer rests his appeal. It does enable him to obtain the support of all the Supporters of the Government, whether they may be more or less inclined to what may be called a war policy. By a Vote, which appears to be a War Vote, the Chancellor of the Exchequer may hope to conciliate his War Friends, and at the same time by telling his Peace Friends that the money will not be spent, he may conciliate them. I observe, however, that he has not entirely conciliated his War Friends. The hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim) has put an Amendment on the Paper, which I must confess goes, with sailor-like simplicity, to the real matter in hand; and which, if the Government thought it necessary to propose a Vote at all, was the sort of Vote they ought to have proposed. He asks the House to declare that—

"The assurances of the Czar are being deliberately evaded by the proposed Terms of Peace and the advance of the Russian Army, and that the time has now arrived when immediate action on the part of Great Britain is an absolute necessity;"

and asks the House to—

"Request Her Majesty's Government to lay upon the Table forthwith the Estimates for placing the Navy and Army upon a war footing."

That is intelligible, and it would have been understood throughout Europe, and would have given rise to no misunderstanding. But whether the Government have conciliated their War Supporters or not by the manner in which they have made this proposal, I appeal to them and to the House generally whether it is a

proposal which is fair to the House or calculated to uphold the dignity of the country. The next question is, we are told that this sham Estimate—for there is no intention of making it a real Estimate—is to give weight to this country in the approaching Conference. We have heard some talk of the humiliation of England by the papers which have urged the Government to a war policy which they could not undertake; but there would, indeed, be humiliation if this House felt that a paper Vote of this kind was necessary. I think it is only the present Prime Minister to whom the idea that a piece of paper would give weight to the Government could have occurred. I would not have thought it possible for him if he had not told us that he would check the encroachments of Russia by an empty title. Why, every Power that meets there well knows that England would give £6,000,000 or £60,000,000 if necessary. But let the Government, let their Delegates, let their Ambassadors, if there be no Conference, and especially let their Ambassador at Constantinople, know that there are vast numbers of Englishmen who, while they are willing to give £6,000,000 or £60,000,000 to support the Government in a just cause, will not give £6,000 for an unjust and unnecessary war; or to induce the Government, by unnecessary suspicion, to make the restoration of European peace more difficult. I now come to the Vote of Confidence. The right hon. Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel), who saw that it was not a very wise ground upon which the Government put it, came forward the other night and said that the Chancellor of the Exchequer did not mean a Vote of Confidence as generally understood. I think, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer will admit that what they do mean is this—that, in asking for this Vote of Credit, which is also a Vote of Confidence, they ask us for confidence in the immediate future, founded upon the recent past. I put it to the Supporters of the Government—I put it to the House—is there anything in the recent past, is there anything in the recent conduct of the Ministers which tends to increase our confidence in the Government? If there be, what is the particular action of Her Majesty's Government that has inspired that confidence? Have we confidence in Her Majesty's Govern-



ment because of the order they sent out last Wednesday—an order which might very possibly have plunged the country into war? Or have we confidence in them because they countermanded that order the next day in consequence of their Ambassador at Constantinople having made a mistake, but a most fortunate mistake, his having made which, for the first time for many weeks, made me glad that my old friend Mr. Layard was our Representative at that capital? I congratulate the Government, and I am sure they must congratulate themselves, on that order having been countermanded, because after having read the despatches they must be convinced that it was given recklessly and hastily, under a mistaken impression as to the conduct of the Russian Government. ["No, no!"] Hon. Gentlemen may say "No, no;" but, at any rate, at that time the Government had not the despatches before them. They must also congratulate themselves on the mistake, because it was fortunate in another respect—namely, that it enabled the Government to retain the services of their Minister who has conducted our foreign affairs, and in whom I say, without fear of contradiction, the country has more confidence than it places in the other Members of Her Majesty's Government. ["No, no!"] Some hon. Members opposite say "No, no," and that induces me again to ask this question—is there anything in the recent conduct of Her Majesty's Government that induces us to place confidence in them for the immediate future? In whom are we to have confidence—in which Member of the Government? Are we to have confidence in the Prime Minister? ["Hear, hear!"] Are we to have confidence in the Prime Minister who persuaded his Colleagues—and I have no doubt that he is very proud of having persuaded them—to commit this act, which is now acknowledged to have been hasty, of sending the Fleet to the Dardanelles? Are we to have confidence in the Foreign Secretary who tendered his resignation on the order being given, but came back to the Government when it was countermanded? I have no doubt that it is hoped by some hon. Members on that side of the House, as well as by many on this side, that the threatened resignation of the noble Lord so far frightened the Prime Minister that his presence in the Cabinet may

be taken as affording us some security for the conduct of the Government in the future. All I can say is, that looking back at the occurrences of the last 10 days, I am surprised that the Government are asking even their own Supporters for a Vote of Confidence. As regards ourselves, most certainly I can see no reason in anything that has happened since Parliament met to give us increased confidence in the Government. The Foreign Secretary, it is true, came back to the Government when he found that he had got his way; but the Colonial Secretary did not come back, and I daresay the Supporters of the Government would now no longer have confidence in that Minister of whom they were so proud. For my own part, I am willing at once to admit that the resignation of Lord Carnarvon has greatly diminished our confidence in Her Majesty's Government. His presence in the Cabinet was, to our minds, the greatest security we had that peace would be maintained, and was a guarantee against the repetition of the reckless acts which the Government have committed within the last 10 days. After reading or hearing his explanation, I think it is impossible for the country to overrate the debt which they owe to Lord Carnarvon. It was by his speech three or four weeks ago that he reassured the country, and, I have no doubt, checked and prevented actions which would have alarmed the country; and I think I am not wrong in stating that it is clear that not once only, but two or three times, the noble Lord has stood between Her Majesty's Government and what we consider would have been a most dangerous policy. Therefore, you must not be surprised that the resignation of Lord Carnarvon—which will, at all events, be a great loss to his special Department in consequence of the excellent manner in which he has conducted the affairs of the Colonies—has not rendered us more likely to assent to this Vote of Credit in answer to the Government appeal. Now, in his speech on Monday last, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was very hypothetical. He then stated that he would not give us the source of the rumours to which he alluded, but he told us the substance of many rumours that had come to his knowledge, which might or might not be true; and he gave us many explana-

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tions of them, and set before us many possibilities. Will the House, therefore, allow me to give one hypothetical explanation with regard to this Vote?—but, although hypothetical, I think it as likely to be true as the hypotheses of the right hon. Gentleman—as that, for example, of a Russian Prince in Bulgaria. Why do Her Majesty's Government ask us for this Vote? It is not a very natural Vote for them to move in existing circumstances; but it was very natural for them to give Notice of it last Thursday, when they had given orders to the Fleet to enter the Dardanelles. It was very possible that the Russians might look upon that step as a breach of our neutrality, which it really was; and, therefore, it was quite natural, and a very logical conclusion for Her Majesty's Government to give Notice of this Motion. But when that order to the Fleet to proceed to the Dardanelles was countermanded, the Motion for this Vote of Credit became unnecessary, and it should have been dropped. The real fact was, however, the Government had so often and constantly changed its policy that the uncertainty of its policy had made it the puzzle, not to say the laughing-stock, of Europe. Seeing this, they were determined that there was one resolution at least to which they would stick; that they thought, in the first instance, the money would be wanted, yet when they found by the change of policy and countermanding the order under the pressure of Lord Derby's resignation, they no longer wanted the money, they would not at the same time countermand the order to their own Supporters, and they said—"Though it is true that when we asked for this money we wanted it, and that we no longer do so, yet we still ask for it, because we will now call it a Vote of Confidence." There is another reason why we, on our own part, are unable to respond to this appeal of the Government. It is not merely that we are uncertain as to the policy of the Government in the past, but it is also this—that we are uncertain whether the conduct of the Government may not, even in the next week, be reckless and dangerous as it was reckless and dangerous last week. And we have every reason to believe that, if any other similar reckless act be done, it will be done suddenly, without the slightest warning, although the Members of the House of

Commons have been called together three weeks earlier than usual, in order, as it was said, that the Government might take them into its confidence and keep them constantly informed as to the state of affairs. And yet we have not received that confidence. Talk of an unexpected occurrence, who could have expected that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down on that Thursday and gave his Notice—who could have imagined that at that time the Foreign Secretary and the Colonial Secretary had determined to leave the Cabinet on account of the order given to the Fleet to enter the Dardanelles? But let us look for a moment into the grounds on which it is said the order given to the Fleet was based. They were two, nay, three in number. The first was that there was a misunderstanding of the terms of peace. It was supposed that the Czar was going to settle alone with the Sultan questions affecting our interests. Then the order was given for two purposes—one was to protect life and property in Constantinople, and the other to keep open the waterway of the Dardanelles. Now, if the object had been merely the first, and the Government had real reason to suppose that there was real danger to life and property in Constantinople, or that there was going to be a massacre of the Christians, we should not have been surprised at their action. As the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) stated, it would have been natural in that case that the Powers should have been informed that it was for that purpose, and that purpose alone, that the Fleet had received its orders, and no objection would have been raised by other Powers. But the Fleet was going there for another purpose. What was the meaning of keeping the waterway of the Dardanelles open? I shall be followed, no doubt by international lawyers, and therefore I will not say much on this point; but I think it will be proved that this attempt to keep the waterway open, whatever grounds there were for it, was a breach of neutrality. Some hon. Gentlemen, I suppose, think we are parties to a Treaty now in force in regard to the Straits. I believe that to be a mistake. The Articles of the Treaties of 1856 and 1871, with respect to the Dardanelles, do not at this moment in any way apply to the navigation of the

Straits. They applied merely to Turkey when she was at peace, and Turkey being now no longer at peace the words have at this moment no meaning or effect. We return, then, to the condition of a neutral in any war that may break out, and it is an acknowledged principle of international law by expounders of that science, that for a neutral to go into the territory of one belligerent, and to take possession of such territory, in order to keep out the other belligerent, and then to say it will keep open the waterway—a vague phrase, but which must mean that it will prevent the other belligerent from going into it—is in itself a breach of neutrality. But before I leave this subject, let me ask the Government one question. The Chancellor of the Exchequer in his speech gave as a reason for the order that was sent out, that the Russians were advancing with great rapidity on Gallipoli. Now, I want to know whether the Government have received any explanation from Mr. Layard bearing on the despatch mentioned in No. 30, and dated January 23. Mr. Layard says—"I have communicated the substance of your telegram of the 4th instant to the Porte." That telegram was the assurance which we had sent to the Porte and which we had received from the Russian Government. It stated—

"That Her Majesty's Government are glad to receive the pledge thus given by the Russian Government that they have no intention of directing their military operations on Gallipoli unless Turkish regular troops should concentrate there."

Her Majesty's Government state that one great cause of their alarm was that they thought the Russian Government was going to take possession of Gallipoli. They asked the Russian Government not to do so, and the Russian Government gave them a satisfactory assurance, saying that they would only go there if they were obliged as belligerents to go there because the Turkish regular troops were there. Mr. Layard goes on—

"In reply, I am informed that there are now only three battalions at Gallipoli to maintain order and to prevent the Mussulman population from taking flight, and that more troops will not be sent there if I am authorized by Her Majesty's Government to communicate officially to the Porte in their name the pledge given by Prince Gortchakoff."

What I ask is this—Did the Govern-

*Mr. W. E. Forster*

ment allow Mr. Layard to communicate this pledge? If they did, what has been the consequence of it? If Russia said she would not send her troops to Gallipoli unless the Turks concentrated their regular forces there, and if the Turks assured us they would not thus concentrate their forces, what was the ground of the fear of the Government? If, on the other hand, Her Majesty's Government did not allow Mr. Layard to communicate this officially to the Porte, we should be glad to have some information. There is one other ground, and it is the last ground, on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer based his proposal. It is the question whether we are or are not to go to this Conference armed with the strength of a united nation, and whether we are or are not to speak with the voice of England as that voice ought to be heard. By all means let the Government go into the Conference with the voice of England as a united nation. I think they can do so with the voice of a united Parliament speaking as the representatives of a united nation. There are English interests involved in this question—English interests which, though they may be special, are not selfish interests. There is the interest of preserving our communications with our Indian Empire. There is the interest of preserving our road through the Suez Canal, and our right to send not only merchant ships, but also ships of war through the Canal at any time, and with that right the power and the right to send our troops across the Isthmus of Suez by railway if any misfortune should happen to the Canal. There is this interest with regard to Egypt; and with respect to it, I believe the country is unanimous to one man in supporting the Government. I am only speaking on behalf of myself, for I have no right to speak for others; but I think that is the belief of the majority of the Members of this House and of a large majority in the country. Another English interest, on which I believe the country would be almost unanimous, is that we are to be treated in the Black Sea on equal terms with Russia and the other Great Powers; but that is not a selfish interest, it involves also the interests of civilization. Our special English interests are not selfish ones, but there are other interests which, though they are not special, are

yet English. First, there is the question of the permanent possession of Constantinople. Here, again, do not let it be supposed that I am speaking for anyone but myself, though I believe I am speaking what is the opinion of most of the Members of the Liberal Party as well as of the country generally. I am not one of those who would endeavour to prevent the Russians from permanently possessing Constantinople, as a purely English interest. It has not been so stated by Her Majesty's Government, and I believe, on the contrary, that it is much more an Austrian interest, and as much a German, or French, or Italian interest. Again, I do not think the Government ought to be supported in any attempt by force to prevent the temporary occupation by Russia of Constantinople. I think that if we had intended to take that ground we should have done so originally, and have told Russia she must not go to war. If two countries do engage in war, it is not reasonable to expect that one belligerent will stay short of such successes as will force the other to give way, when the conquering belligerent is about to reap all the advantages it had sought to gain by the war. But I do most fully admit that the Government ought to be supported in taking their part in the European concert to carry out the European object of preventing the permanent possession of Constantinople by the Russians, if that is threatened, which I do not believe it is. But, in that case, and if the Government feel it is their duty to take part in such concert, surely they ought to give us all the information they possibly can with regard to our relations with the other Great Powers of Europe upon this question; and as yet they have given us hardly a scrap of such information. Then there is also another interest which is also not the less an English interest because it is not our special interest. That is the good government or better government of the people of Turkey—the interest of the freedom of the Christian subjects of the Porte from the cruel bondage and the senseless tyranny which, until it ceases, makes that European peace impossible which, as the Earl of Derby rightly stated, is the chief interest of England. Let the Prime Minister and his Colleagues go into the Conference declaring that we are in favour of these interests, and I

know of no other interests connected with this question which they need very strongly advocate. Let them declare in favour of these interests, and they will need no sham Vote of Confidence, but they will have the enthusiastic support of a united people, and there will be an end of Party differences. Not having received any information from the Government which proves that this Vote of Confidence is necessary, fearing, on the other hand, that it will and must be interpreted as an attempt to lessen the advantages which the Christian populations may gain by this war, and fearing that it must be interpreted as a check to the aspirations of the rising Christian nationalities, and that it will be a means through which some, at least, of their chains will remain unbroken, I feel that I have no course to adopt but to move the Amendment of which I have given Notice, and to call upon all those who agree with me to vote for it.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, "this House, having been informed in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech that the conditions on which Her Majesty's neutrality is founded had not been infringed by either belligerent engaged in the war in the East of Europe, and having since received no information sufficient to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, sees no reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies,"—(*Mr. William Edward Forster*,) —instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS: Mr. Speaker—The vagueness and the ambiguity of the speech we have just heard lead me to see in it the most patriotic statement as to what the right hon. Gentleman would do if British interests were attacked; and, at the same time, he almost imputed to the Government that they were betraying those interests by asking for this Vote. That is one of the most extraordinary statements I ever heard. There are sentiments he has uttered and words he has used which I have heard over and over again in the country, which if I were answering them in the country I should certainly say were not borne out by the facts, and which, as far as Parliamentary language

allows me to do, I must beg emphatically and distinctly to deny. But the whole gist of the right hon. Gentleman's speech is to create an impression in this House and out of it that there is a war party — "war-mongers," I think, as we are called by an hon. Gentleman; to lead the House and the country in general to believe that because we felt it to be our duty to come down to the House and ask it to give us this Vote in Supply, we are doing it for the purpose, when we have got it, of going to war without the sanction of this House. I say, as far as Parliamentary language will allow me to say so, that is utterly untrue. But not content with holding out the Government in that light, in which he wants to make us appear extremely warlike—determined to go to war at all hazards—he has gone out of his way to make accusations against my noble Friend at the head of the Government, which are such as during the considerable time I have sat in this House I never before heard from any hon. Member, and such as I, for one, hope never to hear again. What the right hon. Gentleman meant, by what no doubt he thought would be picked up as a catchword through the country was, that this is a "sham estimate," and what he meant by that, I presume, is to attribute to the Prime Minister that he asked the Government to consent to come down to the House and formally to make a proposition such as we have made; but that nothing at all should be meant by it—that it was held up as a piece of show—a mere thing to dazzle the eyes; and he compares it with a measure, which at the time was also attacked, brought in by the Prime Minister, relating to the settlement of the Imperial Crown in India. I hope when the House comes to consider this question more seriously they will be better able to judge how far those observations of the right hon. Gentleman are born out, or how far, in their opinion, he is justified in having ever made them at all. The right hon. Gentleman, fixing upon a word that fell from my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other evening—although it was entirely explained five minutes after it was spoken—still tried to persuade the House that by this Vote we are asking for a general Vote of Confidence in the Government.

*Mr. Assheton Cross*

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Sir, I did not say that.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS: I am in the hands of the House whether that is really so or not?

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I think it will be admitted that I said I understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to state that it was not a Vote of general Confidence in the policy of the Ministry; but that I thought it was a Vote asking for confidence in the immediate action of the Government, based on their recent conduct.

Mr. ASSHETON CROSS: My answer to that is, that after the explanation that was given, that it was not a Vote of general Confidence, the remark of the right hon. Gentleman ought never to have been made. The time will come, but not when great national subjects are before us, when that question may be put before the House by the right hon. Gentleman, and the answer will then be given. That is not the question now. The question placed before the House the other night by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer is as clear as can be. We ask for this Vote. In our opinion, it is necessary for the purposes of the country. We should not have come down to ask it at your hands if we had not come deliberately to that conclusion. As responsible Ministers of the Crown, what we ask is that you will place it in our hands, relying upon us that we should not use it unnecessarily—should not use it for purposes for which it was not absolutely required. That being so, I must ask for a few moments the attention of the House while I explain what I mean by saying that there has been a general wish on the part of right hon. Gentlemen sitting opposite to hold us up as a war Party. I must for one moment go back, if the House will allow me, as far as the 6th of May last year. On the 6th of May Lord Derby wrote that despatch which has practically been the charter of the policy of the Government from that day to this. I will just relate, for the information of the House, the terms of the despatch, merely premising that the outbreak of the war having been communicated to us on the 24th April, on the 30th April we issued the declaration of neutrality, and on the 6th May we wrote this despatch—

"Her Majesty's Government do not propose again to enter on the justice or necessity of the present war. They have already expressed their views, and further discussion would be unavailing."

Then, here comes the first landmark, as I ventured to call it in my speech of last Session—

"They have respected the obligations which a state of war imposes upon them, and they have lost no time in issuing a proclamation of neutrality. They have from the first warned the Porte that they must not look to England for assistance, as they are determined to carry impartially into effect the pledge of neutrality so long as Turkish interests alone are involved."

Well, now for the second landmark—

"At the same time they think it right that there should be no misunderstanding as to their position and intentions. If the war in progress should unfortunately spread, interests may be in peril which they are equally bound and determined to defend, and it is most desirable that they should make it clear what those interests are."

Guided by those landmarks, from the 6th May up to the present day Her Majesty's Government have always acted. They have never swerved either from one or the other, and they are of the same opinion now as they were on the 6th May, that that is the policy which, so long as the war lasts, they are bound to observe. Now, I admit, and I believe the whole country admits, that this position which the Government has taken up—the position of neutrals, when there is a great war raging between States with which we are friendly—is one of great difficulty. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), at the time when the war was raging between France and Germany, made use of this observation—

"We have considered the duty of neutrals, and we have done our best thus far to fulfil them. The duties of a neutral are not easy—they are duties which the most sanguine of statesmen and the most sanguine of Governments can hardly hope to fulfil in such a manner as not to give offence to one side or the other, and probably to both."

I quite agree with those remarks. I say again, we have never swerved from the policy we laid down in our despatch of the 6th of May. Is there any man in this House who will say that we have given encouragement to Turkey? Is there any man in this House who will say that we have in any form or shape

deceived Turkey? I will not go back to the warning which we gave her at the time. When Parliament was summoned earlier than usual, Lord Derby, writing to Mr. Layard, said—

"In view of the reports which are likely to be current in this country, Her Majesty's Government think it desirable that you should be aware that this unusually early meeting of Parliament does not imply any intention on their part to depart from the policy of conditional neutrality which they have announced."

Well, on a later date, on the 21st December, there is a report of a conversation that took place between Lord Derby and the Turkish Ambassador—

"His Excellency referred more than once to the possibility of an intervention, and I thought it right to repeat the warning—namely, that no intervention was to be expected, but that Her Majesty's Government would adhere to the conditions of neutrality which they had laid down."

Then, on the 7th January of the present year, in the course of further conversation, Lord Derby took occasion to remind the Turkish Ambassador that our language had never varied from the beginning of the war to the present time—

"I thought it right once more to repeat this warning, in order that no false hopes might be raised."

And not later ago than the 12th January Lord Derby writes to Mr. Layard—

"The Sultan asks whether he can expect any assistance; I fear not, for I told him from the beginning we were not prepared to give any material assistance, and as the Russians have now offered mediation, it would not avail."

Now, I ask this House, I ask the country, whether there can be a clearer course adopted by any Government than that which we followed? And yet right hon. Gentlemen, not in the Assembly of this House, but elsewhere, have not hesitated to accuse us of having been false to our promises contained in the despatch of the 6th May. [MR. GOSCHEN: No, no!] The right hon. Gentleman says "No, no." Has he read the speech supposed to have been delivered yesterday afternoon not very far from the City of London?

MR. GOSCHEN: I said that in reference to the speech I have just heard from my right hon. Friend.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: But I refer to speeches that have been delivered outside this House; and even

in the speech we have just heard, although broken promises were not perhaps said in so many words, there was contained the substance of such an accusation. If the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Goschen) be right, it amounts to this—that right hon. Gentlemen use language outside which they dare not use in this House. Although, as I have said, such language was not used in the speech just delivered, still the substance of that accusation ran through it from beginning to end. To leave that, I shall now refer to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) at Oxford. He accused us of not knowing our own minds; but I ask whether the despatches from which I have quoted prove that? He further said that we have spoken with two voices, and that we poured forth from the same fountain sweet waters and bitter waters. I grant at once that in our despatches there is bitter enough water for the Turkish Government. But I defy you to find one drop of sweet. Well, then, to proceed further, I ask, have we ever on the other hand deceived Russia? On the contrary, we have from first to last warned her where our interests lay, and that they would be defended. In the despatch which we wrote later, on 13th December, 1877, when the war seemed to have taken a different turn, we wrote in the strongest way to Russia, telling her that Her Majesty's Government would hold herself free to take whatever course was necessary for the protection of British interests; but that we sincerely trusted and confidently believed that any such necessity would be averted by a mutual understanding between the two Governments. So that whether you turn to Turkey or whether you turn to Russia you will find no act or despatch of the Government in which we have swerved from the despatch of 6th May. I ask, also, whether we ever deceived the country? We told the country in the Queen's Most Gracious Speech that so long as the conditions of our neutrality were not violated, so long would that neutrality be adhered to. But, on the other hand, I say in the speeches which have been made throughout the country there has been a "lying spirit" abroad, and in the Resolution before the House there is an evil spirit lurking, although at first sight somewhat difficult to discover.

*Mr. Assheton Cross*

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I think the right hon. Gentleman should state what speeches he refers to.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: I should be very sorry; but I say this without fear of contradiction, that the policy of these speeches has been to hold out to Turkey that we were going in the long run to assist her. Well, what they have tried to persuade the country is that we have been dishonest in the despatches we have written and in the words we have spoken. I deny that the despatches contain any ground for such statements; but I will not rest it on that—I will show the absurdity of the charge. If we had any lurking wish to depart from the policy of the 6th of May, when we might have acted and with effect at the time that the Turkish Armies seemed likely, at all events for some time, to hold their own against Russia, we should have been not merely dishonest but simply fools had we waited until the Turks were thoroughly and absolutely beaten, and then come forward to help them. Surely, if there is anything in the stern logic of facts, it must prove that the determination of the Government was a very honest determination and one they meant to go upon? The right hon. Gentleman has never in his speech, as far as I am aware, pointed out a single complaint made by the Government of either Russia or Turkey that we have violated our neutrality. I am not aware of any despatch making any such complaint, and I think that if the two Governments in this case—which, I venture to say, is a peculiar case—acquiesce in our attitude; when, after a long and bloody struggle, the position of a country like England is not complained of, we need not trouble ourselves very much as to the complaints coming from the right hon. Gentleman. Now, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman alluded to the orders given to the Fleet, which orders he characterized as a reckless act—"Hear, hear!"—as recklessly issued. ["Hear, hear!"] Hon. Members may say "Hear, hear," but they do not understand the circumstances—and as recklessly recalled. The right hon. Gentleman should clearly understand one of the vital reasons for which the Fleet was recalled, but he did not allude to it in his Speech. It was quite evident, as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, that at that time

there were very serious apprehensions as to the state of affairs with regard to the terms of peace. No one knew in the least what were the terms of peace. The Russians were still advancing in every direction. There was a panic amongst all the populations of the south-east of Europe, and we had a very large number of British subjects—much larger than the right hon. Gentleman and the House know—resident in Constantinople. He quarrels with the orders given to the Fleet to sail at once up the Dardanelles. Let me read what they were—"Sail at once for the Dardanelles, and proceed with the Fleet now with you to Constantinople." The first order given said—

"Abstain from taking any part in the contest between Russia and Turkey, but the waterway of the Straits is to be kept open, and in the event of tumult at Constantinople you are to protect life and property of British subjects."

I do not see that by these orders there was any wish for a breach of neutrality. Under these orders, if the Russian Government had their ships coming up the Dardanelles, and the British Fleet under Admiral Hornby had attacked them, he would, in my opinion, have broken the orders given him. [An hon. MEMBER: How about the waterway?] Keep the waterway open! Do you think that we mean that we were going to send up our Fleet to Constantinople to protect our subjects and have the entrance to the Dardanelles shut against us; and if we have subjects in Constantinople and there is panic and probable fear of massacre that we are to have the gate shut in our face? I say we had a perfect right to see that the waterway was kept open in order that our ships might go up and down. I will not argue the question further; but will the right hon. Gentleman remember, when he speaks of breaches of neutrality, what occurred in the year 1853, when it was doubtful whether war had been declared or not? I am glad, by the way, that he has at last come to see some value in Treaties, because the year before last we were told that we might tear them up. The right hon. Gentleman says that we have broken that Treaty. I say we have not. Let me remind him of what took place in 1853. In September it is recorded that in consequence of the alarming state of affairs at Constantinople, the British and French Am-

bassadors determined to send two war steamers up the Dardanelles, at a time when no official intelligence of this fact had reached the Government, and Lord Clarendon addressed a despatch to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to the effect that, in ordinary circumstances, as long as the Sultan did not declare war against Russia, we must scrupulously adhere to the Treaty of 1841; but after it appeared that the lives and property of British subjects were in danger, it was clear that the Treaty regulating the entering into the Straits had no longer any binding force. I do not know why, if the waterway is to be closed, and if British subjects are exposed to danger, we should not go to rescue them in 1878 as much as in 1853, or that when the ships go there we should not take care that they get back safe. The right hon. Gentleman referred also to the second order to the Admiral to withdraw the Fleet, which he calls a "lucky chance." I must demur to that expression. That second order which we were very glad to issue was sent in consequence of a telegram received from Mr. Layard, the last part of which had the greatest weight with us. It was not simply that he had got, or thought he had got the bases of peace; but that he was told that the Turkish Plenipotentiaries had gone to the Russian headquarters and had been instructed to accept the terms—an entirely different thing. If the Turkish Plenipotentiaries were instructed to accept the bases of peace, then all panic would go, and there was no possibility of danger. The situation was changed, the necessity of sending the Fleet was gone, and the Government at once withdrew the order for the entry into the Dardanelles. I do not know that we are to be blamed for that action. I do not know that we are to be told that our policy in that respect was uncertain. I say it was not uncertain. The Fleet was sent up for an express purpose, and the moment the cause of that purpose ceased the Fleet came back. The right hon. Gentleman twitted the Government with having been actuated by a double motive—not only to recall the Fleet, but also to recall their Foreign Secretary. That statement is wholly without foundation and ought not to go uncontradicted.

The House will pardon me if I now consider what was the change that oc-



curred so suddenly in the position of the belligerents. Everyone knows that on December 10 Plevna fell, and that on the 12th the Sultan made an appeal to all the Powers of Europe. That appeal was not responded to, and on Christmas Day the Sultan stated that we might ask Russia if she would entertain the question of an armistice, and asked us to make on his behalf overtures of peace to Russia. It was said at Oxford, without the slightest foundation, that the cause of the delay was the action of the British Government. After some misunderstanding as to whether there should be an armistice, the Russians, saying there should be bases of peace before the armistice, and that the arrangements should be made between the military commanders, on the 5th of January I find that Lord Augustus Loftus writes to Lord Derby from St. Petersburg, that the Russian military commanders "had been instructed to state the conditions on which an armistice would be agreed to." These words are important; and I venture to say that anyone who read that despatch would have come to the conclusion that we did—namely, that the Russian commanders then had in their pockets the terms which Russia was prepared to agree to. No other meaning could possibly be attached to that despatch. Well, on the 9th of January Mr. Layard telegraphed that an order had at once been sent to the Turkish commanders to address themselves to the Russian Head-Quarters. What could be more speedy than that? On the same day we have another telegram from Turkey saying that the Turkish commanders have also addressed themselves to the Russian commanders in Roumelia as well as to the Grand Duke Nicholas, and they reply that they know nothing of an armistice and have no instructions. Having received the intimation we did on the 5th, we heard afterwards, with some astonishment, that the Russian commanders had no instructions and the Russians were still advancing. Well, the explanation of the delay of those terms reaching Constantinople was that they were of such vital importance, and so very secret, that they could not possibly be sent by telegraph, or in cipher, but must go by special messenger, and would probably arrive in eight or 10 days from the 3rd of January at this place, and in Armenia

in 15 days; all that time the Russian commanders were advancing. But one must presume from the great care they had taken about these bases, which were so precious that they could not be sent by telegraph, that they must, at all events, have been conditions which had been thoroughly well weighed and settled by the Russian Government. There could be no doubt that they must have been drawn up and settled with great forethought. Here was our first difficulty, and I defy anyone to say that the delay in regard to these terms was caused in any manner or in any form either by the Turks or by Her Majesty's Government. But we come to the next scene. We find that the Emperor of Russia is told on the 15th of January that the two Turkish Plenipotentiaries have gone with full instructions to the Imperial Head-Quarters to negotiate an armistice and a peace. We hear on the 21st that a telegram has been received by the Porte from its Plenipotentiaries stating that they are at the Russian Head-Quarters. They had got there then, at all events. Then we find that on the 24th nothing had been heard about those gentlemen or of what had happened to them. Persons connected with the delegates who had gone there had privately telegraphed to their families saying they were quite well; but no one knew what had become of the bases of peace, or why they were not signed. The delegates had the fullest instructions to accept them, and the Sultan says that he cannot make out why it is they have not signed them. But the Russians are still advancing. I want to call the attention of the House for one moment to the position of the Russian Forces at particular dates. We will take the 3rd of January, when the Russian Government was told that these delegates were going on their mission. At that time the Russians had got possession of Sofia and were marching southwards. On the 24th we learn that the Turkish Plenipotentiaries had been instructed to accept these terms of peace positively; and I think the telegram was sent at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the previous day. Well, on the 25th, we learn that Suleiman Pasha had been defeated, and the Russians were at Adrianople, and had marched as far as one-third of the distance from that place to Constantinople. [Mr. BRIGHT: The Russian Army?]

There was quite enough of the Russian Army there to frighten the Turks. On the 30th of January (yesterday) they had got to Demotika, and were advancing in the direction of the Narrow Straits. They were within 60 miles of Constantinople. So we find that the slower the progress of these negotiations, the more rapid is the advance of the Russians. Where the Russians may be at this moment we do not know; but I presume that if they are going on at the same rate of speed as they were doing when we last heard of them, they are considerably nearer Constantinople than they were. ["Hear, hear!"] That may be very agreeable news to some hon. Gentlemen opposite, but it is not quite fair to the Turks, and, as I said before, there has been no delay on the part of the Turks, and no interference on the part of Her Majesty's Government. On the 29th of January, Lord Derby, writing to Lord Augustus Loftus, says—

"The Russian Ambassador informs me that, according to the telegraphic reports he has received, no news of the conclusion of the armistice has yet reached St. Petersburg. Prince Gortchakoff, his Excellency states, is surprised at this, and attributes it either to the distance or to an interruption of the field telegraph. Prince Gortchakoff also denies the rumour that the preliminaries of peace are to be signed at Sebastopol, and affirms that they will be concluded at Adrianople."

Lord Augustus Loftus answers this by telegraph on the 30th of January—

"I was this morning informed by Prince Gortchakoff that neither the Emperor nor the Russian Government had received any intelligence from Head-Quarters since the 26th inst. Prince Gortchakoff could not explain the cause, except that portions of the telegraph were defective. The movements of the Grand Duke Nicholas, who was to arrive at Adrianople at the earliest, may have had the effect of delaying the negotiations."

Why, the Grand Duke Nicholas was the man whom the Turks were told to go to three weeks ago. The cause of the delay, therefore, was neither with the Turks nor with Her Majesty's Government. But the right hon. Gentleman hinted that the Turks may have gone back on the terms, and he asked for information on that subject. We have this telegram from Mr. Layard, dated the 27th of January—

"With reference to your telegram of yesterday, stating that you had been informed by Count Schouvaloff that the Turkish delegates

objected to the first article of the bases of peace relating to Bulgaria, and to the second part of the fourth article, respecting reforms in the Christian Provinces—they had taken the whole *ad referendum*—I learn that, although the plenipotentiaries did make resistance to the first article of the bases of peace relating to Bulgaria, and to the second part of the fourth article respecting the Christian Provinces, none of the articles whatever were taken *ad referendum*, but the whole were accepted under the last instructions sent by the Porte."

So that if there has been delay, it has been through the movements of the Grand Duke Nicholas. But all this time Russia is still advancing. The Emperor, I know, pledges his word of honour that he will not go to Constantinople, except for strategical reasons. Now, I want to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman. When the bases are sent by Russia, when Russia knows that the bases are accepted by Turkey, where is the strategical reason for advancing on Constantinople? Another difficulty has arisen. I will now consider the change that has occurred not in the position of the belligerents, but in that of the neutral Great Powers. I suppose we shall all agree that no change in the last Treaty is to be made without the assent of those Powers which signed the Treaty. I will now read the Protocol of the Treaty of London of 1871, in order to refresh the memory of right hon. Gentlemen opposite. It is as follows:—

"The Plenipotentiaries of North Germany, Austria and Hungary, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Turkey, assembled to-day in conference, recognize it as an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of the Treaty or modify the stipulations thereof unless with the consent of the Contracting Powers by means of an amicable arrangement."

Let us take that as one of the bases on which we are to go, and when we are dealing with these matters let it be understood that Treaties to which we are parties are not to be altered without our consent. That, as was stated by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other evening, is the view of one other Power at least besides England, if not of more than one. The first thing, I may add, which we had to do was to try and find out what were the bases of peace. They were, however, kept secret, and so matters went on until my noble Friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs (the Earl of Derby)

pressed the Russian Ambassador here on the subject. Lord Derby wrote as follows to Lord Augustus Loftus on the 21st of January:—

"In a private communication made to me by the Russian Ambassador to-day, his Excellency told me that as he saw false reports propagated by certain journals as to supposed Russian demands for Russian vessels of war in the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, he thought it right to inform me that in the bases of peace sent to the Grand Duke Nicholas no mention was made of either of those Straits."

That is the only information we have, and it is remarkable that up to the present day we have no official communication giving the terms of peace. But a certain Wednesday has been alluded to, when certain important events were supposed to have happened. On the Thursday the Notice was given by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and within 12 hours—certainly within 24 hours—of the time the Notice was given, we first got knowledge of these bases, and this information was given to us as a private memorandum, though we were allowed to make use of it, and lay it on the Table of the House. In some important particulars this memorandum does not agree with the statement which we have heard from Mr. Layard. First, we hear from the conversation of Count Schouvaloff with Lord Derby, that the bases contain nothing about the Straits. Next, we find, from Count Schouvaloff's written but private communication, that there is to be an ulterior understanding about the Straits; but nothing is said by Count Schouvaloff as to whom the understanding is to be between. It is reserved for us to hear from Constantinople that the understanding is to be between the Sultan and the Emperor of Russia. We then hear from Prince Gortchakoff that he agrees that there is rather a vagueness in the matter of the Straits, and that he does not see much use in having it at all. The second remarkable circumstance is that there is an ulterior understanding; and the third, that the ulterior understanding is between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan; and then, after all, this matter is so vague that he will not be sorry if it is altogether suppressed, but it is not suppressed. It seems to me to be altogether a very marvellous affair—this question of the Straits. Had not the Russian Government, I would ask,

better make up their minds about it? Then, as to a military occupation; we have heard of that, but it has not been defined; next we hear it is likely some fortress will have to be given up, but there is no definite information on that point either; and the House will also remember that, as we hear nothing at all about the bases until the Notice is given by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so we hear nothing about the vagueness of the article as to the Straits and the willingness of the Russian Ambassador to suppress it until the very night when the Vote was presented by my right hon. Friend. [An hon. MEMBER: Quote the despatch.] The despatch is as follows:—

"In reply to my inquiries, Prince Gortchakoff stated this morning that the last article communicated by Count Schouvaloff, referring to an ulterior understanding, was vague and unnecessary, and saw no objection to suppress it altogether. I am allowed to state categorically to your Lordship that Russia considers the question of the Straits an European question."

[Cries of "Hear, hear!" from the Opposition.] It is all well to say "Hear, hear!" for how could it be otherwise after your Protocol of 1871? Is that all you have got to say for your friends the Russians? ["Oh, oh!"] I will withdraw that observation if it is objected to. ["No, No!"] I merely want to avoid saying anything that will offend anyone. I say that if that is all that can be said for the Russians in this matter I must say that little contents you, and that you are thankful for small mercies. I want to know, are you quite certain that you are acquainted with all the bases yet? I want to know why it is, if these bases have been offered and accepted, they have not been produced to the Governments of Europe? The question is—what are we to do under these circumstances? We have no explanation as to how it came to pass that the preliminaries of peace were not settled long ago? We find that the Russians are advancing, and there is not the slightest reason for their advancing towards Constantinople one inch after these bases of peace have been set forth. I am not going, after what fell from my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other night, to argue upon the question of the bases; but I will say this—that these bases of peace do present matters of the gravest possible character, affecting a

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part of Europe in which the Powers of Europe have so long had a deep interest. We are asked in these circumstances which British interest we have particularly to guard? There is this, I would answer, among others, which is certainly worthy of consideration. It arises out of the question which was present to the mind of the Emperor of Russia when he first entered into this war. He declared it to be his object to effect a settlement of the troubles in the East of Europe which should be "complete, effectual, and surely guaranteed," in order that he might not be under the necessity of going to war again. Now that is a British interest of a most vital kind; and is it not for us to see that in the settlement of this question the peace which may be made is "complete, effectual, and surely guaranteed?" And if, in the opinion of this country, a peace should be concluded which was not likely to lead to these results, but which would still leave smouldering embers behind, which might at any moment be fanned into a flame, that is a matter, I apprehend, upon which we should be heard, and our views forcibly expressed. What may be the mode, whether by Conference or consultation, in which the questions at issue are to be brought before the Powers of Europe, I know not. The Emperor of Russia has never stated, so far as we know, whether it is to be by Conference or consultation, or how. All we need care about is that we shall have a *bond fide* voice in the settlement which may be effected, and that we shall see not merely that those interests mentioned in Lord Derby's despatch are preserved; but that a long, a lasting, and a certain peace shall be concluded. I sincerely hope that by any such settlement the position of the unfortunate Christian population may be ameliorated. It will take years and years to efface the effects of this horrible war—a war that has inflicted untold misery upon the unhappy country in which it has been waged during the last 18 months. There is another matter which is of vital importance. In all the Treaties which you have had on this matter for a long series of years, you have treated Turkey as a powerful State that ought to be maintained. Now, in consequence of this war, in what state is the Porte left? [*Cries of "Hear, hear!" from the Opposition.*] It is a very easy question to

say "Hear, hear!" but it is a very difficult question to settle; because you have now, in all human probability, a different state of things. It is very easy to pull down, but it is not so easy to build up; but we say that when you come to deal with this part of Europe, the voice of England must be heard. If the voice of England is to be heard, we must speak as a united nation, and you must get rid of the notion that is in your minds that there is a determined Party in the Government that want to go to war. What the Government want to do is to secure a lasting peace, and the sole object of the Vote which they ask you to pass to-night is that we may appear in such a condition that the voice of England may be heard for the purpose of securing that end. The right hon. Gentleman has referred to the action of one of our Colleagues, who is no longer a Member of the Government; but, I would like to remind the House of certain words which that noble Lord used in the solemn letter which he addressed to the Prime Minister, and which was read in "another place." In that letter the noble Earl said—

"Further, a Vote of Credit, or an increase in the military or naval estimates, is a measure which I consider useful as a means of strengthening our diplomacy at this moment."

I should not have quoted these words if the right hon. Gentleman had not insisted that there was some difference on this question between Lord Carnarvon and the Government, and I think it right that the House should be reminded that in the opinion of the noble Earl the effect of this Vote would be to give strength to the hands of the Ministers. As I said before, England has no selfish objects to gain, and no cause to fear. She has no ambition in this matter. Her sole object is to secure the peace of Europe on a permanent and satisfactory basis. But, when you find the interests of this country so nearly endangered, and so nearly threatened, then we feel bound to say it is time that Europe should acknowledge that England must have a voice in the final settlement of the question. I cannot believe—I will not believe it till I see it—that the right hon. Gentleman will ever put this Resolution to the House. I do not believe that this Resolution will meet with any better fate than the celebrated Ir-resolutions of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for

Greewich of last Session; but, if he does go to a division, I feel convinced that this House will, by an enormous majority, give the Vote which the Government asks. They know that the Government does not want to go to war. It shall be known throughout the country that that is not their object. In spite of everything that has been said, the sole object of this Vote is to secure, and that as speedily as possible, a complete, satisfactory, and lasting peace.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON observed that the right hon. Gentleman had several times declared in solemn tones that the Russians were advancing, and he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) felt almost as much alarm as if the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) had told them that the Jesuits were in the cellars beneath. He did not think it was right of the Home Secretary to speak of "your Russian friends," and he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) wished to discuss the question as an Englishman. The right hon. Gentleman was also unjust in charging the Mover of the Amendment with vagueness and ambiguity, for he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had never heard the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford less vague or less ambiguous. He did not want to judge the Government harshly, and when the Blue Book appeared last year he did not think that there was any justification for bringing a railing accusation against them. They were not finding any great fault with any despatch of the Government. What they found fault with was the despatch of the Fleet the other day. They thought that the Government was going on in a manner entirely satisfactory, and the calm produced by the despatches and speeches of the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) and others was only broken by a warlike cry from the Prime Minister in the midst of the Aldermen of the City. For the mock heroics of the Postmaster General nobody cared; but Parliament had been summoned in a manner which excited the greatest alarm. This was, no doubt, another of the humorous proceedings of the Prime Minister; but what was sport to him was death to the Turks. He charged the Government with betraying the Turks by luring them on with false hopes and expectations. Then came the speech of Lord Carnarvon, which acted like oil upon the troubled

waters; and he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was so pleased with it, that he found himself stumping the country, moving resolutions in favour of the Government, and shouting for "Salisbury and common sense," and "Northcote and neutrality." The Chancellor of the Exchequer had inspired them with confidence when he told them so solemnly on the first day of the Session that no money should be spent till they had the terms of peace before them. That confidence was not justified, and it was a most extraordinary time to ask for a Vote of Confidence just when Lord Carnarvon, in whom they had confidence, had resigned his position in the Cabinet. He (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would say distinctly he had no confidence in the Government. A right hon. Gentleman on the Ministerial benches opposite, when interrupted in his speech, said—"I cannot say two things at once," but that is just what they had to complain the Government had been doing. He supposed that the reasons for this Vote would be fully discussed before it was agreed to; but it seemed to him that hitherto no satisfactory reason had been offered in its favour. It was said that one of the grounds for asking for it was to enable British interests to be protected. He also desired to see British interests protected; but he could not understand how it could be contended that the establishment of freedom and of good government where they did not formerly exist could be in any way opposed to British interests. There was a curious kind of political controversy which had been raised of late, and which consisted in calling those who did not take the War Party side unpatriotic, and one morning paper—*The Morning Post*—had committed almost a breach of privilege in saying they believed "the agents of Russia" intended to prolong the debate as long as they could, in order that Russia might have time to effect her purposes before this country could interfere. What right had any man to accuse those who were opposed to this Vote of being Russian agents? That man who did so was hitting below the belt and fighting foul, whether he be a costermonger or a noble Duke. He thought such a style of controversy had better be dropped in that House. He had at first distrusted Russia, and did not believe she had really any noble ob-

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ject in view; but he never felt so warm towards Russia as he did when he listened to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech, which showed how straightforwardly Russia had conducted the negotiations. He remembered the words—

“Our country claims our fealty,  
We grant it so; but then  
Before man made us citizens  
Great Nature made us men.”

—and he should be ashamed of England if she did not rejoice to see freedom spread. Who could object to the autonomy of Bulgaria? Lord Derby himself, in a speech he made some time ago, stated that the very thing which Russia now proposed was necessary in the interests of liberty and peace. He believed that hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House would be just as pleased as those of the Liberal side to see good and just government extended to all parts of the world. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in his speech on Monday said—“It is a question whether we are or are not to go into that Conference armed with the strength of a united nation.” The right hon. Gentleman who followed him (Mr. Bright) said—“That means you are to go into the Conference with shotted guns and revolvers.” There, however, the right hon. Gentleman was mistaken; and it was clear he had not looked into the Estimate, or he would have seen that the money was to be expended upon surgical instruments. Fancy going into the Conference armed with surgical instruments. They might disguise it as best they could; but there was no disguising the fact that the Motion, if it meant anything, was a War Vote. The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of such a tone that he wondered he did not conclude it by saying—

“We don't want to fight, but by jingo if we do,  
We've got the ships, we've got the men, and  
we've got the money too.”

They could, indeed, raise in the City any quantity of money they wanted for any object, however foolish. The right hon. Gentleman thought he could go into the Conference with greater weight if he went with the money in his pocket. Such an idea was vulgar. If a man shook a naked sword in his (Sir Wilfrid Lawson's) face, he would call him a

barbarian; if he shook his fist in his face, he would call him a bully; but if he shook his purse in his face, he would call him a snob; and they would be called the snobs of Europe if they did as the Government asked them. If they put £6,000,000 on the Estimates because there was a crisis in the war between Russia and Turkey, it meant war and nothing else, and it was insulting their common sense to say that it meant anything else. Those who wished for the money were in a majority, and he believed they had some valuable allies on this occasion—a contingent had been sent from the sister country. That was very disinterested on their part, for they had heard hon. Gentlemen say how unjustly Ireland was taxed, and yet they were going to vote their share of the £6,000,000. The hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar), whom he saw sitting on the Government benches, made a speech in which he said England would soon have to fight someone in order to show that she could fight; and that was certainly a better argument in favour of the Vote than any they had heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Home Secretary. He hoped the money would not be voted without a Dissolution and an appeal to the country. He did not like a Dissolution any more than others, and with reference to a special subject in which he was interested, the longer a Dissolution was put off the better, for every year he grew stronger. Neither was he anxious that the right hon. Gentlemen opposite should go out of Office yet; he wanted them to go through the fiery furnace a little longer, and come out better and purer than they were; but he did say that in this matter they ought to go by the opinion of the country, and he denied that it was in favour of such a step. If he looked at the Perth election he found that the man against this Vote got 2,200 votes, whilst the one in favour of it got but 855 votes. *The Standard* said the result was certainly not anticipated. He presumed it was one of the “unexpected occurrences” of which they had heard so much. Then at Leith, the candidate who was against the money being voted was returned by three to one, whilst the poor man in favour of it only got 888 votes; and he would not have got so many if he had not stated in the

middle of the day that he would not vote for it. He next turned to Greenock, and there he found a most excellent and respectable Tory beaten by three to one, and saying afterwards that the conduct of the Government, and the news which had come out during the election, had greatly damaged his chances. Then the public meetings had pronounced against this Vote all over the country except Sheffield. But who represented that town? An hon. and learned Member who had passed his life in fighting everybody and everything; and it was not surprising, therefore, that the fighting spirit existed at Sheffield. There was a meeting yesterday in London, at which the hon. Member for Bristol (Mr. Morley) was present. Ruffians invaded the place, broke the windows, and smashed the furniture, and what had become of the hon. Member for Bristol he did not know. [An hon. MEMBER: He is here!] He congratulated the House on the escape of the hon. Member for Bristol; but that meeting had given the strongest evidence that the country was against this Vote, for it dared not trust to the force of reason, and statements of facts were met by broken chairs. Whether it was done by Conservative working men or members of Constitutional associations he did not know; but rumour said that both were concerned. No doubt the House had ability enough to discuss this question; but still it existed as representing the opinions of the country; and what opinion was there in 1874 on the Eastern Question. There was more talk then of opening the public-houses than of opening the Black Sea; and nobody then spoke of the Straits of the Dardanelles, though there was some talk of the Straits of Malacca. Before this money was taken an appeal, therefore, ought to be made to the country, and he challenged the Government to take that Constitutional course. If they would not accept that challenge, there were men enough below the Gangway to avail themselves of the Forms of the House to resist to the utmost a policy which he believed was the most senseless and the most mischievous he had ever known.

MR. **HARDCASTLE** said, the hon. Baronet who had just sat down had managed to extract amusement even from this subject; but the position of

the country was, in his (Mr. Hardcastle's) opinion, too grave for levity. It was recorded that when the shadow went back on the sundial of Ahaz, the King of Babylon sent to inquire of the wonder done in the land, and there was not less curiosity now for an explanation of the startling retrogression exhibited by a section of the Liberal Party. If there was one word which expressed the complete negation of every principle professed by that Party, that word was "Russia." What were the Liberal watchwords? Personal liberty, religious equality, representative government; but in Russia, for personal liberty, were Siberian deportations; for religious equality, Dissent was penal; for representative government, military despotism. Whence, then, their sympathy with Russia—was it because hon. Gentlemen had sacrificed another cherished principle—the right of private judgment—and were blindly following a Leader, who had played so conspicuous a part in favour of Russia for the last 18 months? They had all read the right hon. Gentleman's speech at Oxford yesterday, which showed that he had brought this great question to a mere personal issue. This is what he said—

"It is all very well for the Prime Minister, who has got a Cabinet and Departments, and Secretaries and Ambassadors, and a majority in the House of Lords, and a majority in the House of Commons. These are the means through which his will can take effect, but I have none of these things."

Just as if the whole matter was a personal contest between these two eminent men. The right hon. Gentleman then went on—

"My purpose, I will tell you fairly, has been, with extremely inadequate means, and in a very mean and poor degree, but still to the best of my power for the last 18 months, day and night, week by week, month by month, to counterwork as well as I could what I believe to be the purpose of Lord Beaconsfield."

He trusted that in this contest of giants the weal of the country would not be lost sight of; and he was sorry that so many hon. Members on the other side of the House still backed the right hon. Gentleman. He had observed during the last 15 years a singular concurrence between the personal affronts and the public policy of the right hon. Gentleman, once the darling of the clergy, "Oxford's noblest son." In 1863 he lost the

*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*

confidence of Churchmen and his seat for the University. What followed? Leaving Oxford, as he said, unmuzzled, soon his teeth were at the throat of the Irish Church. Transferring his favour from the Anglican to the Roman Church, he next suffered affront at the hands of his new friends. In 1873, Cardinal Manning tripped him up on the Irish University Bill; and, in the pamphlets on "Vatican Decrees," followed the bitterest attack ever made on the Papacy. But, again, his Party had become insubordinate, and they, too, must feel the weight of his arm. An elaborate manifesto, secretly prepared without the knowledge of a single Member of his Cabinet, fell like a bombshell upon his rebellious followers, and the Dissolution of 1874 shattered the Liberal ranks. "*Nemo me impune lacessit*" was the right hon. Gentleman's motto; but once more the country, appealed to, rejected him with scorn, and British interests are denounced as selfish, and the right hon. Gentleman cast all his influence into the scale of that great Power which was the most formidable rival of his country, and a standing menace to the liberties of Europe. The Government had been denounced for asking for the Vote; but he (Mr. Hardcastle) thought the circumstances of the times were such as to call for a patriotic response to the request of the Government for a sum of money sufficient to put the moderate armaments of the country in a state of preparation for any emergency that might arise. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had condemned the Government for going to a peaceful Conference with shotted cannons and loaded revolvers. But that right hon. Gentleman forgot that all the other great Powers who would be at the Conference were armed far more than ourselves, and that if our word there was to be of any weight we must have the power to back it up. Would the right hon. Gentleman have them go into the Conference merely with broad-brimmed hats and umbrellas? He considered that the Government, in entering the Conference so prepared that they could speak with power and effect, were pursuing a wise and patriotic course. The contest lay between freedom on the one hand, and enormous military power on the other; he believed that the heart of the country was with the Government

in the course they had taken, and he, for one, would support them.

MR. LAING said, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary reminded him of the saying—"No case, abuse the plaintiff's attorney." He had listened with extreme pain to the greater part of that speech, and to the almost passionate appeals which the right hon. Gentleman had made to excite heated feeling on the grave subject before the House. Still more was he pained by the tone taken by the right hon. Gentleman with regard to a friendly Power with whom we were still on relations of neutrality. Russia was a great historic Empire like our own—a country which had stood shoulder to shoulder with us in the greatest war of modern times, and with whom our greatest statesmen, from Chatham downwards, had cultivated amicable relations. If they were to have a difference with Russia, it would be unworthy a great country like England not to conduct the controversy in a noble and chivalrous, he would not say a gentleman-like spirit, instead of in a nagging and suspicious spirit which would disgrace a metropolitan vestry. It was quite evident there had been a change of front in the attitude of Her Majesty's Government towards Russia. The policy of the Government was defined in Lord Derby's despatch of the 6th of May. It was a policy of strict neutrality subject only to two or three specified conditions. Had any one of those conditions, with which they were all familiar, been violated? It was unnecessary for him, after the withering sarcasm of the noble Lords (Lords Salisbury and Derby), to refer to the scare as to a possible Russian invasion of India. Then as to Egypt, could anyone seriously say that our position in reference to the Suez Canal was in any way endangered? How far Her Majesty's Government had observed a policy of impartial neutrality as regarded Egypt he would not inquire. Russia had undertaken not to carry on warlike operations in Europe, but had our Government given the Khedive any advice not to squander the money he had borrowed in England in taking part in a war in which he had no concern? With respect to Constantinople, they had that distinct assurance of the Czar that the permanent occupation of that city was not contemplated by him.



Then with respect to the question of the Dardanelles, they had distinct pledges that that would not be settled by any exclusive arrangement between Russia and Turkey. He therefore maintained that all the points covered by the despatch of the 6th of May were out of danger. They were not touched. He now came to the Vote, and he wanted to know what were the points which had arisen since to alter the situation. He found the reason was that new and totally different terms had been imported into what was called "the charter" of the 6th of May. In the first place, they had this new term—that even the approach of the Russians in the course of military operations to Gallipoli and Constantinople was a thing so wrong in itself, or so injurious to English interests, that it should be prevented. They had not listened to appeals in the case of Paris, and why should they listen to appeals in the case of the Turkish capital? Was Constantinople so sacred that they were going to quarrel with one of the greatest Powers of Europe, and sacrifice many thousands of British lives, in order to save it from the Russians—not from their permanent occupation of it, but from their coming in sight of it, or occupying it as a mere military operation? Yet upon this point they had taken what had been well called the reckless step which had driven their own Foreign Minister from the Cabinet—the order given to the Fleet on Wednesday last. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary talked of that as if it was the most commonplace, ordinary thing in the world. He told them that they went there without any offence to Russia, or anyone else. Could they make the House believe that Lord Derby resigned his seat in the Cabinet if the measure was one of that small and commonplace character? They knew that it was a breach of neutrality, as Prince Gortchakoff put it in his despatch. Looking at the Papers he found strong grounds for hesitating to grant this Vote. They heard a great deal about British interests, but to talk vaguely of "British interests," as Lord Beaconsfield did, was to treat men as children. What were British interests? Show him an undoubted interest that was assailed and he would not hesitate a moment. Tell him that an enemy was marching on Herat, for instance, and he should be as ready to vote their last shilling as any

bellicose Gentleman on the other side. But he was not going to vote any money unless he knew the reason why. He had disposed of India and Egypt. He did not suppose anyone would say they were in danger. The only reasonable thing remaining was that Russia might get possession of Constantinople and the command of the Dardanelles. This was a considerable interest for us; it was a vital one for Austria, and for Germany it was important. But if Austria or Germany were not alarmed, and if they were satisfied with the assurances which the Emperor had given against the permanent occupation of Constantinople and with regard to the Dardanelles, it was strange England was not satisfied. No doubt Turkey had answered the object they had in view in leaving Constantinople in the hands of a considerable, independent Power; but the continuance of that state of things had become impossible. The decay of Turkey rendered her powerless to suppress chronic revolt; her institutions and religion rendered reform impossible; and the English conscience was awakened to the sin and disgrace of supporting her. Stronger than any consideration of policy or interest was the deep conviction of what was right. That mainly compelled us to abolish the slave trade, and in this case deterred us from upholding the degrading barbarism of a Power which had devastated Provinces that flourished under Roman and Byzantine rule as much as if they had experienced a great geological change. They had been withered by the burning blast or the icy breath of Turkish misrule until their condition justified the boast that the grass ceased to grow where the Turkish horse trod. Yet for the Power and the rule which had produced these results it was proposed to obtain "the most favourable terms," which meant the least favourable for the oppressed subjects. As a strong and independent Government it had collapsed beyond revival by the blind rejection of our advice; and could it be our interest to bolster up the remains of this wretched and decrepit Empire instead of basing our British interests on something more permanent and enduring? Why, when the Treaty of Adrianople was signed in 1828, the Duke of Wellington said it was a pity the Russians had not gone a little further, upset the Turkish Government

*Mr. Laing*

altogether, and established a Byzantine Kingdom under the guarantee of the Great Powers, so as to close the Eastern Question—a solution which he believed to be desirable now. Russia could be kept from Constantinople only by either a strong, independent Power, or by a State placed, like Belgium, under the guarantee of the Powers. If this Vote were granted, and if the Question were now settled in the spirit of the Home Secretary's speech, we should leave it in the best position for the supposed design of Russia. We should disappoint the reasonable hopes of the Christians, and make them regard England as their enemy and look to Russia as their patron and possible deliverer in a future war. The better course would be to render the States independent and strong, giving them separate nationalities, complete frontiers, and Christian rulers, for then they would have the greatest possible security against Russia. Greece, being independent, had not been vehemently Russian, while Servia and Roumania had looked to Russia for complete emancipation. Russian Armies could march through vassal States, but not through those that were independent. From any point of view, it was our interest to create States as antonomous and extensive as possible. If the Kingdom of Greece were extended and made a sort of Southern Belgium, and obliged, under a guarantee of the Great Powers, to keep open the passage of the Dardanelles to ships of commerce or of war, that would be a solution of the difficulty of all others the most beneficial for English interests. It was for a totally different object that this Vote was required. At the best, it was wanted to obtain favourable terms for Turkey; at the worst, to drift us into war with Russia. It was impossible to believe in the unanimity of a Cabinet two Members of which had tendered their resignations; and it was impossible to forget that there remained in the Cabinet the Minister who, immediately after receiving the pacific assurances of the Emperor of Russia, made the Guildhall speech, which, in plain English, threatened Russia if she meddled with Turkey. When Lord Beaconsfield uttered his famous speech at Guildhall, it was impossible to suppose that he was unfavourable to a repetition of the Crimean War. The Prime Minister had once

educated his Party into household suffrage, and he might again educate them into a repetition of the Crimean War. Lord Carnarvon had told the country that he had been severely taken to task by Lord Beaconsfield in the Cabinet for the expressions he had used, and why? Because he was too pacific. How could the noble Lord expect us to feel confidence in the Cabinet when such things as this were going on, or when they were told there was unanimity in the Cabinet at the time when two of its Members had tendered their resignations? He acquitted the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer of any intentional deceit in the statement he had made—the right hon Gentleman was a man of transparent honesty; but he believed he had been mesmerised by some influence in the Cabinet, and when he reflected on the past he would seriously regret it. The House were asked to give this Vote to show their patriotic feeling, and in order that Ministers might go on with their negotiations with the whole country united at their back. But, looking to the fact of their sending the Fleet to Constantinople and their driving Lord Carnarvon from the Cabinet, he distinctly declared that the Government had not the confidence of the House or the country. If they doubted the fact, let them appeal to the country, and they would suffer a most disastrous defeat. The many meetings which had recently been held proved this to demonstration. There would be an immense and overwhelming majority against their policy, which, he thought, would prove as discreditable to British honour as it was disastrous for British interests.

SIR JOHN HAY said, he was surprised that the hon. Member for Orkney (Mr. Laing), in spite of the distinct and clear statement of the Home Secretary, had insinuated that the policy of the Government was a war policy. This Vote was asked, not for the purpose of war, but to place our armaments in a proper condition in case others should declare war against us, or make war on our interests. Looking to what had occurred recently, he thought if there was anything to blame in the policy of the Government, it was the recall of the Fleet. The Fleet had been sent to Constantinople, not to take part in the war, but to ensure the safety and honour of the numerous British subjects in Con-

stantinople and its neighbourhood who trusted to the protection of England. He had been informed that there were over 30,000 British subjects in Constantinople and its neighbourhood, whose lives and honour would be at the mercy of the Russian Army and the Turkish insurrectionists if the Russians took possession of that capital. He did not blame the Grand Duke Nicholas for trying to crown a great campaign by entering the enemy's capital; but that was no reason why the Government should not take steps for the safety of British subjects. He could not believe, if the Russian Army did take possession of Constantinople, that they would fail to make such changes as would be extremely unsatisfactory to every other European Power. He suspected that in the Mosque of St. Sofia a *Te Deum* would be sung for the Russian victories, and once the Russian flag was hoisted there it would cost this country more than these £6,000,000, and a vast quantity of blood, as well as treasure, to guard the entrance to the Black Sea and to protect the rights of England in the East. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was challenged to say what he would do with the £6,000,000. No doubt the House was dissatisfied at voting this money blindly. But would it be wise to declare to the enemy, if we had an enemy, what our weakness was? The object of warlike preparations was to defeat an enemy, and when Europe was armed to the teeth it was necessary for us to protect ourselves against all comers. At present there was scarcely a gun on our fortifications, though, thanks to the exertions of last year, both guns and carriages were ready. That was one thing to which the money might be applied. But there was another, although it might not be popular with the House. They did not yet know all the terms of peace. The Turkish Fleet was a large one, and let them suppose that one of the terms was that that Fleet should be handed over to Russia in part payment of the war indemnity. There would then be 17 of the finest ships afloat handed over in the Black Sea to a Power sufficiently great already. Would that be satisfactory? Would it not be a proper application of the money to pay it over to Turkey on condition that the Turkish Fleet should be transferred to Her Majesty's Government? He hoped the

*Sir John Hay*

Government would consider that suggestion. He was surprised at the course taken by Her Majesty's Opposition; for what occurred in 1870? In that year it was the duty of the Government then in office to come to this House and ask for £2,000,000 for the purpose of defence. There was no idea of going to war, and no one challenged them with that intention. Everyone supported them except the "wise men" alluded to by the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). What was the course taken by the present Prime Minister? Did he, through jealousy of his great antagonist, when the interests of the country were at stake, think it proper to offer a vexatious opposition? He would give the words used by Mr. Disraeli on that occasion, and he could wish that the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition were present to hear them, and that by-and-by he would use language as patriotic and distinct. On the 1st of August, 1870, Mr. Disraeli said—

"I think the House will agree with me that, excellent as is the policy of neutrality, the policy of neutrality which cannot on the right occasion speak with authority to the belligerents is really a policy not entitled to respect. The first object of a policy of neutrality is, no doubt, to protect our fellow-subjects from the calamity of war. The second object of a policy of neutrality is to be able on the right occasion—on an occasion such as may be produced by the equal fortunes in the field of the belligerents, or by the overwhelming success of one of them, or by any one of a thousand accidents—to be able to counsel the belligerents and bring about the restoration of peace; because while you impress on the parties the importance of such a result, you show them at the same time that you have the power to enforce, if necessary, the adoption of the course you recommend. . . . Let the Government of this country feel that the House of Commons, without respect to person or Party, is prepared to give them a hearty support."—[3 *Hansard*, cciii. 1292-1293.]

Those were the words of a statesman and a patriot, and an example which the Opposition would do well to follow.

Mr. ERNEST NOEL said, the right hon. and gallant Admiral the Member for Stamford (Sir John Hay) had told them the Government asked for this Vote because it might be necessary to buy the Turkish Fleet. He hoped the Chancellor of the Exchequer, before the close of the debate, would inform the House whether the Government had any such intention, for he did not think it likely they would entertain such a proposal without consulting the House upon

the subject. The Home Secretary had told them there was no such thing as a war Party in the Cabinet, and that it was a "lying spirit" in the country which told them that there was; and yet the greater part of his speech was devoted to telling them how they ought to meet the insidious advances of Russia. A speech more in favour of war than that of the right hon. Gentleman could not be imagined. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a speech he made the other night, said he wished the Government to enter the Council Chamber of Europe backed by a united people. He believed there was not one hon. Gentleman in that House who did not agree with that sentiment. For his own part, he wished to disclaim any desire to embarrass the Government, or in any way to prevent it entering on the Conference as the representative of a united and a free people. In the presence of foreign complications, when the nation had to meet the other nations of Europe, there could be no graver fault than for a Member animated by any Party feeling to oppose the Government. The honour of England was as dear to hon. Gentlemen sitting on those (the Opposition) benches as to anyone sitting on those opposite; and he trusted there was no one in that House so unworthy of the traditions of Great Britain as to be unwilling to spend any money and any blood in defending her interests; but he did regret the apparent determination of Her Majesty's Government to refrain from announcing any definite policy, and therefore to enter the Conference unsupported by a united people. He gathered from the Home Secretary that they had no intention and no desire to unite this House; but that they intended to rely on their majority in the House, a majority he would at once grant to be a large one. While the Government felt secure in the possession of a majority, which, however, had been obtained under far different circumstances, they were indifferent to all the imputations of want of patriotism which were heaped on the Opposition for its appeals to Government to save the country from a disgraceful as it would be a disastrous war. The right hon. Gentleman would not tell them a word of what his policy was, and when they applied for information concerning it and the bases of peace, they were answered with hints so ambiguous

that they might mean anything or nothing. But he heard the right hon. Gentleman say it would be a mistake if we allowed Turkey to be dismembered. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: I never said so.] He was delighted to hear the right hon. Gentleman repudiate such an idea; but what the House and the country wanted to know was, whether Her Majesty's Government did or did not consider the dismemberment of the Turkish Empire, such as the first article of the proposed terms would effect, as a measure this nation was entitled to resist by force of arms? The Home Secretary had omitted to state in the slightest degree what the Government considered it was entitled to demand when it should go into the anticipated Conference. All they had heard from him was simply this, that Russia was steadily advancing on Constantinople. The Porte had had 20 years breathing time, but had done absolutely nothing in the way of reform; for liberty of any kind was unknown to its subject Christian populations. The House was asked for money to be used for the purpose, for anything they knew, of rivetting again the cruel fetters with which for centuries the Turk had bound the Christian peoples of Eastern Europe; so that once more the Turkish flag would float over the city of cities on the Bosphorus and over the towns and cities they had so long made desolate. He would never give a vote to embarrass the Government; but he trusted that the Chancellor of the Exchequer would place before the House some more clear and satisfactory reasons for this Motion.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE: Long as I have been a Member, this is the first time in which I have taken part in a foreign debate. The question which I now ask myself is the one which has been so fairly stated by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster)—"Has the conduct of the Government in the immediate past been such as to justify me in giving my confidence to it in the immediate future?" My position, abstractedly speaking, as to this question is that of one who considers that the interests of humanity, of religion, of Christianity, ought to stand before all Party considerations whatsoever; who regards honour as paramount, and who believes that the secret of England continuing great and prosperous

among the nations lies in her holding to the principle of sound diplomacy—namely, courteous and pacific distrust all round—of France, of Austria, of Russia, or, it may be, of America; coupled with prudent readiness to co-operate with whatever other State owns a similar distrust—the motive power being all along zeal for the national welfare. I claim now to address you as one who never felt any love for Turkey, and never was moved by special dread or special admiration of Russia; but one who has above all things felt that a Christian nation ought not to compass the pursuit of its own interests under the cloak of simulated zeal for the welfare of Christendom. With these convictions, I now ask myself, before I dare to vote, whether the Government has approved itself a traitor to the cause of peace and a recreant to Christianity? That is the question that has been very recklessly tossed upon the floor of England, and which has this very day been debated—as those who look at the evening papers may see—at an influential meeting of ministers of the Gospel held in some room in the more eastern part of London. I denounce the Ultramontane arrogance which dares to bind those who feel for the cause of Christianity only to show their feeling in one prescribed way. Those who would not, in face of the intricate complications of this most wretched war, absolutely shut their eyes to all but the one patented class of considerations, have been taunted as enemies of philanthropy, obstructives to civilization, and recreants from the faith. Really, some men are so unimaginative, that because they lament, as all right-minded persons must do, that blackest epoch in the chronicle of the world, when some four, or rather five hundred years back, the dissensions, the selfishness, the crimes, and sins of Christian Europe opened the door of its fairest Provinces in the South-east to the barbaric hordes of Turkish invaders, they can therefore only compass one narrow solution of the far-reaching question, and one skin-deep remedy for the malignant disease. They may have minds to apprehend Constantinople as the headquarters of a Russian Pro-Consul, but they cannot forecast in some coming time Constantinople as the regenerated seat of a free and independent Christian State. This is my hope, and this my dream—a day-dream perhaps—but a dream surely

of good omen, and not to be lightly put on one side. If it points to a policy which is in any degree worthy to be pursued, it will not be reached by way of gushing and impulsive philanthropy. I do not, above all things, believe that this or any good result can be attained by that monotonous and senseless vituperation of the Government on every occasion which has characterized so many recent speeches in many places, and of which the upshot is to land its authors on the dilemma of either accusing the Government of want of common sense or else of common honesty. We have had an instance of that form of argument to-night. The Home Secretary may rise and say, as he has done—"It shall not be war, it shall be peace;" yet this does not prevent other hon. Members from getting up, and arguing that when the Minister names peace he means war. When I see a pertinacious policy of never taking things for the best, of always hunting up small discrepancies, and dwelling upon any rhetorical phrase, or epigrammatic, or obscure, or mystical sentence that may be uttered by some accomplished orator, treasuring such sayings up and repeating them, regardless of changed circumstances; while manly speeches like that of the Home Secretary to-night, and that with which he re-assured the country last Session, are put on one side as if they were not intended to bear a meaning, I confess that I am indignant at the invincible prejudice and unfairness of the proceeding. I will borrow an illustration from another question, which, perhaps, next to the Eastern Question most exercises our minds. People of my way of thinking have often expressed surprise, if not disgust, at the sentiments which have fallen from holy mouths, and have contended that being a Dissenter should not involve being a chartered libertine in speech, and the answer has regularly been—"You make a great mistake when you charge the Dissenters with this or that offensive remark; it is not the Dissenters, but the 'political Dissenters' who have said it, and you must not believe that these are the same as the Dissenters. The Dissenters pure and simple are humble-minded, simple, unworldly men." Well, I follow that cue, and I say that there are two Parties now—there is the "peace Party," and there is the "political peace Party." I am,

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myself, a Member of the peace Party. I believe the policy of that Party to be to seek peace, and to ensure it by all the legitimate methods of a wide statesmanship, and I believe the Chiefs of that Party to be the present Cabinet. I believe, on the contrary, that the aim of the political peace party is to put the sacred name of peace forward as a stalking-horse in order to turn the Tory Government out. As a peace man I oppose the political peace Policy. Have we not seen within the last few days the climax of that policy, when a statesman, whose eloquence and long-proved services to the nation have endeared him to this House and the country, and whose name will live in history, forestalling, in a fierce attack upon the Government, the speech that should have been made here, revelling in words which proved his intention of shaking off the salutary restraints which govern the form of our debates, and boastfully claiming to be an agitator? From the agitator, into which he then dropped, I appeal to the statesman whom we have so long known, and I protest against the trick of interposing such smoky lenses between the clear question and the genuine judgment of the nation. In making this protest, above all, I appeal to the place where that speech was delivered. The charge against us, as I may premise, is that we are too scrupulous of musty Treaties; and now that the Turk has shown himself—as I believe, and as I dare to say in any assembly, he is—utterly unworthy of the position into which the lamentable mischances of nearly 500 years have foisted him in Europe; now that the continuous misgovernment of his subjects, and the prevalence of those ineffable abominations which stamp his social and political life—hitherto familiar to students, but neglected by the generality—have flashed upon the popular imagination, never to be effaced, the charge against us, as far as I can make out, is that having been fully awakened to the real state of things, we yet feel as men of honour that there are Treaties, there are engagements, there are promises made—not to the Turk merely, but to collective Europe—which must be kept between man and man, even if one man may be a Christian and the other may be a Turk! That is the sum total of the charge against us—that is the bill of

indictment which Liberal rhetoric brings against the Tory Party. But what are the time and place of this arraignment? The place and the time is the canonization, last night, of the new patron Saint of the Liberal Party. From the temple in which Saint Palmerston was canonized does that voice come. The high priest of the new worship it is who warns us that the slightest imputation of upholding the Ottoman Empire for selfish English purposes, the slightest imputation of thwarting or resisting Russian aggression for selfish English interests, is the unpardonable sin. And that in the name of Palmerston! That was the sermon preached on the occasion when all the great Chiefs of the Liberal Party were assembled together to do honour to the great memory of Palmerston! Whatever other merits they may have, that of a long memory, at least, cannot be attributed to the guides and mentors of Liberalism. Is it their charge against us that we uphold the Turkish Empire as Palmerston did? They cannot urge that. Is the charge against us that we are defiant towards Russia, even as Palmerston was? They have not the face to say that. All they can say is that we have been rather slow in having our eyes opened to learn the lesson of Turkish vice and imbecility. We may be rather slow; but you should not be hard upon us, for has not your own philosopher told us that we are the “stupid Party?” So, if we are the “stupid Party,” is it not very much to our credit that we have learned so much as we have, and in so short a time? These things may be very well to laugh at; but they show a state of feeling which is really much too critical for trifling. It is a time when Englishmen ought to be united together as one man in the great necessity of guiding Europe, as a whole, in the arduous struggle of keeping peace; and, while not forgetting justice, of promoting salutary reforms and spreading Christian civilization in Turkey, yet not doing it rudely, brutally, or in contradiction of national faith. At such a time every little slip, every little vacillation, it may be, of the Ministry—and Ministers are but men, and they would be more than men if they did not vacillate occasionally in such troublous times—is garnered and treasured up with a bitter delight in finding fault, a fussey and malicious ingenuity, which must greatly weaken

the influence of England. What will be the result of your policy? I trust the division after this debate will give the Government such a majority that it may proceed—*armiger*—strong, and girded with those weapons of defence which mark a State occasion, into the Conference. If the division leaves them barely victorious, or even in a small minority, where do we stand? Either they go to the Conference weak and they are not listened to, or the Government will go out and you come in. Do you think that you will have secured the confidence and support of the Conservative Party in England for that policy which you may then propose; and if you have not secured it, will you go as a united people to claim any hearing or enforce any respect? Do you believe that you can so completely change the feeling of the people, or so completely reverse the verdict of the General Election in 1874, that you will have the strength to represent England as a united nation in the great Congress of European nations? Your policy is simply that, in your hurry to prove the Government incompetent, and place yourselves in the empty saddle, you dare play fast and loose with the credit and the power of the nation, not only in this House, but in the much more important Senatus of Europe. We may there be found to be impotent, and purposely; but if so, I say that it is this agitation, this unprincipled agitation—[“No, no!”]—I repeat my words, for I am not accustomed to deal in ambiguous phrases—this unprincipled and unpatriotic agitation which will be to blame for this miscarriage. Why is it that you have brought your political peace Party into this state of bellicose irritation? It comes of your ambiguous and deceptive use of language. You are always producing a lot of truisms, all excessively true in themselves, all untrue as shuffled about and substituted for each other. At one time you say—“Men of peace, war is hateful;” so it is. Another time you say—“Men of peace, an unjust war is hateful;” so it is. And another time you say—“Men of peace, war in favour of anti-Christianity, and against Christianity, is hateful;” so it is. Thus, you have these three distinct formulas—all true in different relations—and you are always ready to darken debate by substituting one for the other; and the glamour of your

confusion has dazed the popular sight. Then you throw into the scale your theories about British interests. There was a time when the imputation of caring for British interests would not have been cast in the teeth of public men in any public assembly as if it were a very great crime. At present it is dangerous to talk of British interests—the constant care of every former British Minister—of Pitt, of Fox, of Peel, of Palmerston, of Clarendon—without this odious charge of selfishness being ready on the tongue of the glib orator. “Oh,” it is said, “if you say this, and don’t say that, you will encourage the Turk in his mad resistance; and, thanks to you, so much bloodshed and suffering will take place.” Well, if that is the case, it would be truly deplorable, and no one would deplore it more than I. No 12 men would deplore it more than the 12 men in whose hands the destinies of this country are at present placed. But, as we have heard the Leader of this House and the Home Secretary assert, that never by word uttered in despatch, or by word of mouth, has any reasonable encouragement been given to the Turk to hold out. That has been said, but you will not believe it. You say the Ministry have not the honesty or capacity to frame a statement in plain English which carries its own meaning with it. You cannot get out of that. As to these men, you argue, whose utterances to a fairly average Christian people might possibly carry a plain meaning, they have not conveyed it to the Turk. The Turk, as you all know, for you are never tired of hammering on that strain, is very stupid. He is very prejudiced, very ignorant, and very fanatical; and, at the same time, he has a considerable amount of hard, brutal courage. Well, with this most unmanageable savage, with his superficial varnish of external civilization, how are you so to adjust your utterances, what new language are you to discover, so that his stupidity shall just take in your meaning—nothing more and nothing less. How are you to phrase your despatches so as to be intelligible and convincing to the Turk, and yet neither enigmatic nor offensive to Christendom? Mind, I am taking the Turk at your own appraisement, and it is no answer to say because he is a Turk and is very stupid, you must deal

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with him as you deal with no other people. I have shown the impossibility of complying with such an instruction. Can the Government have its separate voice for every nation, inaudible elsewhere? Can you set up any series of telephones, with one end in London, and the others at each of the European capitals? Every despatch which you publish, sent to any other capital, is read at Constantinople; and every despatch to Constantinople is, under the same circumstances, the property of all the capitals. So to assert that, in condescension to the savage prejudice and the unmanageable stupidity of the Turk, the language you use to him must not be the common phraseology of all European Foreign Offices, is to bring diplomacy and government to a dead-lock. I must apologize to the House for having kept it so long with the views of an independent Member; but, convinced as I am, that many excellent thinking people throughout the country have been led very much astray by the reckless assertions or the astute misrepresentations made by self-appointed teachers, I feel that it is a duty to explain to them the reason of my vote.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Mr. Speaker, the question before the House is not by any means a new one. It is one which, as we have found and shall find, will allow room for great latitude of speech; and I think that, before this debate closes, it is quite likely that much more may be said than has been said, and that it will fill more than one large volume. But, notwithstanding this, I think the question, as it is placed before us in the Amendment which has been moved, is brought really into a small compass, and it probably will be more convenient to the House, and much more pleasant to myself, that I should confine myself within this small compass, and not ramble over the whole of the Eastern Question, as we have been considering it for months past. Unless rumours—which are unhappy and much to be regretted—are true, I suppose we may consider that this calamitous war is now near its conclusion, and that, as has happened at the end of every war, conditions of peace will have to be discussed. Now, I have no intention at all to-night of making any Party attack upon the Government. I know not that any successful

attack could be made if we were minded, according to the view of the last speaker, merely to turn out the Government and to put ourselves in. I doubt very much whether any such event is at present possible, or is likely soon to be possible. Still, without attacking the Government, I think one may be at liberty to say—and I suspect they will admit there is truth in it—that during the course of these transactions they have shown on several occasions a good deal of indecision of conduct, and that they have made not a few considerable blunders. I know they say—for we have heard it to-night from the Home Secretary—that we have charged them—I suppose he will say falsely, because he says there has been a “lying spirit” among us—with speaking with or in two voices to the country. The right hon. Gentleman knows perfectly well that he has been one of the voices, and that he has very often been quoted in favour of a policy not hostile to the general views of this side of the House. And if there have not been two voices, how comes it that in every portion of the Kingdom there has been a fixed belief—not because any of us told them that it was so, but because men read your speeches as well as ourselves, and they came to the inevitable conclusion—that there were two voices speaking in the Cabinet? Do you mean to say, in the face of this Assembly, that the speeches at Aylesbury and the Guildhall were the same as the speeches of Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon—the same as the speeches of Lord Derby? You know that if you said that, you would say what was not true; and that which we know to be the fact in respect of these speeches is known to all the readers—counted by millions now, happily—in the United Kingdom who have read these speeches in the newspapers. But still I do not expect—and right hon. Gentlemen opposite may give me credit for this, because I have had very little experience myself—I do not expect that Ministers are to pursue a career for four or five years without being guilty of indecision and without making blunders. The Government that preceded the Gentlemen opposite made a good many blunders; but they were small in comparison with yours. I dare say those blunders account in some degree for the fact that they have now to sit upon this



bench instead of upon that. But, admitting—as we must all admit—that Governments are guilty of indecision and make blunders, still I think it is a matter on which we may congratulate ourselves that in the difficult position in which we have found ourselves during the last two years—and especially during the last 12 months—the Government has actually abstained from plunging the country into war. I gather from this that the experience of 1854-1856 has not been lost. It has not been lost upon the people of the three Kingdoms; it has not been lost upon Parliament; it has not been lost upon those who now occupy the position of Ministers of the Crown. Notwithstanding, therefore, indiscreet speeches, and some acts that may be called in question, war has been avoided. There has not been a single ship that I know of that has been added to the Navy in consequence of these events, and no troops have been added to the number of the land forces. And I will admit further on behalf of the Government, that, notwithstanding the indiscretions of which I have spoken, I will accept the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and say that I believe the Cabinet, as a whole, has not been only willing to preserve peace, but that it has been anxious above all things that this country should escape war. There is some credit to be allowed to Gentlemen opposite—I mean those that are in office, for that. They have had much provocation from some of their supporters in this House, and still more from those who profess to speak for them and to them in the Press. It is something that they have not been involved in what I may call the raving lunacy of *The Pall Mall Gazette*, and, if I may be excused the alliteration, the *delirium tremens* of *The Daily Telegraph*. Coming to the question directly before the House, I say it is strange that when the war is over, or nearly over; that when peace is in view, and, as we think, almost within our grasp; when men in this country are breathing more freely, and when England and Europe are glad—I say it does appear to me strange beyond all example, that at this precise moment the very first positive menace of warlike preparation should be offered by the Government to the adoption of this House. What is our position with

regard to this question of forces? Millions are voted in this House from Session to Session, and few men know how much is voted; but in the last Session of Parliament, within the last 12 months, a sum of not less than £26,000,000 sterling was voted for military and naval expenses. £26,000,000 sterling! When the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel were in office in the year 1835—a little more than 40 years ago—the whole expenditure of the Army and Navy, I believe, was only about £11,000,000. This year it amounts—and it has amounted for several years past—to £25,000,000 or £26,000,000. I should say it was not unreasonable for me to assert to the House that that seems enough. If we are not intending war, if war is not probable, if no nation is attempting to invade or molest us, war being now impossible, surely a Vote of £26,000,000 in a year is enough for this civilized and Christian country in this Christian age. And we are told—with a repetition of phrase that I am sorry to say looks as if the Secretary of State for the Home Department was not quite sure that we could credit it—that there is not the smallest intention of war on the part of the Government. The war is near its end; it would be madness to endeavour to prolong it; but why should it be now promulgated to all Europe that England is at last preparing to draw her sword, it may be—though I hope it is not—to throw it into the scale at the precise moment when the warring nations are returning their swords to their scabbards? No, it is not to go into war; that would be sheer madness. If the Government had intended war on behalf of Turkey, of course they would have joined in the struggle when the Turk had 300,000 or 400,000 men in the field; but now, when all or nearly all his armies are destroyed, or captured, or scattered, it would be an act, not of wickedness only, but of lunacy unmistakeable, to think of entering upon a struggle with Russia, with an Ally vanquished, humbled, prostrate, as our only Ally would be—that is, the Sultan of Turkey. But the proposition is—and I should have thought it an incredible one before I read it—that, seeing that certain negotiations are expected, we ought to make ourselves, by sea and land, more powerful than we are at present, in order that the terms of peace may not be injurious

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to us; but may, I presume, also be made as beneficial as possible to the Sultan of Turkey and to his Government. It is generally understood, I believe, that the parties to a war are, and ought to be, the parties to fix the terms of peace. When France and Sardinia were at war with Austria the terms of peace were fixed by them. Europe did not interfere. Lombardy was annexed to Sardinia, and by arrangement between the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia—the Monarch who the other day descended from his throne to the tomb—Savoy and Nice were annexed to France. But at that time Lord John Russell, then Foreign Secretary, was represented as going to all the Courts of Europe—excepting, of course, those of France and Sardinia—entreating the Powers to join him to prevent any transfer of Savoy and Nice from one Power to another. The Powers paid no attention to him. Lord John Russell was obliged to go back to the Foreign Office. The arrangement was made, and Europe, so far as I know, had no reason to regret. What happened, again, when France and Germany went to war seven years ago? Then we had—I believe all Europe had—a considerable ground of complaint, and that was that at the conclusion of the war certain Provinces were taken from France and annexed to Germany. I do not say that France had any just ground of complaint; because if she had conquered Germany and captured Berlin, she would have taken Provinces from Germany and carried the boundaries of her territories to, or perhaps beyond, the Rhine. But all Europe had a right to complain because Germany insisted upon terms of peace which left a burning resentment in the mind of the French nation which may—I hope it will not—probably lead to desolating wars in the future. At that time Europe might have complained, might have had a Congress, and might have insisted upon other terms; but she did not do it. She allowed the belligerents to make their own terms of peace. On this point I wish to call the attention of the House to a curious paragraph in a work of great interest which I have lately read—I mean a volume of the work which Her Majesty the Queen has permitted Mr. Theodore Martin to publish for the instruction and the advantage of the people—and than which I have not for a long time read any book with

greater interest. In that book there is a paragraph which refers to the then approaching Conference at Paris, held for the purpose of settling the terms of peace at the end of the Crimean War. The King of Prussia wished very much that he should have a delegate at that Conference; and the Prince Consort, I think in writing to the King of Belgium, his uncle, said, in effect, that it would be a mischievous principle, and at the same time setting a bad precedent, to allow any Power or any person to be represented at the Conference, or to take part in the game, who had not laid down his stake. He therefore objected strongly—though his objection was not persisted in—that Prussia should come to the Conference at Paris. I merely mention these things for the purpose of showing that, in the main, it is historically true that in late years in our own experience the parties to a war have been permitted to arrange their own differences in their own manner, and to fix such terms of peace as suit them both—of course always allowing that any other Power, if anything is done which is adverse to its interests, or which is in molestation of its territory, has a right to complain, and if it thinks its case grievous enough, I presume it has a right to declare war. I am not about to argue that there is any impropriety in the sitting of a European Council or Conference, or in this country taking any share in that Conference. It seems to me quite probable—and I have no objection to it—that there are points in the settlement of the now-terminating war on which it is necessary for the good of Europe in future, for the good of Russia, and for the good of Turkey, that the Powers of Europe should consult, and settle that which seems most likely to produce a just and durable peace. But then comes the question, which will be much canvassed both in this House and out of it—I mean the question of what are, or are to be, the terms of peace which are exciting so much agitation. [An hon. MEMBER: That is what we want to know.] Yes; you want to know. If you do not know, it was not necessary to go into such an elaborate description of them, and to say so much against them? If you do know them, then they are subjects for our consideration. We know this, at any rate, I think

sufficiently well to take it into our view, that one of the main points connected with the Treaty must be to some extent to liberate the Christian, and I think also to liberate the Moslem, population of what are called the Christian Provinces of Turkey in Europe. Does any man in this House—does the hon. Gentleman who has spoken about preparing for war—I should like to ask him and any hon. Gentlemen who agree with him, if there can be any; I should like to ask them whether they would be willing that this war should close and a Treaty of peace should be made, and that the condition of the population of the Christian Provinces of Turkey should remain exactly what it was before the war? No, surely not. Why did you send one of your ablest Ministers to Constantinople to meet in Conference Representatives from other Powers but for the very purpose that something might be done to liberate from Turkish tyranny and oppression the Christian population of those Provinces? What was it that excited the whole of Great Britain—and I hope it excited, to some extent also, the mind of Ireland—about 18 months ago? Why, surely it was the condition of this population; and if there ever was one thing in this world on which the people of this country had made up its mind, it was that as far as their influence went the Christian population of those Provinces should be as speedily as possible delivered from the tyranny under which they groaned. It is that very wish which has sustained the interest of the people of England in this great question from that hour to this; and what the people believe further is this—that the more persons are free, and the more entirely they are free, the better will it be, of course, for the population of those Provinces; the better will it be for all the regions in that part of Europe, and the better for all of us; because the more remote will be the chance of any future war connected with that portion of the globe. You had a war in 1856. If, at the conclusion of that war, the terms of peace had been wider and better—if the Christian populations of those Provinces had then been saved—the war which has been waged for the last nine months would, in all human probability, have been unnecessary, and would have been avoided. I could not help the other night, in

listening to the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, lamenting the tone in which he referred to this question. He spoke of it as if it were one in which the interests of England were adverse to the feelings of those populations. ["No, no!"] The right hon. Gentleman denies that his language was open to that construction. But what he lamented was, not that a few of the Bulgarians were to be free, but that so many were to be free. If he did not say that, the English language is something that I have yet to learn. He told us that if "the new Bulgaria were to be formed, it would be like a line drawn down this side of England and that side of England." Well, so much the worse for his case, or for the case of the Turks, if it be necessary to take so large a slice out of Turkey. But I say that for England by its influence to bring about a peace which would liberate a portion of the population, and condemn another portion to perpetual wrong, that would be a policy which the Government dare not openly defend in this House, and which the people of England would never, in my opinion, consent to. While I am on this point I will make another observation. I say that the tone and manner and language of the right hon. Gentleman the other night on this subject was not, in my opinion, such as was quite worthy of an English Minister. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, I have observed that English Ministers, for a very long time past, have generally in their speeches in this House expressed sympathy with the suffering, and an expectation and a hope that freedom might be extended to those who were oppressed and enslaved. [An hon. MEMBER: Poland.] That is perfectly true with regard to Poland. When I was a boy, everybody in England, as far as I can remember hearing or reading, lamented the calamities which had befallen Poland. Lines come to my mind which have rested there from that time to the present moment. They refer to a battle-field—

"Where Poland sees her gallant sons  
Her first, her best, her bravest ones,  
On the cold earth all gory lie,  
For Poland breathe a prayer and die."

Sir, surely I am saying nothing offensive to the character of anyone when I say that we expect from every English statesman—I hope we may expect it if he

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belongs to the Party opposite, and I am sure we shall never miss it if he belongs to this Party—that in his speeches in this House and in his statesmanship he shall have regard to the sufferings of the oppressed, be they black or be they white, in every region of the globe. I say that to-night the speech of the Secretary of State for the Home Department partook of the same fault. Most of the Members now present heard his speech—a speech which will not give the satisfaction of the one delivered last Session. Throughout the whole of the description which the right hon. Gentleman gave of the difficulties and delays attending the negotiations he was continually, with dramatic action, conveying the impression to the House that somebody was amusing the Turkish Delegates and Commissioners, while the armies of the Czar were marching on to the accomplishment of something which we had reason to believe might possibly not be within the intentions of the Russian Government. We are even told that these unfortunate Turkish Commissioners are scarcely to be found. They can telegraph to their wives in Constantinople—that seems to be a government that they comprehend; but we have the information—I am not sure that it does not come from the English Ambassador at Constantinople—that although the Government there has telegraphed to them several times during the last few days, they not only can get no answer from them with regard to the progress of the negotiations, but not even an answer as to whether they are still in existence. And to say, without knowing more than that, that the Russians are delaying the negotiations for purposes that they will not avow, is, I think, that which a Minister of this country is not wise in saying of a Sovereign and a Government which the Queen in her Speech from the Throne described as a friendly Ally. Now, Sir, no man in this country laments more than I do, or has grieved more than I have, over the lamentable calamities and bloodshed of this war. I know not that they are greater than those that have happened in other wars; but now we have from day to day, through the wonderful omnipresence of the Press, almost every transaction performed, as it were, before our eyes. But whatever be those calamities, however great this suffering, however much this

bloodshed, however much the cry of agony has gone up to Heaven during these last months from those ensanguined fields, let us not reject, if it is offered to us, whatever compensation can possibly be given to the people who have endured or survived these sufferings. I should say that the more terrible has been the cost of the war, the more our hearts have been stirred by listening to those details, the more we should rejoice if by the power and statesmanship of Russia, by the consent of the Powers of Europe, a larger and larger area of European territory be included in that great salvation from Turkish rule. Well, I venture to hope—and in expressing the hope to the House and to Her Majesty's Ministers, I speak the mind of the people of England, of Scotland, and I might appeal to hon. Gentlemen from Ireland whether I do not speak the mind of the people of Ireland also—that if the £6,000,000 be granted by the House they may not be used to strengthen the hands of the Government to hinder or lessen the freedom which is intended to be bestowed upon certain Provinces of the Turkish Empire. For if it were so used, what would be the political result? It would teach them all for ever, so long as that page of history was read by the children of those Provinces, to nourish, not a hatred only, but a contempt for free England, and throw them more and more into the arms of Russia, whom you so much suspect. Then as to another branch of this question of the terms. It is one which refers to territory and indemnity. I say nothing about territory. I believe it is generally understood that there is no proposal, nor likely to be one, to take any territory in Europe and put it under the dominion of the Russian Czar. With regard to Asia, I will say nothing except this—that we have no special interest in that quarter. [“Oh!”] Well, if we have, all I know is that it has been forgotten by the Ministers who have made speeches and written despatches. There is one point as to the indemnity which is a matter, I think, of importance—of course, of great importance to Turkey, and of some importance to Russia. If the indemnity insisted on by Russia be very large—and it need not be very large in figures to be very large in burden to a country prostrate as Turkey is—it would be a great hardship to the people of Turkey, and

would prevent, or might prevent, any restoration of even the poor prosperity that has heretofore existed in that country. If I were the Delegate or Commissioner from this country to the Council—if there be a Council—I should strongly urge upon the Russian Government that the penalty, or indemnity, should be one of extreme moderation. I think that is a point that might be urged; because all Europe is interested in the restoration of the prosperity of the people who have suffered so much during the war. I will only refer to one other question, and it is one which has been constantly discussed—namely, that relating to the Straits. Now really, when so much has been said—and as I think ungenerously said—with regard to what Russia has done in this matter, the House will permit me to read a Paper which was laid before us this evening, but which has not yet been circulated. It is a telegraphic despatch from Lord Augustus Loftus to Lord Derby, dated St. Petersburg, January 30. [Mr. ASSHETON CROSS: I read the entire of it.] Perhaps hon. Gentlemen opposite would like to hear it again. He says—

“In reply to my inquiry, Prince Gortchakoff stated this morning that the last article of the peace conditions communicated by Count Schouvaloff, referring to the ulterior understanding with regard to the Straits, was vague and unnecessary. He said he had no objection to suppress it altogether. He denied that it referred to an understanding between Russia and Turkey alone, and he authorised me to state most categorically to your Lordship that Russia considered the question of the Straits as a European question that could only be settled in concert with the European Powers.”

There is here, also, another confirmation of the same thing; and therefore I think it would be desirable in any hon. Gentleman opposite who speaks in the debate not to allude to that particular point. It is one which may well be taken into consideration at the Conference to be held. Europe has some interest in this matter. Russia and Turkey have much the same interest in it. All are interested in the freedom of the Straits to ships of commerce; and we owe it to Russia that the Straits, having been closed to Russian ships for 300 years, were opened to commercial ships of all the world only about a century ago. Russia is now in a very different position from what she was in then. She is in possession of, I suppose, nearly half the shores of the

Black Sea. She has ports there, and I think at least one naval arsenal. How is she circumstanced at the other extremity of her Empire? Her capital is on the Baltic, and the Baltic is closed half the year by frost, while the Straits are always closed to her ships of war. I put it to any hon. Gentleman opposite, I put it to the very patriotic sailor Member who has given Notice of an Amendment (Captain Pim)—[“Oh!”]—well, hon. Gentlemen cannot say that that is an offensive term to use of one who is so fond of the Service as the hon. Member is—but I ask him or anyone else holding his opinions whether he thinks it just, or endurable, or possible, that a nation of 80,000,000 of people can be subjected continually to this enclosed or isolated state, shut out from the North Sea by frost half of the year, and shut out from the Mediterranean, and, therefore, from all other seas—not because they wish it; not, I believe, because Turkey wishes it; not because the other Powers of Europe, I suspect, wish it; but mainly because this country wishes it? What a condition it is, that if a Russian vessel homeward bound arrives in Europe at a time of frost, she cannot enter the Baltic; and if she comes to the Mediterranean, she is not allowed to pass the Straits and go to any Russian port in the Black Sea. That is not the state of things that England, and Englishmen, and English sailors, and English patriots would be willing to consent to. I say there is great injustice and great offence to the Russian nation in this exclusion; but it is a fair and reasonable and proper question for the consideration of the Powers assembled in Conference. I have no doubt the Conference will do justice in the case, and I believe the English Government, when the question is fairly discussed, and a proper arrangement made, will find it their duty, and not contrary to their interests, to consent to such a change as may be required. You know that France has Cherbourg in the Channel, and Toulon in the Mediterranean. Italy, too, has a Fleet. Turkey may hesitate, but what if Turkey should consent? We have asserted the right of Turkey to close the Straits, because she owns the territory on either side. I doubt very much whether that be a right she could fairly assert. She could much more fairly assert a right to shut you out of the Suez Canal. That Canal has

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been built by the labour of her subjects and paid for to a considerable extent by the money of her vassal Governor of Egypt, and she has far more right—though a right she never would attempt to exercise—to prohibit us or anybody else from passing through the Canal on the way to India—I am speaking of ships of war—than she has to say that ships of war shall not pass through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. It might be so arranged that not more than one, or two, or three ships should ever be between the two seas at the same time. Notice might be given that a ship has passed out into the Mediterranean before another ship enters the Straits. You have the block system on your railways—why not have the block system in the Straits? The difficulty would then be at an end; and I believe hereafter that the whole difficulty of the Eastern Question as regards this country politically would be at an end also. Well, then, my view is that there is nothing in those terms to excite or to alarm us. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, I am sure, taking them individually, would say that they are just as much for peace as I am. They know that peace is the great interest of every country. They do not wish out of a mean, and it may be in some cases an ignorant, jealousy of Russia to do injustice to Russia. They do not wish to support perpetually the grinding and odious tyranny which they know has been exercised by Turkey upon the largest portion of her population. Well, if you examine these terms you will find there is nothing in them that ought to excite or alarm you. There is nothing to urge you to show yourselves ignorant and selfish, or animated by a discreditable jealousy of Russia—nothing to justify any menace to Russia or to other Powers who may enter the Conference, by the passing of the Vote which the Government has submitted to the House. Let us consider for a moment what we are doing. We often boast—we sometimes boast too much—of the greatness of our great Empire. We say—it is often in rhetorical leading articles said, and sometimes in speeches—that the sceptre of our Queen rules over 300,000,000 of the population of the globe. To this vast and countless multitude, we, assembled in this House—we, from this Chamber, speak to all of them. They hear our voice. Every decree, every Resolution,

every act of this House, may be felt over nearly half the world. Knowing, then, that we affect the nearest and dearest interests of such vast multitudes and so many millions, am I wrong in saying that no language can describe, no measure gauge the magnitude and burden of the responsibilities of this country, and of this Government, and of this House? At the present moment, what do we know of what is going on in various parts of this Empire? In South Africa there is a war, a war it may be with savage tribes, but still not of small consequence; which, I see from the Papers to-night, is said to be presenting darker features by every succeeding mail—a war which, according to the statement of the hon. Gentleman who represents the Colonial Office here, requires troops and artillery to be sent out by succeeding ships. If we turn to another and a more distant portion of the Empire—to the Northern parts of India—we find there troops crossing the Northern frontier seeking a fresh post, fortifying a fresh position, and suspicion and alarm are spreading throughout large tracts of that portion of Asia which lies conterminous with our Northern Indian frontier. I ask this House, then, is not this warring enough for us? Is it not worth our while to consider this question calmly, without passion, and without unworthy jealousy or suspicion? I ask hon. Gentlemen to consider what is the condition—the growing and saddening condition—of not a little of our home population; and I would point out to the Government that in this matter I think they have done—unintentionally, I am quite sure—a great injustice to our home population. They have not been with the public clear enough, firm enough, decisive enough, consistent enough. They have not had these virtues—their speeches of to-day being in one direction and those of to-morrow in another direction. [“No, no!”] I am grieved to have to say it, but I know it to be true. I know, also, that there is scarcely a single market in the United Kingdom connected with any of the great interests of the country that has not been disturbed and agitated—and when, as I know well enough, there is a deep anxiety amongst employers of labour in almost all the industries of the country, and an increasing suffering amongst the labourers, I say that the Government should be extremely

careful that not one single word is said by it, not one single act done that can shake confidence in business and can bring an increase of the troubles, the inevitable troubles, with which for a time we are likely to be surrounded. Well, I say that all this tells me that this matter of the Eastern Question, and the matter of this particular Vote, are things we ought to look at calmly, deliberately, and conscientiously, without jealousy and without prejudice; and if we take that course, if the Government will take that course, I believe they will find themselves supported honestly and fairly by both sides of the House. I want us to shake off this miserable nightmare which has so long oppressed us, and for ever to cease pursuing a phantom which I am quite satisfied we never shall overtake. I would declare this—the Government of this country ought to declare it—the time is not far distant, I believe, when they will declare it; I think it is now pretty much the mind of the people of England—that we have no interest in any longer taking any step whatever to maintain the Ottoman rule in Europe—that we have no interest in cherishing a perpetual animosity with Russia. There are two policies before us—the old policy which, if we leave it to our children, will be a legacy of future wars; the new policy, which I contend for, and which I preach, and which if we adopt, we shall leave to our country, not a legacy of war, but a legacy of peace, and a growing and lasting friendship with one of the greatest Empires of the globe.

VISCOUNT SANDON: Sir, I think the House will agree that, a short time ago, the position of a Member of the Government in rising to speak upon this great Eastern Question was one of no slight difficulty owing to the meaning and importance which some hon. Gentlemen opposite attached to every word we uttered. If at one time a Minister in a clear, distinct, categorical, unimpassioned, dry and cold manner calls attention to the daily progress of negotiations, he is told, because the catalogue of events seems to tell against one of the combatants, that he is taking a side. On the other hand, if we come forward and say, with the assurance of our own convictions, that we are men of peace, we are then told that, though no one can suppose it possible, we are guilty of deceit; that we are under some

strange mesmeric influence, and are fated to deceive the country. That was the position of a Member of the Government until the right hon. Member for Birmingham rose and said he had no doubt that Her Majesty's Government had for two years, in times of great difficulty, preserved the peace of Europe. [Mr. BRIGHT: No, the peace of this country.] Of course, that is much better; and he believes that now Her Majesty's Government are anxious, above all things, to escape war. Therefore, we are now no longer to be taunted with being a war Party. You would not believe our own assertion, but you will believe that of the right hon. Member for Birmingham, who is, surely, a witness far above suspicion. In speaking of what he called the blunders of the Government, the right hon. Gentleman did not quote a single despatch to prove the very grave offences imputed; but he referred to the streets, to rumours, to certain newspapers, and to the feeling of the country as showing that the Government, after all, had been in favour of war. The right hon. Gentleman left the matter in some confusion. I prefer, however, to adopt his first assertion—that we have done our best to preserve peace for the country, and for two years have succeeded. The right hon. Gentleman thought it too horrible to contemplate the Government plunging the country into difficulty if not into war, at a time when, as he said, all Europe was glad at the prospect of peace. The use of the word "glad" was rather surprising; for anyone who contemplates the diplomatic condition of Europe just now must see that it is in a state of apprehension as bad almost as the calamity of war. Then the right hon. Gentleman wandered back, as he had often wandered back, to the days of Wellington and Peel, and compared the Estimates of those halcyon days with those of late years; but the right hon. Member must have forgotten that since then nations have increased their armies from tens to hundreds of thousands, that every weapon of war costs a hundredfold more, that instead of one man-of-war costing, as in those days, £100,000, high class vessels cost more than £500,000, and that the missile now fired at every discharge is about the size of the former guns themselves. Is it fair to compare the Estimates of the time of Wellington and

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Peel with the Estimates of the present day? He says—"The war is closing; why prolong it? Why throw our sword into the scale when other nations are sheathing theirs?" It is the one thing we are trying to avoid. We are asking you to sanction such military preparation as shall enable us to throw our sword into the scale of peace. The right hon. Gentleman tells us it is usual for the parties to a war to settle the terms of peace among themselves; but he seems to have forgotten that certain Treaties exist. He forgets the Treaty of 1856, the parties to which engage to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Turkish Empire, guarantee in common the observance of the engagement, and say that they will consider any act tending to its violation a question of general interest. He forgets the Treaty of 1871, by which the Powers recognize the principle that no Power can liberate itself from a Treaty without the consent of the contracting parties; and he has the hardihood to tell us that the parties to this war ought to settle for themselves the terms of peace, although in the conditions of the proposed peace there is hardly one which does not affect the Articles of the Treaty of 1856 which relate to the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. Mind, I am not for one moment speaking of the importance or otherwise of maintaining the Articles of the Treaty; but it is one of the most monstrous propositions a public man could advance to say that Russia and Turkey should settle the terms of peace between themselves without consulting any of the other Powers by which the Treaty of Paris was contracted. Then the right hon. Gentleman warned us against the danger of disseminating the principles of war. Had any other country a greater interest in maintaining the principles of peace? The whole conduct of England in her diplomacy in the East has been to avoid a desolating war. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say that this £6,000,000 should not be used to lessen the freedom of the Provinces of Turkey. But what right, I want to know, had the right hon. Gentleman to throw out that imputation? He proceeded to discuss the various terms of the conditions of peace, but surely at the present moment it is of great importance that we should not

discuss the different isolated points when a Congress will have to sit upon them. One point will hang upon others, and though harmless in itself it may be hurtful in combination; and, to say the least, it is a grave imprudence to forestall the action of the Congress, or to say that such and such a point is not approved by the majority of the English people. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) made a speech which convinced me that he felt very uncertain as to the position which he adopted. He began intending to make a strong attack upon the Government. He denounced this Vote as unconstitutional, and therefore to be opposed. Yet he seemed to contradict himself in the most outrageous manner. He said this great subsidy of £6,000,000 was surely a temptation to extravagance; but as he went on he said it was quite clear they could not spend it, and, therefore, the proposal was a sham. Surely these are contradictory proposals—which of the two statements will the right hon. Gentleman abide by? The right hon. Gentleman then took the terms of peace one by one and examined them bit by bit; whereas they should be considered as a whole, and, viewed in that aspect, the demands of Russia would entirely change the condition of the south-east of Europe. I must protest against what I thought a great indiscretion on the right hon. Gentleman's part when he committed himself to the statement that he could see no objection to a temporary occupation of Constantinople. Surely it was most unwise for one in the right hon. Gentleman's position to make such an admission. It should be remembered that it is often impossible to state all the reasons of your action; it is often matter of the highest prudence both in the interests of peace and of the civilized world that you should hold your tongue. I feel myself this is not one of those moments when we should indulge in mutual recrimination, or talk of missed opportunities in times gone by; this is a moment when every Englishman who cares for his country should be prepared to drop all this sort of thing. The present position is far too grave for that—as grave as any country can well be placed in, and our speeches should be set in a tone becoming the situation. The great point before us is whether the House will consent to give this subsidy to Her



Majesty's Government. The position should be looked at closely as a whole. The great Eastern Question has been the apprehension and, I might say, the torment of Europe for many a long year. The more you look at this question the more you will be struck by what is going on. Europe is at this moment one vast camp. Every Power has for the last few years been arming to the teeth, and the soldiers are counted by tens of thousands, where before they were only numbered by thousands. England herself is quite content with her old position; she does not desire any conquests, and has no selfish interests to serve; but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there are movements going on in Europe which are cause for serious apprehension. Surely, then, the whole strength of the country ought to be placed at the back of the Government, in order that they may be prepared for any emergency, and enabled to meet any difficulty that may occur by sea or by land. We are told that this will be interpreted as a War Vote. We are told that if these £6,000,000 be granted it will be misinterpreted by the Christians of Turkey as intended to check their rising aspirations. Now, I venture to say, of all the Powers in the world, we are the least likely to be misapprehended in that way; for though we have not by violent excitement or appeals to arms sought to assist the Christians in times past, we have done what is ten times more valuable—through our agents in every part of the Turkish Empire we have consistently supported and defended the Christians of all creeds and kinds. There is no fear that this will be misinterpreted as a war Vote by them. Then it is said it will be misinterpreted by Turkey; but, surely, no one in Turkey can imagine because this Vote is passed that we are going at the eleventh hour to rescue her from the fate which she has brought upon herself. Then we are told that it will be misrepresented by Europe. Remember what happened upon the breaking out of the Crimean War. England was then misrepresented because she did not show by any overt act or say by the language of her responsible Ministers that her interests should not be trifled with or her honour impugned. Remember the misrepresentation at the time of the Crimean War, and, if you fear any now, fear

much more the serious misrepresentation you may incur if by any fatal combination of those on the opposite side of the House—which I do not for a moment believe—the interests of England be put in peril. I know that many opposite are actuated by the same feelings as ourselves, and I assure them that should this Vote be refused, there will then arise a most serious misrepresentation of English feeling and English intention which would mislead the whole of Europe and might precipitate it into war. For my own part, ardently devoted as I am to peace, and earnestly as I desire it, I say if you want to preserve peace, not only at this moment, but to lay down such terms as will be settled by the general consent of Europe, and make that peace lasting and enduring, the real course is to pass this Vote, and in passing it you will be passing what may be truly called the most peaceful Vote this country has ever passed.

MR. HERSHELL said, that because hon. Gentlemen on that (the Opposition) side of the House insisted that this country should not be dragged into this conflict, but should continue in a course of neutrality and peace, they were taunted with being unpatriotic and Russian—that they were lovers of Russia, and cared more for that country than for their own land. Such language had been heard over and over again, and it was language of gross misrepresentation, which it was difficult to submit to in silence and with patience. Because they were not always crying out about protecting British interests they did not feel less for those interests, or were less determined to protect them. When a man was always protesting his honesty, those who heard him were more likely to button up their pockets. He believed they were as patriotic and cared as much for British interests as Gentlemen on the other side, and would be as willing to make every sacrifice to maintain those interests. The great cause of difference between them was how those interests could be best protected, and how best they could carry out the principle of neutrality. But there were two ways of carrying out neutrality—one was always bringing us to the verge of war, and one was constant in its desire for maintaining peace. He did not charge the Government with saying one thing and meaning another, but he did charge them with trying to

carry out one policy in a double-headed sort of manner, and with trying to satisfy those who were in favour of war without displeasing those who were in favour of peace. The result was, that they were meeting with the difficulties usually encountered by those who were trying to serve two masters. They knew what had happened recently when two Members of the Cabinet resigned. The policy which the Government had desired to carry out had been pursued in a manner which had been likely to lead to disaster. That was the difficulty which many of them felt when the Government said—"leave everything to us," because they did not know that the trust would be well used. In the despatch of the Fleet to the Dardanelles, there was that double-headed policy of which he complained. To those who desired peace it was represented that it was only intended to secure the lives and the property of British subjects in Constantinople, whereas to those who desired war it was represented as being a grand step towards the protection of British interests. The former had been stated to be the case by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. But were Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon so forgetful of common humanity, that they were willing to separate themselves from the Cabinet rather than to consent to the lives and property of British subjects at Constantinople being rendered secure? He thought that could not for a moment be contended. And what was the meaning of the last line in the instructions to the Fleet—"Keep your destination absolutely secret." Surely it would have been better to have let all the world know that our Fleet was being sent upon an errand of mercy, and we could scarcely attribute to Russia the utter barbarism of endeavouring to prevent us protecting our fellow-subjects from massacre. The suggestion that the Fleet was to keep the waterway open meant that any resistance that it met with was to be overcome, and that meant that we might find ourselves at war at any moment. Moreover, the Prime Minister had admitted that the departure of the Fleet had for its object the protection of British interests, and the House also knew what that meant. In these circumstances, he did not wonder that two Members of the Cabinet had tendered their resignation. The noble Lord who had just spoken

said that the subject of the bases of peace was not ripe for discussion. But there was nothing unfair in the criticism of the Opposition on that subject, having regard to the speech of the Home Secretary, the foundation of whose argument was that we should prepare for war. There were two ways of dealing with those bases of peace. He did not say that you should place implicit reliance in Russia any more than any other Power; but he (Mr. Herschell) strongly deprecated the insinuation conveyed—not by word, but by tone and manner—by the Chancellor of the Exchequer in reading the bases of peace, that the assurances of Russian statesmen were not to be believed in this country. By laying down conditions, the Government had pledged themselves not to interfere unless those conditions were broken; but he would ask which of those conditions had been broken or threatened? He deprecated an unseemly jealousy of Russia. If this Empire were in peril, we should all be united in the determination to expend our treasure and life blood in maintaining our position in the world; but there was nothing inconsistent with that determination in relying on our strength and refusing to be constantly on the watch here and there against Russia. He did not make light of the differences between Russia and England, but he saw no reason why there should not be peace between them. Russia, it was true, was a great military despotism, but this very war would probably result in great reforms being made, and in her becoming a mighty and free nation. If they had been asked to vote that money because they were on the brink of war, or because they wished to make preparations for war, he could have understood it; and if the country was satisfied that it would be a just war there would be great readiness in granting the supplies. But we were told that the money was not wanted for war, but to give us strength in a coming Conference. Now, he did not believe that we should be a bit stronger in the Conference by the voting of those £6,000,000. We should be strong there if we were a united people; but it was not the way to make us a united people to force such a proposal on the House as that, or to use such language as had been held on that subject. We should be strong in the

Conference if we went there not to urge our own selfish views only, but to consider the general interests of Europe. Then we should not stand alone, but would have the support of other Powers. But if we were only to look to English interests and to care nothing for those of other countries, then we should be weak, whether the House voted £6,000,000 or £60,000,000. In conclusion, he should record his vote against the proposal, because its only effect would be to encourage those who wanted to urge on the Government to more warlike steps; and because, if the House granted that Supply, it might be taken as the approval, he would not say of a war policy, but of a policy dangerously tending in the direction of war.

MR. GREENE said, that what he wished all along was that this country should preserve a strict neutrality, and that justice should be done to both sides. The logical conclusion to draw from the bag-and-baggage policy was that England should go to war. He challenged the Liberal party to produce even a single precedent in which the Conservative Party had ever opposed the Government of the day in difficult circumstances like the present. He appealed to the conduct of the Conservatives in 1854, during the Alabama dispute, and at the time of the Franco-German War. He contrasted the speeches made by the Liberals during the Recess with those they had delivered in the House, and said the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) reminded him of the Egyptian chariots when their wheels were taken off—he dragged heavily. He could fancy the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition Party crying to be delivered from his Friends. It had been charged against the Conservatives that they wished for war in order to provide employment for their sons. For himself, he was thankful he had only one son, and he was glad to say he was able to provide for him—but if he could not he would prefer putting him to a carpenter's, or some such trade, rather than send him out to be shot at for 6s. a day. Talk about the feeling of the country, and about public meetings, he should like to have the opinion of the hon. Member for Sheffield about these meetings. He would be able to tell the House whether some of these meetings were

not packed meetings. By the admission of the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) the Government had kept England out of the war up to the present time, and he (Mr. Greene) ventured to assert that in the despatches of the noble Lord the Foreign Secretary not a line could be found indicative of a desire to depart from peace. It was true the Cabinet had resolved to ask for a Vote of Credit, but no man in his senses could think that £6,000,000 would be of any earthly use if they had made up their minds to go to war. It had been said that disunion existed in the Cabinet. Great credit was due to the head of the Government, who was the main spirit of the Cabinet; but he would ask how was it possible for any number of men to meet together amongst whom there was not some division, although they had decided upon a certain course of action? The Government desired to obtain the confidence of the House, and he would ask whether it was not desirable that the Government should place themselves in a position to be ready for any emergency that might arise? Some Members of the Liberal Party had been recently making speeches which were unworthy of them, and he was surprised that they could now come to the House of Commons, and look like injured innocents while they asked how they could be to blame for opposing the Vote? If the Conservatives wanted to do the Liberals an unkind act it could not be more effectually done than by letting them into office in the present crisis, inasmuch as they were absolutely without a policy. Their great Agitator had been making a speech at Oxford. He (Mr. Greene) thanked the right hon. Gentleman when he read that speech, because he knew it would give at least 20 additional votes to the Government. Unfortunately, a namesake of his was present at the meeting, and he felt bound to say that he was ashamed that any man of the name of Greene should have been found in such company. As for the Opposition generally, they had no policy; and he believed they heartily wished themselves out of their present difficulty. If their object was to get the Government out of office and get themselves in, all he could say was that they must show a little more honesty than they had

*Mr. Herschell*

hitherto done. He felt almost certain that the Opposition would not force a division at the termination of this debate; but, even if they did, not more than about seven wise men would be found going with them into the Lobby. In conclusion, he must say he did not think he had ever passed a duller evening.

MR. TREVELYAN moved the adjournment of the debate.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Debate adjourned till To-morrow.*

#### HOUSE OCCUPIERS DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL—[BILL 45.]

(*Sir Henry Wolff, Sir Charles Russell, Sir Charles Legard, Mr. Onslow, Mr. Ryder.*)

##### COMMITTEE.

*Bill considered in Committee.*

(*In the Committee.*)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the Bill before the House, which was represented by its authors as a Bill to remove an anomaly, was, in fact, a measure to create one. He was not concerned to prove that it violated the principle of inhabitant occupancy, upon which the franchise had been based by the Conservative Government in 1867. This was an objection to be raised by Conservatives, by the Attorney General, or by the Leader of the House. That which he alone wished to show was that the Bill was one exceedingly difficult to understand, and the operation of which it was hard even for the greatest election lawyers to foresee. He had consulted most experienced and highly qualified and competent lawyers upon the Bill, and they took opposite views as to what it meant. He held in his hand a letter from a Parliamentary draftsman second to none in his knowledge of this subject, in which he wrote that the Bill was

“ambiguous, and if I read it rightly, creates instead of removing an anomaly. Why create an anomalous exception to the rule which requires 12 months' inhabitation as a condition for the franchise under the Act of 1867? If a person who lets his house for part of the year ought not thereby to lose his vote (and I do not say that he ought), let him have it under the Act of 1832. But where a franchise depends upon 12 months' inhabitation, it seems absurd to give it, in exceptional cases, to persons who have not inhabited for more than six months. If the condition of inhabitation is to be relaxed, it ought to be relaxed generally.”

His hon. Friend the Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) agreed with himself in wishing to remove certain hardships, and in a desire to somewhat relax the conditions required for the franchise; but while he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) desired to remove hardships and relax conditions generally, and as regarded all classes of the population, his hon. Friend wished to remove the hardships in the case of one class alone, and to relax conditions only in the one case of the letters of furnished houses. The Bill was motivated upon questions that had arisen under the Act of 1867; and, in consequence, he feared that the Judges would read it very strictly if it became law, and would hold that it had no bearing upon the Act of 1832. Passing on from these preliminary and general objections, he would attempt to point out some of the difficulties which would arise under the working of the Bill, of which he said the proper title would be “A Bill to shorten the period of residence in the case of lodging-house keepers.” Should his instruction be carried, and the new clauses which he proposed be added to the Bill, it would then, in fact, become that which it was not at present—a Bill to remove disqualifications in the case of all classes of the community. He had not himself directly opposed the second reading of the Bill, much as he objected to its provisions; because he admitted that there was a case for some measure to remove disqualifications. There were several hardships which existed under the present law, and which were not mere questions of registration, but questions of qualification or of franchise; but these ought to be dealt with as a whole, and upon principle. This Bill shortened the period of residence required in the case of a particular class—the persons who let lodgings. He had sooner shorten it for all. The present period, which was called 12 months, became, through the working of our registration system, in reality two years. He would gladly see the period shortened to six months, which would in reality mean 18 months; but he knew that a majority of the House would not be prepared to support such a proposal, and he would not, therefore, place it before the House. Let them consider, in the first place, the case, as it would stand under this Bill, of a man who let his house and removed

into another house in the same borough. He would have the franchise, as the law stood at the present time, by successive occupation of houses. Now, let them take the case of a man who let his house and removed into lodgings in the same borough. He would lose the franchise at the present time, and ought not to lose it; but the proper manner to remove this hardship would be to carry the instruction to the Committee which he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had proposed last year, and to insert one of his new clauses to give equal rights to a duly-qualified person occupying in succession a house and lodgings of a sufficient value with those possessed by a person occupying in succession a house and a house. No reason could be given against this change in the law, and it was by a mere blunder that the right to claim for successive occupation was not given to lodgers in 1867. The third case was that of a man who let his house and removed to Timbuctoo. Were the Government, who objected to Reform Bills in disguise, and to tampering with the franchise, prepared to stand up and say that a man ought to have the franchise as an inhabitant occupier who, having taken a house in the borough of Christchurch, started the same day for a journey in Central Africa, and returning 12 months afterwards—six months being in the qualifying period of one year and six months in the qualifying period of the next year—found himself on the register under the provision of his hon. Friend's Bill. Moreover, after being once on in this way, he might go away for 12 months at a time under the provisions of this Bill, six months being in one qualifying year and six months being in another, and yet continually retain the franchise as an inhabitant occupier. Not only would this inhabitant occupier in Timbuctoo remain upon the register, but if the person actually occupying the house claimed to be rated under the occupation clause of the Act of 1832, he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) believed that the under-tenant could get on too—though it was not clear—a direct violation of the principle that the same premises should not confer the franchise upon two people, which was laid down by the Proviso at the end of Clause 3 of the Representation of the People Act, 1867. There were so many difficulties

that occurred to him with regard to this Bill that it seemed almost idle to raise the whole of them before the House; but he was of opinion that perhaps the greatest of them all was that of how to attain a knowledge of the length of time during which houses were let. Take the case, which was not uncommon, of a man who let his house for short periods several times in the course of a year. Who was to keep watch and to add these periods up and discover to how many months they amounted on the whole? Were the overseers or the Party agents to establish and to pay for the necessary spy system? He repeated that there did exist hardships in connection with the law of qualification, and he proposed to remove them upon an intelligent principle, hoping that the Government would some day see the necessity of dealing with them as a whole by a Bill carefully considered by the Law Officers of the Crown.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF offered to make the term "four" months instead of "six."

*Amendment agreed to; word substituted.*

*Bill reported; as amended, to be considered To-morrow.*

#### COMMONS.

Select Committee appointed, Six Members to be nominated by the House and Five by the Committee of Selection, "to consider every Report made by the Inclosure Commissioners certifying the expediency of any Provisional Order for the inclosure or regulation of a Common, and presented to the House during the present Session, before a Bill be brought in for the confirmation of such Order."—Five to be the quorum.

*Instruction to the Committee, That they have power, with respect to each such Provisional Order, to inquire and report to the House whether the same should be confirmed by Parliament; and, if so, whether with or without modification; and, in the event of their being of opinion that the same should not be confirmed, except subject to modifications, to report such modifications accordingly with a view to such Provisional Order being remitted to the Inclosure Commissioners.—(Sir Henry Selwyn-Ibbetson.)*

#### TURNPIKE ACTS CONTINUANCE.

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the Sixth and Seventh Schedules of 'The Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1877.'"—LORD GEORGE CAVENDISH, LORD HENRY THYNNE, SIR ROBERT ANSTRUTHER, MR. BEACH, MR. WENTWORTH BEAUMONT, MR. GEORGE CLIVE, MR. WILBRAHAM EGERTON, SIR HARCOURT JOHNSTONE, MR. CLARE READ, MR. SPENCER STANHOPE, and MR. SALT:—Three to be the quorum.

*Sir Charles W. Dilke*

*Instruction* to the Committee, That they have power to inquire and report to the House under what conditions, with reference to the rate of interest, expenses of management, maintenance of road, payment of debt, and term of years, or other special arrangements, the Acts of the Trusts mentioned should be continued.

*Ordered*, That all Petitions referring to the continuance or discontinuance of Turnpike Trusts be referred to the Committee. — (*Mr. Salt.*)

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (BOROUGHES) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. YEAMAN, Bill to extend the Hours of Polling at Parliamentary Elections within Boroughs, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. YEAMAN, Dr. CAMERON, Mr. JOSEPH COWEN, Mr. MUNTZ, Dr. WARD, and Mr. GOULDING.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 98.]

House adjourned at a quarter  
before One o'clock.

### HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 1st February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—  
Linen and Yarn Halls (Dublin) \* (11); Par-  
liamentary Elections (Metropolis) \* (12).

#### PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, respecting the complaint of his noble Friend (Earl Granville), a few evenings since, called the attention of the noble Duke the Lord President to the fact that the Papers referring to the Eastern Question, and most recently laid on the Tables of both Houses, were distributed to the Members of the House of Commons at an early hour this morning, but had not reached their Lordships as soon.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, that when on a recent occasion his noble Friend (Earl Granville) made a complaint on this subject, he inquired, and was informed, that the delay in the delivery of the Lords' Papers on that occasion was accidental. He would again make inquiry on the subject.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION — ADVANCE OF THE RUSSIAN ARMIES.

##### QUESTIONS.

LORD CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whe-

ther he could give the House any information as to the Russian advance on Gallipoli and Constantinople?

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I have no very trustworthy or certain information as to the latest movements of the Russian troops. We heard, two days ago, that a part of their forces had appeared at Bourgas and Tchorlu, which latter place is, I believe, about 60 miles from Constantinople. We also heard of their occupying certain positions on the railway from Adrianople towards Constantinople; and it appears that a detachment—I do not know of what strength—was moving southwards in the direction of the *Ægean*. We have not heard recently of any advance in the direction of Gallipoli.

EARL GRANVILLE: May I ask the noble Earl, Whether any information has reached the Foreign Office, as to the signing of the armistice, and as to the terms of peace?

THE EARL OF DERBY: I shall be happy to lay before your Lordships all the information I have on this subject. Early this morning I received a communication from the Turkish Ambassador, which was substantially in these terms—

“Received a telegram from Constantinople to the following effect:—‘We learn by a telegram from our Plenipotentiaries just received that the general bases of the armistice and of peace will be signed to-day at Adrianople.’”

That is a telegram received by the Turkish Ambassador, and dated yesterday. If, therefore, the Turkish Government were rightly informed, the signatures would have been affixed yesterday; but I am bound to say that we have not heard that the signatures have been actually affixed, nor has the report been confirmed by anything we have heard from our Ambassador at Constantinople.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

EARL GRANVILLE: I have not given Notice, but I think it would be convenient, if the Prime Minister would, on Monday, state what course he proposes with reference to the Business of this House.

House adjourned at a quarter past  
Five o'clock, to Monday next,  
Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 1st February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—  
Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) \*  
[72].

*Considered as amended*—House Occupiers Dis-  
qualification Removal \* [45]; Public Parks  
(Scotland) \* [34].

## QUESTIONS.

## INDIA—MADRAS HARBOUR.

## QUESTION.

MR. SMOLLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for India, In what year the scheme for the formation of a harbour upon the coast of Coromandel at Madras was approved of and sanctioned by the Secretary of State for India, and what was the original estimated cost of that undertaking; the name of the projector or engineer who framed the scheme and estimates, and whether he was a servant of the Government in the Department of Public Works, or an outsider; what amount of money has been spent upon this harbour up to the present date, and how the charges have been entered in the financial accounts; were the expenses incurred included in the ordinary expenditure of India, or was the scheme classed as an extraordinary and reproductive work; and, what is the present position of this undertaking, is it a success or a failure. Has the work been temporarily laid aside, or has it been permanently abandoned?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in reply, said, the scheme was approved by the Secretary of State in Council on the 11th of March 1875, on the earnest recommendation of the Madras Government. The engineer who framed the scheme was Mr. Parkes, of 23, Abingdon Street, Westminster. The estimate was for £628,000. Mr. Parkes, who was the engineer for the work, was not a member of the Government in the Public Works Department, but was the consulting engineer of the Harbour Works. The amount expended last year was £140,000, and this year the estimate was for

£100,000. This money was shown in the accounts as advances. Five lacs of the sum had been advanced to the Madras Government, and that Government had advanced the remainder. The present position of the work was that it was not yet complete. He could not say that it had yet been a great success. There had been a large accumulation of sand, which had created some delay; but Sir Andrew Clarke was about to inspect and report upon the prospects of the work.

PRISONS ACT—VISITING COMMITTEES.  
QUESTION.

MR. HIBBERT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the Prisons Act coming into operation on the 1st of April next, it is his intention before that day to prescribe any general or special rules for the appointment of Visiting Committees of Prisons; and, whether the present Visiting Justices will be empowered to act after the 1st of April until the appointment of their successors by Quarter Sessions?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, it was his intention to lay on the Table in 10 days or a fortnight the rules for the appointment of visiting committees of prisons. In the meantime the Visiting Justices would continue to act.

## COUNTY BOARDS BILL—PETTY SESSIONAL DISTRICTS.—QUESTION.

MR. HIBBERT asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, before the Second Reading of the County Boards Bill, he can give a nominal Return of the Petty Sessional Districts in each county, with the population and the number of guardians in each such district; also the total number of representatives to be elected in each county, specifying the number to be elected by the magistrates, by the various classes of boroughs, and by the guardians?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH: Two tabular statements have been prepared, the first showing the number of petty sessional divisions in each county and the number of members who would serve on the various county boards according to the plan of the County Boards Bill; the second contains a list of unions and petty sessional divisions in each county. A

nominal Return of the several petty sessional divisions can likewise be given. I will move for all of these on Monday, and they will be distributed in a few days. As regards the parishes and places in each petty sessional division, there is no later information than a Return of 1870, and there have been changes since that time. Without such a Return freshly obtained we cannot give the population of each petty sessional district; but the information given by the Census may be assumed to be approximately accurate.

#### THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT, 1876.—QUESTION.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN asked the Vice President of the Council, Whether his attention has been called to the case of the Reverend George Burgess, Baptist Minister, of Monks Risborough, Bucks; whether it is true that Mr. Burgess' application for the admission of his child, aged six years, to the only Public Elementary School in the parish was refused on the 7th January 1878, on the ground that he had not previously obtained a certificate of admission from the Reverend Thomas Evetts, Rector of the said parish; and, whether, having regard to section 4 of "The Elementary Education Act, 1876," which makes the parent of every child liable in penalties unless he causes such child to receive efficient elementary instruction, it is lawful for the managers of a Public Elementary School to refuse admission on the grounds named, and thereby to interpose obstacles in the way of parents desirous of obeying the Law?

VISCOUNT SANDON: A letter was received recently from Monk's Risborough, conveying to us a complaint in somewhat similar terms to those in the hon. Gentleman's Question; it was sent, in accordance with the usage of the Department in all such cases, to the manager of the school against which the complaint was made, for his remarks and explanations. We have not yet received a reply; and till that reply is received I can, of course, express no opinion on the matter.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION.

##### QUESTIONS.

MR. POTTER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs,

Whether, in addition to the other information furnished to the Foreign Office by Mr. Layard, the British Ambassador at Constantinople, he can lay before the House an approximate account of the number of Bulgarians, of either sex, who have been put to death by the Turkish authorities in the districts of Adrianople and Philippopolis during the last twelve months, with the charges upon which they were executed and the nature of the tribunals before which they were tried?

MR. BOURKE: All the information which is now in the possession of the Foreign Office with respect to the subject of the hon. Member's Question, will be found in the Blue Book "Turkey No. 1."

DR. KENEALY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been directed to the paragraph in the "Daily News," of the 31st January, quoting from the Paris paper "Le Gaulois;" and, if so, whether he can give the House any information upon the words, "the understanding of the Three Emperors is completely re-established with a view to the definitive settlement of the Eastern Question;" and, whether he has learned from the Turkish Government, or through any other source, what "the resolutions of the Three Emperors" are; and, if so, whether he can communicate them to the House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I can give no further information to the hon. Gentleman than that which I gave the other day—that we have no knowledge of the resolutions to which he refers. I may say that I have seen so very many paragraphs in the newspapers purporting to give information with regard to matters connected with this Government, or communications which are supposed to have been made to this Government, which I know to be incorrect, that I do not attach extreme weight to those which I see with regard to the proceedings of other Governments.

MR. E. JENKINS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any of the money proposed to be taken under the Vote of Credit has already been expended; and, if so, how much?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: In regard to the second part of the Question put by the hon. Member, I can answer it at once by saying that none of the proposed Vote has been ex-



pended. I can only further say, that if it be found that there has been any excess in our military expenditure, money to meet it will be asked for by the ordinary method of presenting a Supplementary Estimate.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can inform the House if it be true, as stated, that the Government has received intelligence that a document containing the bases of peace and of an armistice has been signed; and whether, if that be so, it is in his power to inform the House what are the terms so agreed upon?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The information which we have received on this subject will be contained in a very short despatch, which will be laid on the Table to-night, and which I will read to the House. It is a despatch which will be sent by Lord Derby to Mr. Layard—

“February 1, 1878.

“SIR,—I have to inform your Excellency that the Turkish Ambassador communicated to me to-day a telegraphic despatch from the Ottoman Government to the effect that, according to advices received from their plenipotentiaries, the general bases of an armistice and of peace would be signed yesterday at Adrianople.”

We have no information that the document containing the bases of peace has been actually signed, and none as to their nature.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

#### THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

#### ADJOURNED DEBATE. [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [31st January], “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair” (for Committee of Supply).

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “this House, having been informed in Her Majesty’s Gracious Speech that the conditions on which Her Majesty’s neutrality is founded had not been infringed by either belligerent engaged in the war in the East of Europe, and having since received no information sufficient

to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, sees no reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies,”—(*Mr. William Edward Forster*,)—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

Debate resumed.

MR. TREVELYAN said, it was a most extraordinary thing that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, who in his dealings with individuals and deputations, to say the least, maintained the good old traditions of official courtesy, should have introduced into the discussions of the House a method of debate which he would not attempt to characterize by any disparaging epithet; but of which he would only say that, especially as a contrast to the temperate and carefully reasoned speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (*Mr. W. E. Forster*), whom the right hon. Gentleman was answering, many who sat on the benches behind the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary must have listened to with regret. They must have regretted when he told the House that an evil spirit was lurking in the Amendment; and he was sure they did so when the right hon. Gentleman said that a “lying spirit” was evinced in many of the speeches made in the country—an epithet which, if it had been applied to any individual Member, Mr. Speaker would not have allowed to go unchallenged; but which, as a collective compliment, he supposed Liberal Members were intended to divide among themselves at their leisure. The right hon. Gentleman had challenged them to speak in the House as they had spoken in the country. He (*Mr. Trevelyan*) did not know to whom that challenge applied. He was there to answer it to-night. He earnestly hoped, however, in the interest of the order and decency of public discussion in these heated times, that the Home Secretary would not find it necessary to speak in the country as he had spoken in the House. When they read in the papers of what had happened the day before yesterday at Manchester, and the still more alarming account of what happened yesterday in the City of London, they could not but fear lest some of their greatest seats of wealth should be set in

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

a blaze if only a few sentences should be uttered there such as had fallen in that House last night from the official representative of public order and of the majesty of the law. The right hon. Gentleman was indignant with them because they had called his Party a war Party, and because they had argued as if the proceedings of the Government had a warlike tendency. Now it was rather hard that when there was a Vote before the House, which they were told they must not call a sham Vote, but which asked for a sum of money to be distinctly expended on naval and military matters, amounting to one quarter of the combined Naval and Military Estimates of the year, they were to be prevented from thinking that it had a warlike tendency, especially when accompanied by solemn and significant intimations about the advance of the Russian Armies, by dark hints about Russian projects, and insinuations against Russian honour and veracity. He would not read again the definite assurances given by the Russian Government, both about the permanent occupation of Constantinople and as to the Dardanelles; but he asked if the Government did not believe those assurances, why did they take so much trouble to get them? If, on the other hand, they did believe Russia, why, in the name of European peace and the dignity of their own country, did they go on talking as if they distrusted her? The events of yesterday threw light on several things. In several parts of the metropolis and its suburbs meetings were disturbed by organized gangs—"No!"—well, for the sake of hon. Gentlemen opposite, he would withdraw the word "organized;" it did not add anything to his argument. Private rooms were entered and sacked, as if they had been Bulgarian villages, windows and doors were destroyed, large mobs of well-dressed people were assembled and alternately cheered the Turk, cried "Down with Russia," and gave three cheers for Her Majesty's Ministers. Fezzes were lifted up; there were Turkish banners, and what was much more serious, there were men, and some of them of advanced age, whose only object was at this great crisis of the national history to give an opinion on national affairs, who were hustled, ill-used, and driven off the scene by violence. A deputation afterwards came

down to that House to give the Ministry a history of these riotous and illegal proceedings. They were received by Her Majesty's Postmaster General. They informed Her Majesty's Postmaster General, in the elegant language of the deputation, that the opponents of the Government had not the pluck to risk their lives and limbs in the business of the meeting, but were obliged to disappear down back stairs; and the only judgment the noble Lord thought fit to pass on those proceedings was to tell the deputation that he was glad the City had done its duty. If that was the way in which the Ministry discouraged war passions, all he could say was that he should not hesitate to characterize them as the leaders of the war Party, even although, as the result of giving that opinion, his windows were broken with the approbation of Her Majesty's Postmaster General. He thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer was right, and that this was not a Vote of Confidence. It was not a Vote on which they could argue out the Irish policy or Colonial policy of the Government. But none the less was it certain that a Vote of Credit for £6,000,000, after the disclosures which have been made both here and in "another place" on this day week, was a Vote of the most unlimited, the most unprecedented, and, as far as his side of the House was concerned, the most strangely earned confidence that ever was asked by a Government before. It was useless to refer to the Vote of 1870 as a precedent for the present one. There was no analogy between the two situations. In 1870 a war was not ending, but a gigantic war was only beginning. It was then the opinion of our military authorities that the French was the stronger of the two armies, and there was a belief that Germany would soon be at the feet of France. The annexation of Belgium was, therefore, apprehended, to prevent which was the unanimous wish of the country and of Parliament. Therefore Parliament, almost in silence and almost without opposition, placed a very moderate Vote of Credit at the disposal of the Ministry. They did it with an alacrity which showed two things—first, that they were convinced that the Government knew the policy of the country, and that the country understood the

policy of the Government. What, especially in this last respect, was that position compared with this? If this was not a serious question; if they were not to argue it upon solid and substantial grounds; if what was wanted was not money, but the power of being able to say during the Recess that something had been done to make good the brave words that had been so freely used; if what had caused this demonstration was not the advance of the Russians towards Gallipoli, but the incursion of three hon. Baronets, with 40, or was it 70, hon. Members behind them, into the room of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, then all he would say was that he did not know what class or order of men had most reason to complain—Parliament, which it had befooled; the woollen and cotton manufacturers, whose orders had been countermanded; the working men who had lost their employment; or the parents, who were led to believe that their sons were about to be sent out in thousands to be shot. The repetition of the policy of the Crimean War had been described by a high authority as insane. He neither challenged nor endorsed that decision; but a repetition of the Vote of Credit of 1870, unless the money was really wanted, was a proceeding which partook of the nature both of insanity and of inanity. He, for one, however, refused to look upon the present as a sham Vote. It appeared to him rather in the light of a solemn appeal to Parliament to place the sword of Great Britain, belt, scabbard, and all, in the hands of the Government. That being so, he wanted to know whether its recent proceedings were so re-assuring that it could safely be trusted with the future of the Empire. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told the House that the bases of peace were elastic, and admitted of more than one interpretation; and, therefore, the right hon. Gentleman asked them to arm before going into the approaching Conference. Almost in the same breath he had told Parliament that those bases of peace, or some of them, concerned other Powers even more immediately than they did England; but he did not at the same time inform the House that those Powers had armed. Austria had not especially armed, nor had France, nor Prussia; and yet none of these Powers

spent anything like the immense annual sum which the House of Commons voted for our Army and Navy Departments. So that it would appear that England was the only Power in Europe that could not go into a Conference without special preparations. The intelligent foreigner, who had obliged his right hon. Friend with a peroration, described the policy which his right hon. Friend was pursuing as a wise and prudent policy; but it was a question whether that foreigner would have recommended the same course to his own country. No doubt he was sufficiently intelligent to recognize that wisdom and prudence, in the carefully disguised form in which he recommended them to the right hon. Gentleman, were virtues which had better not begin at home. The right hon. Gentleman, or at any rate the Minister who sat on his right (Mr. Cross), had described the speech of his right hon. Friend on that side of the House (Mr. Forster) as vague and indefinite. Far from being either vague or indefinite his right hon. Friend had clearly laid down what he would fight for, and what he would diplomatisise for. But that was not so with the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had given the House no explanations on the exact points on which he would insist with Russia. The right hon. Gentleman had given rumours and innuendoes which he might have left with the irresponsible Members of his Party. He did not say what was to be the *casus belli* or the *casus armandi*. All he asked was that the Government might be enabled to speak with the voice of Great Britain at its back. Now, he thought that those who sat on the Opposition benches knew pretty well what the voice of Great Britain was; what they wished to be made acquainted with was the voice of Lord Beaconsfield. With the assembling of a Conference the neutrality of this country came to an end, and the policy of Great Britain would come to the front. The manifest intention of the Government was to use this Vote in support of the policy which they meant to pursue, and therefore the House ought to be informed distinctly what that policy was. It was no use going back to the declarations of the past. Those declarations had been made while there was one man in the Cabinet who sympathised with the Opposition on the Eastern

Question; but now the only man who held these opinions had been squeezed out of the Cabinet. They could not go back, therefore, to the speeches of Lord Carnarvon, or to the speeches of Lord Derby, Lord Salisbury, or the Secretary of the Home Department, while they still had the honour of being the Colleagues of Lord Carnarvon. They must look to the opinions of a Minister who, after the great victory he had won—for it was a victory to get rid of a dissentient Colleague without breaking up his Government—had now, he would not say an undisputed, but certainly a somewhat less disputed authority. What, therefore, he asked, were the British interests to which the Prime Minister attached importance? In the eyes of those sitting on the Opposition benches, British interests demanded, first of all, the final settlement of the Eastern Question, and the final and complete tranquillization of Southern Europe. That desired consummation would not be attained until the outrages under which these Provinces had been groaning for centuries were supplanted by an efficient government which would inflict no such injustice upon them in future. On this point Lord Derby had spoken in these most decided terms—

“I do not understand the determination of our elder statesmen to stand by the Turkish rule whether right or wrong. I think we are making ourselves enemies of races which will very soon become dominant races, and I think we are keeping back countries by whose improvement we, as great traders in the world, shall be great gainers.”

Those were the opinions of Lord Derby but in 1867. But what were the opinions of the Prime Minister in one of his recent utterances? At the Guildhall Lord Beaconsfield had declared himself to be in favour of the integrity of Turkey, while in the same breath he said that this country was prepared to fight one, two, or three campaigns. Everyone could understand what such statements, made in such collocation, by the most responsible man in the country at such a time must inevitably mean; and now came Lord Beaconsfield's Chancellor of the Exchequer, and asked Parliament to vote a very large sum of money to be used in equipping military expeditions in support, it was supposed, of a policy which Lord Beaconsfield had publicly announced, and which the noble Lord had never retracted or explained away.

But he came now to Bulgaria, and it was, he thought, impossible to have heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer speaking of that country and the comparison which he made between it and the West and South-west of England without feeling that we were going into a Conference under conditions in which British interests were likely to receive a very dangerous extension and a very perverted construction. On this point he could not help referring to the appointment as Ambassador at the Court of Vienna of Sir Henry Elliot. He desired to speak with all respect of Sir Henry Elliot, as for every member of his illustrious family. The views which Sir Henry Elliot held upon the relation of the Christian races to Turkey were perfectly legitimate in themselves; but as the views of our Ambassador at the Austrian Court, they were only too likely—and the thought was an alarming one—to cause Austria and England to play into each other's hands at the Conference now approaching. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had told the House that the people of this country were lovers of freedom and supporters of all that was noble; but his right hon Friend was mistaken if he imagined that when they loved freedom they loved it in such a way that the idea in any degree entered their thoughts of limiting the liberties of Bulgaria, even though the extension of those liberties should carry peace and order from the boundaries of Serbia to the *Ægean* Sea. Certainly the people of England had not yet forgotten that Tatar Bazardjik and Batak, where the worst atrocities had been committed, lay within the boundaries of those very districts. There was another point upon which England would have to say yes or no at the Conference, and with regard to which her answer would be emphasized by this Vote. During the last 18 months there had been an unfortunate tendency to excite public feeling against oppressed races, whose only faults were those which naturally sprung from their having been so long oppressed, and against those countries which, by a feeling of kindred race, were inclined to take up cudgels for their neighbours who lived across the borders. In society and in a portion of the Press there was a tendency to decry and depreciate the victims of oppression which always came to the front

when the attempt was made to free the oppressed. Just as in the war between the North and South there were people always saying that the American negro was brutal and idle, and undeserving of sympathy, just as in the war between France and Austria in 1859 it was said that the Italians of Lombardy were cowardly and treacherous, so we were told now that the Greeks were schemers, and the Montenegrins savages. With regard to the Servians, he could not forget the fact that the Prime Minister had never lost the opportunity of denouncing their conduct—[*Ministerial cheers*]  
—in terms which would be fitting and proper if they had come from the hon. Gentlemen who had just cheered, but which were ominous and significant when they were expressed by a Prime Minister. If England went into this Conference armed, the Premier, it was feared, would make use of the prestige given by this Vote, and offer to the Servians some practical proof that they had incurred the disapprobation of England. Now, the British taxpayer, possibly, had no great admiration for the Servians; but, at the same time, he did not want his money to be spent in fighting against them. He did not want to be taxed 4d. in the pound because a nation of 1,100,000 pig drivers, whom he had never heard of until the last two years, had committed an ungentlemanly action somewhere in the centre of Europe. A few weeks might decide whether Greece was to be a nation any longer; whether Thessaly and Epirus were not only to continue to suffer the tyranny which they had endured for centuries; but whether all the ruffians and desperadoes who had been driven from the emancipated Slavonian Provinces were to be allowed to concentrate upon those two wretched districts the cruelties which they had not been allowed to exercise elsewhere. The sympathy of this country with Greece was historical. That sympathy had inspired some of our noblest poetry. It had added a page to our naval triumphs. It was the special glory of our diplomacy. It was identified with a statesman who had the rare good fortune of having left a memory which was cherished by both the great Parties of the State. The country wished well to Greece. We had surrendered Islands to her in deference to Greek national feeling—Islands which she had governed

honestly and faithfully in the interests of the populations. And surely England could not now insist that terms should be enforced which would replace Greeks under the misgovernment of Turkey, conducted in the sole interests of Constantinople Pashas. The substance of a despatch, published apparently through the indiscretion of a Greek Minister, showed that the influence of Great Britain had not been used so effectually as it might have been against the root of the bad feeling between Greece and Turkey. Our Government, as a go-between, had handed from Turkey to Greece a despatch which complained in a threatening manner that the non-official Press of Greece was writing against Turkish interests, and insisted or suggested that the official Press of Greece should write down the national aspirations. This country valued its free Press almost as much as its Parliamentary institutions. So susceptible were we on this point that when Napoleon was at the height of his power at the commencement of the present century, we went to war with him because he suggested an interference with the freedom of the London Press. And yet the influence of such a country as this was to be employed in forcing upon Greece those opinions of the dignity of literature which had found a place in the breast of an Oriental despot, and this by a Government which was now asking for this Vote of £6,000,000 in order to maintain what they called English honour. The news of that day showed that if war was renewed or prolonged, Greece intended to assert herself, and remember her ancient traditions; and if this Vote led this country into war, we should have to fight not only against Russia, but against the allies of Russia; not only with Turkey, but against the enemies of Turkey. And the first of these enemies, and the one most helplessly exposed to our strokes would be the Greece which Canning protected, and for which Byron died. The position of England and Russia was almost unprecedented in history. During the year preceding the present war we had acted with Russia in the most important part of her foreign policy. Russia and England both remonstrated against Bulgarian massacres. Russia and England both demanded the punishment of the

*Mr. Trevelyan*

perpetrators of those massacres. The Turks treated our remonstrances equally with those of Russia as waste-paper. England and Russia had acted together at the Conference. The Turks had thrown our proposals in both our faces. England and Russia had attempted a final settlement of affairs by the London Protocol; but, failing in this, at last Russia went to work to enforce demands which were the demands of England as well as her own; but demands which England was not willing itself to enforce. That war was now coming to an end. He believed, indeed, that if this ill-omened Vote were not upon the Table the war would have been at an end already. The question now was the compensation to Russia for the great loss of the hundreds of thousands of men and the tens of millions of money which she had spent in carrying out the decrees of Europe. He did not suppose that anybody in this country would express satisfaction at Russia gaining an increase of territory; but a general opinion prevailed that it would be unjust and ungenerous for us to step in at the eleventh hour and to tell Russia that she was not to have some solid advantage in return for all her sacrifices. That was the general feeling of the country at large. It was the wish of Lord Beaconsfield that Russia should have nothing. ["No, no!"] Well, then, he was unfortunate in his language, for he expressed that wish in the dangerous form of a sneer against the Sovereign of a sensitive and high-spirited people at a pro-Turkish demonstration—for the Guildhall banquet was nothing less than a pro-Turkish demonstration—in the presence of the Ambassador of the country with whom the Czar was at war. If the Russian Ministers had not been more careful of their tongues with regard to our own beloved Monarch we should have been at war long before now. This was not the first country that had learned how expensive it was to have a Prime Minister who made epigrams. If this Vote passed every epigram of Lord Beaconsfield outside would already have cost £1,000,000 sterling. The House knew how the Government of which Lord Beaconsfield was the head dealt with war in the past. The cost of the Abyssinian War was estimated at £3,000,000 or £4,000,000. Economists, who had an inkling of the truth, con-

tinually pressed the Government as to the cost that had been incurred, and were told over and over again that £4,000,000 would be rather under than over the mark. But 12 months later it became the disagreeable duty of the right hon. Member for the University of London to inform the House that, so far from falling short of £4,000,000, the expenditure amounted to very nearly £9,000,000. If the same munificent profusion and almost barbaric expenditure occurred on this occasion, for every £6,000,000 asked for £15,000,000 would be expended. He could not help remembering that it was promised that when Lord Beaconsfield got into office there would be an end to harassing and plundering. But already, he thought, the country would regret the unsensational foreign policy of Lord Granville, and the careful economy which was the rule under the Government of the right hon. Member for Greenwich. He would now turn to a topic which he knew was rather unpopular in that House. So far from having foreseen the expense of this war, he believed the majority of those who were urging the Government to enter upon it had not considered the nature of the war. If we fought for our own interests—for the Suez Canal, for instance, or the maintenance of our Empire in India—no doubt we should fight with great success. But if we had to fight in Bulgaria, we must remember that the Russia of 1854 was a very different country from the Russia of 1878. Russia then had no railways, and the consequence was that the troops were brought down to the scene of action in small and inadequate numbers. In 1854 we had the aid of one of the most powerful nations of the day, the base of our operation was on the sea, and yet the fortress we took cost us 20,000 lives lost in battle, and almost as many more by disease. We had not been at war many months before we were obliged to scrape up boys and colonists to fill the ranks with recruits. Now the condition of Russia was changed. Russia had railways, Russia had allies, Russia had a population of 80,000,000 of people, and, in addition, there were the 12,000,000 people for whose emancipation she was fighting, or who were fighting to emancipate their neighbours. We, on the other hand, should have no allies if we fought

Russia. The Turkish Regular Army was already defeated, and we should have nobody with us except those irregular soldiers, who would kill nobody but such of our soldiers as had been previously wounded. We should have to fight over again the war that had now been fought, and what, he asked, had been the expense? Each of the belligerents had lost 150,000 men, or 25,000 per month. Our recruiting only brought us in 29,000 in the course of a year. The Government should think very seriously before attempting to fight Russia on land. We could not compete on land with the great military Powers, because our energies were drawn out into so many channels. And now he would conclude. But before he did so he must ask the House whether, before they passed this Vote of Credit and Confidence, they had any special reason to think that the Ministry had been particularly frank and candid in their treatment of the House? Before the House passed a Vote of Confidence in them it would be right to see whether they had confidence in the House. During the last fortnight the Ministry had had nothing but peace on their lips, and yet they took a resolution which, in the opinion of at least one of their number, might have committed the country to war. On Wednesday it was determined to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles, and on Thursday the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down to the House and made an explanation which appeared to be thorough and complete; but he did not tell the House that the gravest resolution which could be taken had been taken, and such a one as had not been taken in England for 20 years. They were told there was unity in the Cabinet. They now knew that on the 2nd January an eminent Minister was severely condemned by Lord Beaconsfield in the Cabinet Council, and they all knew by experience in that House what a severe condemnation by Lord Beaconsfield was. On the 12th January, the same Minister expressed a very decided opinion against sending the Fleet into the Dardanelles, and on the 15th it was decided, in spite of his remonstrances, and in the teeth of his remonstrances, to adopt that resolution. On the 17th the Ministers went to the House of Lords, and there used expressions which convinced the

country that the Cabinet was united. Now it was possible that in the literal sense of those words that construction was not conveyed; but none the less was that construction put upon it by both political Parties, by all the newspapers, and by the commercial world, which had been awaiting the opening of Parliament with feverish eagerness in order to learn whether the Cabinet was united in favour of a peaceful policy. All he could say was that hitherto it had been the practice not only of English statesmen, but of Englishmen generally, to think only secondarily of the exact form of words they used, but primarily of the idea which those words would convey to those for whose information they were spoken; and, consequently, they would all be very careful before they passed a Vote which would place the voice of England at the disposal of Gentlemen who spoke so very unintelligibly with their own. We were not the only people who had been harassed and puzzled during the last few months; and when the history of these times came to be written, it would be found that Turkey had as grave an indictment to bring against some Members of our Government as ever a nation brought against individuals. In the first place, it was their diplomacy, backed up by sending the Fleet to Besika Bay, which prevented the Eastern Question being settled in a form that would have been acceptable to Europe. War broke out, and at the most critical moment of the war the Prime Minister made a speech which was considered by the pro-Turkish newspapers as a direct encouragement to Turkey. And how was this mystery to end? Would it end in the smoke of war, or in one of those bonfires of "tall talk" which had been so often lighted up at the expense of the British taxpayer to bewilder Europe and disturb our commerce, which was not in so flourishing a state already? He knew how this matter would end if the voice of the people of this great country were to be heard. In the boroughs, where the voice of the people could make itself heard, there was a majority of two to one in favour of peace; and, taking the whole of the constituencies, he was satisfied that there would be a large majority in favour of a consistent, clear, unmistakeable peaceful policy. It

was because the nation had not been, and would not be, appealed to, to say whether it wished its money to be poured out like water in order to prolong the agony of Turkey, and to rouse the ill-will of Russia in a quarrel that was none of England's, that he should give this proposal the most unflinching and unhesitating opposition.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: It is curious—it is even painful—to hear the perverse misrepresentation which still continues to characterize the speeches, I was almost going to say the opinions, of hon. Members opposite. We have just listened to the speech of the hon. Member opposite, and I am sorry to see that even he, able and accomplished as he is, is drifting into the same despairing position. What are we to do with such people? Why, they are blind leaders of the blind, and “none so blind as those who won't see.” The hon. Gentleman who has just sat down certainly did not appear to see the position in which we are placed at the present moment; and although I may pity his sorrows, I have no pity whatever for his follies; for his Party blunders in prosperity, and learns no lessons in adversity. The hon. Member referred to the speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) as being a careful and temperate speech, and I daresay it was a good speech, looked at from the point of view of the hon. Member. I, however, was very much disappointed with the speech of the hon. Member who has just sat down. I really expected better things from him. He told us that he had a great respect for the illustrious members of the family of Elliot, but that he had very little respect for the opinions of the Prime Minister. He said—“We want to know what is the policy of Lord Beaconsfield?” I should say of all people in this House who could not comprehend the policy of Lord Beaconsfield it would be the hon. Member who has just sat down. I hold in my hand a speech of the hon. Member, who is reported to have made it at a place called Selkirk, and I am really surprised that an intelligent Gentleman like him should want to know what the policy of Lord Beaconsfield is. At Selkirk he said—

“The terrible danger of the situation lies in this—that the man who is not only titular Prime Minister, but who is the most strong-willed,

audacious, and pertinacious of his Colleagues, in whose hands all but a very few (I am afraid only three) are nothing better than puppets, has never disguised his desire to plunge the nation into such a war as I have described.”

It would, therefore, be useless to communicate to the hon. Member what was the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, seeing that he has already formed his own view of it and is not likely to change that view. I entirely agree with what was said last night by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright)—namely, that this question lies in a very small compass. The question before the House is, shall we adopt the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Bradford, or shall we vote this Credit to the Government? Hon. Members opposite have spoken as though this Vote were the beginning of a vast expenditure. [*Cheers.*] Well, then, they are quite mistaken in thinking so. The intention in asking for this Vote is merely to provide for what may be necessary until the 31st of March, 1878. I should have thought that this House would in the present instance have followed the precedents that have been more than once set us, and would have passed this Vote *nomine contradicente*, seeing that the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) himself characterized the situation as critical, remarking that these were no ordinary times, and that on the next few days might depend the general peace of the world. In these circumstances, therefore, the Government might well have expected that this Vote would be passed *nomine contradicente*. But it appears that other councils—divided councils, I believe, have prevailed, and consequently we have the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman. I should have thought that the right hon. Gentleman, having been a Member of the Government of 1870, who themselves asked for and obtained a similar Vote, would have been one of the last to bring forward this Amendment. But even he, sound-minded and high-minded as he is, could not resist the temptation. The real truth is, that the success of their opponents has stimulated the appetite of hon. Members opposite for place. A good many hon. Members who have spoken have told us what they think of this Amendment. I will tell you what I think of it—and the opinion I am going to express is not my own, but it is



acknowledged by tens of thousands out-of-doors—they consider that this Amendment, brought forward at this critical moment, is an ungenerous attempt to embarrass the country, and to discredit and to throw dirt upon the Government of the Queen in the eyes of Europe. That I take to be the drift of this Amendment. It is the result of an agitation which a dissatisfied section of the community have been keeping up for a long time past. Placards have been posted up all over the country exciting the people against the Government, and we have had speeches and pamphlets enough for the most exorbitant appetites for agitation. It was only yesterday that I read the most extraordinary speech that has come under my notice. The right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) used this language with regard to the policy of the Government—it really has become almost a personal affair with the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman said—

“My purpose has been, with extremely inadequate means, and in a very mean and poor degree, but still to the best of my power, for the last 18 months, day and night, week by week, month by month, to counteract as well as I could what I believe to be the purpose of Lord Beaconsfield.”

The policy of Lord Beaconsfield I am not here to defend, neither am I here to defend the policy of the Cabinet—they can defend themselves very well; but this I will say—that it is evident upon the face of things that for the last 18 months the policy of Lord Beaconsfield has been the policy of the Cabinet, and the policy of the Cabinet has been the policy of the country. I am surprised that in these circumstances the borough of Bradford, which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) represents, has not followed the patriotic example of Sheffield and other places, and also of the City. When the right hon. Gentleman got up to-night to present a Petition, I expected to hear that it was from 20,000 inhabitants of Bradford in favour of his Amendment; but no! it was a Petition from Glasgow or some other town against the proposal of the Government. Some of us cannot have helped wondering why the right hon. Gentleman should have been put forward to move this Amendment. *The Times*, the other day, in a very sensible article, said—“The tactics of the Oppo-

sition are a matter of profound indifference to the public.” With that I agree; but the policy of the Opposition can never be a matter of indifference to the country. We expect Party feeling, and strong Party desires to take a share in the administration of this great country; but we expect also that those Party desires should not be carried to that excess which we have seen during the last two years. To judge by some of the speeches I have read, it would be really thought that the Government were bent on war; that, although they have disclaimed it a hundred times, they are pursuing a policy of treachery and revolvers. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford proceeded to analyze this Vote, and he did so under two heads—he spoke of it financially and politically. He said the demand was unnecessary and unprecedented. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich at Oxford, on Wednesday, called it “the most indefensible proposition ever in my time submitted to Parliament.” The right hon. Gentleman nods assent; but I happen to recollect that he used precisely the same words about the Divorce Bill; and yet everyone will admit that that Act did effect a considerable amount of good in some circles. The right hon. Member for Bradford says the proposal is unnecessary. Well, I think the Government are the best judges whether it is necessary or not. They say it is, and they ask the House to give it, and that is generally the way in which necessities of that kind are provided. Then the right hon. Gentleman says the Vote is unprecedented. He says the Government of 1870 took a Vote of Credit; but that was at the end of the Session, while this Vote of £6,000,000 is proposed at the beginning of the Session. Well, but the Government of 1870 could not have taken the Vote of Credit at the beginning of the Session, for Earl Granville, the Foreign Minister at the opening of that Session, said “there was a state of profound peace.” This must have been a *lapsus lingue*, I presume. The right hon. Gentleman said we took a Vote for 20,000 men; but that was not “a Vote to flourish about in the face of everyone—it was not a Vote to defend England or English interests.” We wanted it to defend Belgian interests. Now, really to suppose that that Vote of 20,000 men was not a Vote to defend, strictly speaking,

*Sir Robert Peel*

English interests, but, as the right hon. Gentleman says, Belgian interests—

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I did not say that the Vote was not to defend English interests, nor that it was to defend Belgian interests. I said it was to fulfil the obligations we were under to Belgium.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I did not mean that the right hon. Gentleman said it was not to defend English interests—that was only an expression of my own; but he said that Vote of 20,000 men was to defend Belgium if Belgium had been attacked by either Germany or France. Then the right hon. Gentleman said this is a “sham Estimate.” The hon. Gentleman who spoke last said it was not a “sham,” but a “war Estimate.” Whom are we to believe? The right hon. Gentleman then turns round and says—he is becoming quite an adept in vituperation—you have become the laughing-stock of Europe. He says—“I will not enter into the question of International Law, but I shall be followed by international lawyers”—I hope if we are to have international lawyers we shall only have one or two, for I do not know greater bores—“I shall be followed by international lawyers who will tell you that the Articles of the Treaties of 1856 and of 1871 do not apply to the present condition of things.” I should think Earl Granville, who was Foreign Secretary at that time, must look with distrust on such a statement.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I am very sorry to interrupt the right hon. Baronet. I did not say the Articles of the Treaties of 1856 and 1871 no longer applied. I simply said that one Article relative to the navigation of the Straits only applied when Turkey was at peace, and therefore did not apply when Turkey is at war.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I do not see that in the Treaty, and I read it carefully to-day. The right hon. Gentleman says he gave us the statement of the Plenipotentiaries at the time. No doubt the Emperor of Russia bound himself most solemnly to attend to the obligations of the Treaty. Prince Gortchakoff in October, 1870, says that—

“It is neither from England nor Russia that can arise the dangers which may menace the Ottoman Empire; that the two Cabinets have an equal desire to maintain its existence as long

as possible by allaying and by conciliating the differences between the Porte and the Christian subjects of the Sultan; and that, in the event of a decisive crisis presenting itself, despite these efforts, both are equally resolved to seek for its solution in a general agreement of the great European Powers.”

That is the deliberate statement of Prince Gortchakoff; and I am sure that Earl Granville, who was Foreign Minister in 1871, will be vastly interested and surprised if he can find any international lawyers to persuade him that the engagements he then thought he was making were literally of no value whatever. Several speakers, not having been so successful as they wished in other directions, have determined to make political capital out of one thing—and that is the Earl of Carnarvon. The Earl of Derby has disappointed them, and therefore they magnify the Earl of Carnarvon. It is very gratifying to see the interest which the Members of the late Cabinet take in a seceding Member of the present Cabinet. The right hon. Gentleman said—these are his words with reference to the Earl of Carnarvon—“It is quite clear that the noble Earl stood between the Government and a dangerous policy.” [Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Hear, hear!] What a pleasant sort of Colleague he must have been! No doubt he had been resigning for the last four or five months. This reminds me of what used to be said by Lord Palmerston of the right hon. Member for Greenwich. He was resigning so often that the country began to think nothing of it; but, at last, he was not satisfied until he did resign himself, with a large majority at his back. He was constantly resigning; therefore, the loss was not so great when the event did come. Notwithstanding all the right hon. Gentleman said against the Government—notwithstanding all his denunciations and those of other hon. Members—I do think the country take a bolder view of the policy of the Government. I believe they see in that policy both prudence and honesty of purpose, notwithstanding all the denunciations which have been uttered against them for a long time past. I must admit there are many people in this country who have thought and do think that there are grounds for fear in their policy—that this Vote implies a threat of war. The hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) called it a

war Vote. I remember that last night a right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. John Bright) expressed his belief that the Vote was one framed with the intention of rivetting the chains upon the Christian subjects of Turkey. I, on the other hand, think the proposal involves no menace of war; but is solely and only made with a view of enabling the Government, with a bold front and a strong arm, to labour in the interests of peace. As was said last night, their policy has been entirely directed in the direction of this object, and this only. This is shown in many ways. Mr. Layard, in his despatch to the Earl of Derby, written in May last, put it very concisely when he said—

“Since my arrival in Constantinople my main object has been to prepare the way for peace, and I have thought, in so doing, I should best carry out the wishes and intentions of the Government.”

All the despatches in all the Blue Books breathe the same language; and I believe the policy of the Government may be broadly stated to be this—it means, and has meant all through, to persevere in the neutrality which they have hitherto observed, and that they will not depart from that neutrality until it shall be indispensable as an act of self-defence. The hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt), in a speech recently delivered, expressed his opinion that there was in the country a mischievous and inflammatory party desirous to urge the Government into war. Let me tell the House where that party is to be found. Last year the hon. and learned Member for Sheffield (Mr. Roebuck) taunted the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich—and the House cheered it to the echo—with a desire to involve England in a war in company with Russia as against Turkey. What a pretty mess we should have found ourselves in if the policy with which the right hon. Gentleman was credited had been acted upon! The hon. and learned Member for Oxford had said only the day before yesterday, when seconding the right hon. Member for Greenwich, that he lamented that England could not claim the glory of having shared with Russia in the work of promoting religious liberty. But this meant, if it meant anything, that the hon. and learned Gentleman lamented the fact of England not having shared

in the frightful massacres that occurred in Bulgaria from the benevolent protection of Russia. The hon. and learned Gentleman represents the inflammatory party, for I cannot understand anyone, unless he wished for war, suggesting that England should take up arms with Russia for the protection of people whose status involved the independence of Turkey. Last night the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham truly said that he hoped the experiences of 1854-56 had not been lost in this House. They certainly have not. I remember that the voices of then powerful Ministers urged England to go to war for the independence and integrity of Turkey; and I remember further that much of what was said caused me to come to the determination never again to vote for a proposal the effect of which could possibly be to enable England to go to war in support of what was called the independence and integrity of Turkey. But the times have changed. I well remember—indeed, I never can forget—the immortal Parliamentary eloquence of the right hon. Gentleman, now Member for Birmingham, during those debates. No record of those speeches can ever convey an adequate idea of the emotion and effect they created in this House. I was a young Member. I remember how I hung upon his lips and was entranced by the utterances of his impassioned soul. I determined from that time that never again would I ever give a vote in favour of war to support the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire. I often think of those times, having now sat in this House for nearly 30 years—of those poor fellows whose bones lie bleaching on Sebastopol's inhospitable plain, men who at the call of duty forsook all the endearments of home, and sacrificed their lives in the vain hope of curbing the ungodly lust of power of a semi-barbarous despot. I vowed then, and have often vowed since, that never again would I support a war for maintaining the integrity and independence of Turkey. But these are very different times. No Government would endeavour to promote such a war, and the country would never tolerate it. While, however, we are all against going to war for Turkey we cannot disguise the fact that there are questions of immense importance

now raised in the South-east of Europe which must affect European policy. The keystone of South-eastern Europe is—to quote from the admirable speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other night—in process of removal. The state of things which we have for centuries been engaged in maintaining is being made the theatre of great modifications. The Government have a most difficult and arduous task in dealing with the upheaving of a position which has so long been maintained partly, if not mainly, by the influence of this country. I was sorry to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer say one thing. He said, in effect, that it was hardly to be expected that Russia would not ask for something in the way of territorial indemnity; but Russia has told us all through that she did not intend to ask for anything of the kind. [“No, no!” “Where?”] The Czar of Russia said he required nothing like an indemnity or compensation. Russia, of course, is not consulting her national interests; she fights only in order that civil and religious liberty may be accorded to the Christian subjects of the Porte. Yet the first thing she asks is that Roumania should cede back Roumanian Bessarabia. She asks for Kars, for Batoum, for Armenia. They are nothing, if you like. She asks for them, though she gave England to understand that, in the patriotic excitement of her people, she would not seek her own material interest. I cannot, in the face of this, understand the speech of the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll), who, in “another place,” on Thursday last, said he should be shocked by an assertion that Russia was fighting for her own material interests, and followed his assertion by asking what could be “*baser*” than for the Prime Minister to hold that were our own interests to be attacked we should be bound to protect them with the sword? I do not call that a very patriotic sentiment. I am sure the country would not take that view. In the year 1853, Lord Palmerston, writing to Lord Clarendon, said that the policy of the Russian Government, in furtherance of its practice to push forward its encroachments as fast and far as the apathy or want of firmness of other Governments would allow, was to use moderate language and disinterested professions at St. Petersburg and London, and active aggres-

sion by its agents on the scene of operations. This is my view. I must say, speaking honestly and fairly, I have a great distrust of Russia. The record of the Treaties of 1856, 1870, and 1871 clearly show to this country that we cannot depend upon what Russia may promise. It is said she is fighting not for her material interests, but for religion's sake and for civil and religious liberty. A despot fighting for civil and religious liberty! No, no, that will not do. Civil and religious liberty are sacred words in this country—emblems of peace and good will, which have illustrated the career of statesmen, and which still illumine with a celestial flame the troublesome paths of this world. But to say that Russia is fighting for civil and religious liberty—no, I cannot allow it. Well, it is said that Russia is fighting for religion. Have any of us, let me ask, been in the regions which have been devastated and destroyed within the last few months? Go there and see the desolation and destruction which have resulted from famine and the sword. See how they have polluted the fairest gardens of the East, and turned the smiling valleys of the Balkans into ruinous heaps, and then tell me that Russia is fighting for religion only, for civil and religious liberty, and I am tempted to declaim that magnificent line of Lucretius—

“*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.*”

Sir, I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham is going to vote for this Resolution. He did not say last night whether he would vote or not; but this I can say—that I shall vote for it myself, and I am sure it will also be supported by a large majority in this House. That, however, in my opinion, is not sufficient. A majority in Parliament has been proved in our Constitutional history not to be sufficient for a Government unless public opinion out-of-doors is at its back. In our Parliamentary history we have two very notable instances of that. When Lord Bute was in power, in the teeth of an unbroken majority, he was driven from office by the force of public opinion, and by the outburst of popular hatred; and Mr. Pitt, when he was at the zenith of his power as Minister—at a time when there was war between Russia and Turkey—was re-

fused by the House of Commons a Vote of money which was asked for, with a view to support Russia. These are two notable cases; but, as regards Her Majesty's Government, I believe that public opinion is with them in this matter. And why do I say so? Because, as we are all aware, the country knows perfectly well that the aims and exertions of Her Majesty's Government have all been directed to the procuring of peace. We have been told that the weakness of England is the great extent of her dominion; but that the strength of England can only be measured by the power she possesses to make use of it. Sir, it is that strength and that power we want placed in the hands of Her Majesty's Government at this juncture, in order that they may use it for English interests and in the interests of peace. A great deal has been said about Russian sympathies and Russian influences in this country. My sympathies—except those which I have in common with everybody in the country for suffering humanity—are only and solely in favour of the honour and power, the prestige and the character of our country. These are what I want to see maintained in the face of Europe; and I am satisfied that if the House of Commons are not prepared—as I believe they are—to give their support in a very ample manner to the Government on this Motion, I say I am satisfied there is a power out-of-doors still stronger to which an appeal would not be made in vain. And, further, I am convinced that that appeal would have no other effect than to put a tongue in every heart in England, to excite the patriotism of the country, and to ensure to the Government that increased confidence and power which the miserable tactics of Party faction would be unable to destroy.

MR. LOWE: I have, Sir, to congratulate the House, if so humble a person

being horrified by the details of misery and desolation to which we have recently been accustomed. I have no right, perhaps, to make the observation; but I confess that it would have given me pleasure if I had heard some congratulation of the kind from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Leader of the House. It may be that he thinks it premature to indulge in such congratulation; but I cannot myself doubt the information he has given us, and that a Treaty of Peace has either been signed or will be signed immediately. It is the one subject on which, in our differences, we may be and ought to be united. Of course, such information coming upon me suddenly, I can hardly pretend to say what difference it may make in my argument; but at present it seems to strengthen extremely the case of those on this side of the House. There is no doubt that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked for this money there was a double purpose for which it might be applied. First, it might have been necessary for taking steps to vindicate the neutrality of England in the war between Turkey and Russia; and, secondly, it might have been required in order to increase the influence of England in the contemplated European Conference. Now, as to any question of active hostility, and, therefore, any demand for money for immediate emergencies, the case is closed, inasmuch as the armistice has been signed. Consequently, if the Government make out a case at all it must depend entirely on whether the House is convinced that there is a necessity for the Vote so that our hands might be strengthened in the Conference. What I propose to do, with the permission of the House, is to show whether this Grant ought to be made; and in order to do so I will point out to the House how it came to pass that the Grant was ever asked for. The history of the matter is a curious one, and will

may be in their power. So long as these conditions are not infringed, my attitude will continue the same."

Nothing could be more satisfactory or clear than that. But the Speech went on to say—

"But I cannot conceal from myself that, should hostilities be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence may render it incumbent on me to adopt measures of precaution. Such measures could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation, and I trust to the liberality of my Parliament to supply the means which may be required for that purpose."

So that the Queen's Speech was directed entirely to the case of a breach of neutrality, and the money which would be asked for would be devoted to protecting England against a breach of neutrality. Now, however, that ground is absolutely cut away by the news we have received this evening. The ground on which the Government asks for the Vote is, therefore, entirely gone, and if the Motion is to be supported, it must be on grounds which were not in the minds of the Government or of the House at the commencement of the Session. Then, again, the Chancellor of the Exchequer informed us that until the Government had received the Russian demands and conditions, they would have no proposal to make as to money. At the present moment we not only know the Russian demands and conditions, but those demands and conditions seem to have assumed the form of an armistice; and that, again, appears to strengthen the view that the grounds which may have existed for asking for the money have utterly gone. On the Wednesday following the announcement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to which I have referred, the Government thought fit, for reasons which I will not go into now, to order the Fleet to go into the Dardanelles, with the view, as was said, of clearing the waterway and protecting British interests. Her Majesty had called Parliament together with the view of having the advice and assistance of Par-

the belligerents. The strictest secrecy was enjoined. The next day the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down to the House, and gave Notice for a grant of money, and the reasons he gave for it could leave no doubt that it was intended as the sequence and part of the—I will not say hostile, but the active—step taken when the English Fleet was sent into the Dardanelles. No notice was given to us. The fact was concealed from us about the Fleet; and not only was the fact concealed from us altogether, reasons were given which, to say the least, were far from satisfactory. We were told that the reason this money was asked for was because Russia was making rapid advances and the Treaty of Peace was not signed. I maintain, on the strength of what we now know, that in giving that reason the Government were not dealing fairly and candidly with the House. If the right hon. Gentleman chose not to give any reason that was another matter; but if he undertook to give a reason for it, I think he ought to have given the full and true reason. That, however, was not done, and so the matter remained. If the Fleet was only to keep the waterway open and protect British interests, why was the matter kept such a profound secret? Why was not Russia taken into our council? If it was to protect humanity, an arrangement surely might have been made; but the strictest secrecy was enjoined and nothing was known about it. The next step was—for some reason or other, and I am sorry to say I cannot tell the reason—the Fleet was withdrawn from the Dardanelles. I say I cannot tell; because, so far as I can see, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary are in direct opposition to each other in the reasons they give. The Home Secretary says that the Fleet was withdrawn because it was believed the terms of peace had been settled. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech in introducing the Vote, said it was one of the errors

how to reconcile these two things. I do not. I have given the words I took down from his lips. I have no doubt it is capable of explanation; or, perhaps, it is not capable of explanation—that is, that is one of these mistakes which will arise. I have quoted the matter to show how necessary it is to have a little charity in public affairs. Two Gentlemen, neither of whom would be capable of anything but direct and fair dealing, appear on the first sight to contradict each other on a matter upon which they must both be well informed; but with regard to which, if I were to use the language of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Cross), I might say a “lying spirit” prevails. I will not say that I believe there has been a mistake somewhere; but it inculcates upon my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary a little charity and moderation. Then this is the state in which things were. The Fleet was suddenly called back, without having had the opportunity of doing anything, and this was met by the resignation of two Secretaries of State. It has been said that Lord Derby wrote an excellent despatch in regard to neutrals—a despatch which everybody was content to be bound by; and then it is asserted by the Home Secretary, I think, that that despatch has never been infringed. That is, perhaps, a matter to be decided by authority, and I quote the Minister (the Earl of Derby) who resigned his office because he considered the Government had infringed it; and he not only resigned because he thought so, he consented to return to office, and he still retains office, holding the opinion that that proceeding was utterly unjustifiable. There is, too, the case of the Earl of Carnarvon, who has not seen fit to return. The object I have in view is to show the House what position the Government had arrived at at the time. It had already given Notice in the Queen’s Speech that money would be called for. Then it wavered, then it gave the fresh orders recalling the Fleet, then this expedition, which no doubt would have been put forward to us as the grounds why this money was to be voted, vanished into thin air, and then all that remained was this unhappy Vote. What was to be done with that? In the position of things what could they do with it? It was confronting them, looking them hard in the face; how could they get rid of it? They could

not say they asked for it on account of the advance of Russia, or the concealment of the terms of peace. It would not do to say they wanted it for that, or in order to assist our operations in the Dardanelles. What was the reason? I can understand what sort of a deliberation it was. I can understand people asking—“What shall we hang it upon?” One would say—“Let us take it as money given in order to secure neutrality.” I can imagine another saying—“*Connu, connu*, we can’t have that dodge over again.” I fancy I see the Chancellor of the Exchequer or somebody else rising at the end of a long and wearisome discussion, and saying—“I have discovered the remedy. It is quite true we have put it out of our power to say anything about the severe conditions of neutrality, because we have been the first to break them by sending the Fleet into the Dardanelles. That will never do.” But true genius is only found in great difficulties; and I have no doubt that it occurred to some one to say—“After all, we have worked out the idea of getting the money for the purpose of interfering between the belligerents. But the future is always open to us. This war cannot last for ever, and when it comes to a conclusion there must necessarily be a Conference, and when there is a Conference it is desirable that we cut a very imposing figure, and in order that we may cut an imposing figure, ask for a Vote of Confidence.” In other words—“We will work the confidence trick.” I have no doubt that that was the reason which prompted them. I believe it is simply and solely an effort to get rid of the disagreeable and uncomfortable obligation which has been thrown upon the Government because they chose, instead of pursuing a plain and open course, to violate the neutrality they were bound to observe, and draw back from their declaration of neutrality. If that is the case, the question arises, what are we to do with this Vote? If it is a Vote which came into existence in this manner, is it right, is it fair in the circumstances, that we should be asked to support it? What possible reason can be given why we should support it? I will take the arguments as they are given. We are to vote this because it is necessary that those who go into the Conference should be strong, and because it

is necessary that the Government should speak with the full force of England. And, therefore, we are called upon, in order to show that we are strong, and that England entirely approves of the action of the Government, to pass this Vote. If there is any justice in any of the things I have pointed out, it is almost impossible for us on this side to approve of the action of the Government. Unless there can be given some explanation infinitely more satisfactory than anything that has been put before us, I, for one, if you put me to torture, could not say I approved the conduct of the Government. It is extremely hard that, because the Government gets itself into this scrape, it should put us in such a dilemma that we are called upon to express a confidence we do not feel because they deem it necessary on patriotic grounds to wrest it from us. There are things a Government has a right to demand from us; there are sacrifices I would make to support a Government to which, unfortunately, I am opposed. I do not say that the Government asks for a general Vote of Confidence; it does much worse—it asks the Committee to participate in a course of vulgarity and snobbishness. It says—"We want to say we are strong, and the way is to show how rich we are; we therefore ask for £6,000,000"—if it were £60,000,000 it would be all the same, so far as I can see—"which is to be at the disposal of the Government for two months; and that is to prove our strength. It does not follow," as the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "that a single shilling will be spent; all the Powers of Europe will be frightened by the mere fact of our being empowered to spend it; and so we shall have our own way in the Conference, and shall be enabled to rehabilitate the fallen Turkish power." It is an abuse of the powers of Government to put before us such a proposition. They have a perfect right—at least, one must concede it, they being the stronger—to deal with our money, to trample upon us, to torment us, to out-vote us; but there is one thing they have no right to do, and that is to make us do what no gentleman could think of doing without repugnance. They have no right to put us in the position of the "*Bourgeois Gentilhomme*," rattling the money in our pockets to show how rich we are. Such a degradation transcends

the limits allowed to a Parliamentary majority. Not only have they no right to make us act in a manner unbecoming English gentlemen, but I do not think it is fair upon us that we should be made extremely ridiculous. I am prepared to make many sacrifices for the country; of course, everyone is prepared to die for it; but everyone is not prepared to make himself a laughing-stock to all mankind. And it involves nothing less than we should really seek to frighten five great military Powers, not by arms, not by levies, not by the collection or raising of money; but by the mere possibility of raising money, which may be applied in some unknown manner, if it be possible to scrape it up or to make an excuse for doing it, and that within less than two months, because the frightening period cannot begin until the Conference meets. It has not met yet. Observe another thing about this theory of imparting supernatural power by granting millions of money. By March 31 the spell will be spent. Only think of the miserable position of our Minister in the Conference at midnight on the 31st of March or the 1st of April. The position of Samson when his last locks were falling off under the shears of Delilah would be nothing to it. He will say—

"But yesterday, the word of Caesar might  
Have stood against the world;"

but now 'tis 12 o'clock! I go further, and maintain, with some plausibility, not only that they have no right to make us vulgar and ridiculous, but they have no right to enlist our sympathies in a cause which is utterly futile. No man except the Prime Minister can really imagine that five great military Monarchies—any one of which can put into the field five times as many men as we can—are to be terrified, not because we have resorted to a conscription or a levy *en masse*, or any preparation for desperate resistance; but because we have put it into the power of the Government to spend a certain sum of money during a period of two months. I do not undervalue the capacity and good sense of hon. Gentlemen opposite; and I have too good an opinion of them to think that they would propose anything so utterly preposterous and ridiculous if it had not been that I could trace the motive in the manner I have done to the miserable necessity they were under of



doing something. By the two totally different versions given of their intentions, they have entirely overreached themselves. As far as I know, this Vote is one without precedent; if I am wrong, I can be set right by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has access to the best information. Everybody knows how we proceed on such occasions. In military matters we begin with men; we treat all other matters as depending upon the number of men; and, having determined that, then follows the stores and arms necessary for them. I cannot understand voting so much for the Army, Navy, and other matters with absolute discretion to the Government to do as they please. Instead of frightening Plenipotentiaries when they are assembled, I think you will frighten anyone who has any respect for the British Constitution, if it has come to be accepted as a principle that whenever we want to bolster ourselves up in the eyes of foreign countries we are to say it is a question of a Vote; if it is a small difficulty, that £3,000,000 will probably frighten them; if it is a bigger difficulty, it may require £5,000,000, and if it is a very large one, it may be £20,000,000. If this sort of thing is to go on, you will make wreck of your finances in no time. There never will be a time when the Government will not want its hands strengthened by grants of money. I entirely protest against being drawn into this matter. It is not a question of patriotism with me. I think in some cases a Government may fairly ask for much from us; but this is past all the limits of human patience; and no people who view the thing as I do, can possibly acquiesce in it. I would really hope it is not too late for the right hon. Gentleman to re-consider the question. What we have heard this evening renders the matter less pressing than ever; and can it be worth the while of the Government to force the matter further, as they undoubtedly can in their omnipotence and with their command over their own side? They might command this side also if it were a case in which the honour and the interests of the country were concerned; but for what honour or interest they are going to make this country contemptible and supremely ridiculous I cannot imagine. I will not go into the question of peace or war. I trust there is good sense

enough—I will not say sense of the ridiculous enough—here to enable us to laugh this thing out of the House. I think the Government could very easily dispense with this Vote. I think they want—and it is a very proper thing for them to want—to have a united England when they go into the Congress. No desire is more legitimate, and there is none we ought to make more sacrifices for. The way to obtain unity is exceedingly simple. It is not to be done with silver and gold, nor yet with iron. The reason you are in difficulties in going into the Conference is because you know well that a very considerable part of the intellect, of the education, of the wealth of England is against anything that would tend to keep up this detestable abomination of Turkish domination in Eastern Europe. So recently as the 25th of December it has been said that the Government undertakes to get the best terms it can for Turkey. What does that mean? The best terms for Turkey are the worst possible terms for the wretched people they have misgoverned. Whenever the Prime Minister has a chance, he always does something to let it be thought that his opinions and those of the great majority of the people of this country are against the delivery of these wretched populations. He did it a year and a half ago in the celebrated speech about a second and a third campaign. This year his tone implied disbelief in the word of the Emperor, and was in the highest degree unbecoming. I would suggest a simple remedy. Muzzle your Prime Minister. If you cannot do that, let it be at once understood that in these frisky hours he does not represent the opinions of the Government. If you want the people of England to be united, consider their feelings and wishes. Do not look at the matter in such a stiff, stately, and buckram manner as you do. Consider that you are dealing with flesh and blood. Think the people's thoughts; use their language; and lead them to understand that, instead of giving everything grudgingly and unwillingly, as they are apt to imagine, you are their leaders, to lead them in the course they wish. It is not an unreasonable course. They wish for freedom, for liberation from misery and suffering to a large class of people. You yourselves share their feelings, and why will you be at such

pains to make everybody believe you are hostile to this course? If you only do that you may, indeed, do what the Chancellor of the Exchequer most justly wished should be done—you may go into the Congress with a united England behind you, and speak with a weight you will not attain even if you get liberty to spend £100,000,000.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY observed that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward this Motion on Monday he treated it as a subject of grave importance. It seemed to him that when a statement was made by a responsible Minister of the Crown that this Vote should be granted, it was hardly consistent with the dignity of the House and the gravity of this question to meet the proposal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with an Amendment saying it should not be acceded to because that would increase the financial burdens of the people. Much as he was in favour of economical administration, he thought it was not right to oppose the Vote on that ground. A Motion of this kind ought to have been met by a direct Vote of Want of Confidence. Had such a step been taken he knew how it would have been met, and what would have been the answer of the House. He hoped that when the division took place Europe would be convinced that England was in earnest, and that her earnestness originated out of a desire to secure a satisfactory peace. He hoped, furthermore, it would show that she was thoroughly prepared to defend her own interests. Turkey being now in a condition which would not serve our purposes, should we trust Russia to settle the destinies of people in the Turkish Provinces? He was willing to give Russia every credit for good intentions; but it needed all our charity to put a favourable construction upon the course of Russia during the last month. He thought there could be but one answer to the question. We were not prepared to leave Russia to settle the matter. The wisest course we could take was to say we would not let things go by chance—that we had a definite policy, that we were prepared to maintain the engagements which this and other countries had entered into, and would insist that England and Europe should have a voice in the settlement of this important question, and the securing of the peace of

Europe for some time to come. The Government were perpetually called upon to say what they were afraid of, and why they asked for this money. When the facts of the case which the Government could make out against Russia were stated, the danger would be that they would so inflame the minds of the people of this country that they would not listen to reason on the matter of peace or war, and something might happen to force the hands of the Government and bring about that war which we were all so desirous of avoiding. The Government had been attacked; but it was to be borne in mind that they had all along been placed in a very awkward and difficult position. They came into office inheriting the old traditions of the Foreign Office, one of which was that Turkey was to be kept as a bulwark against Russia. But all of a sudden the conscience of the people seemed to wake up, and they said—"We won't keep up Turkey any more." It was extremely difficult for the Government to adapt themselves to that altered state of things; but everybody must admit that they had kept us out of war up to the present time. He believed the House and the country would be ready to consider everything that might be fairly advanced by Russia with regard to terms and the compensation she might ask for her sufferings and losses. Certainly the terms which were read out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other night sounded very large; but the country would be anxious to discuss them dispassionately so far as they did not militate against justice and right, and to settle the question of peace on a permanent basis. As to the point which was put before the House last night by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) relative to the Dardanelles, no one in common fairness could dispute that Russia had a real cause of complaint. If we were not driven to point out what the action had been which had driven the Government to ask for this Vote—for that could not be done without danger of the war feeling being pushed to extremity—we might look to a happy termination of the troubles which had so long oppressed that portion of Europe. He did not agree on many points with the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan); but he did agree with him

that it was England's interest that this question should be put on a permanent basis—not on such a basis that we might be saved from embarrassment for some ten years to come; but that it should be settled once for all in the interest of England and of Europe, and that contentment, justice, and prosperity might be the lot of those fair lands to which that boon had so long been denied.

Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN said, he had listened with the greatest pleasure to the able and temperate speech of his hon. Friend who had just sat down, who had given a tone to the debate it did not before possess. He listened to speeches last night the beginning and the end of which was peace, but their inside was as full of powder as a fish torpedo. He quite admitted that an Empire such as ours might require at some time or other to be defended by the sword; and if such an occasion should arise the Government appealing to the country in such a cause would be speaking in the name of united England. But he asked himself, was England now united? We, he feared, required a new definition for the term unanimity. Ten days ago we were told that the Government was united; but now we were informed by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) that for the last month two Members of the Cabinet had been in a chronic state of resignation. Was the country, then, unanimous in support of this policy? It appeared to him to be unanimous the other way. There was scarcely a town in England from which remonstrances against this Vote had not arrived. It was all very well to say that this was a mob agitation. He had observed that whenever out-of-door agitation, though carried on by the greatest scamps and scoundrels in the country, was in favour of the Government, it was the voice of the nation; but if it was against them it was mob agitation and the work of a "lying spirit." The hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. C. B. Denison) had said he did not mean to be governed by a mobocracy. For his own part, he would be disposed to agree with him, but then he would include under the name of mobocracy even an assemblage at the Guildhall under the Lord Mayor of London. In Perth and Leith the candidates opposed to this Vote had defeated the candidates in favour of it

by 3 to 1; and in Greenock his hon. Friend had defeated a Conservative opponent with a Liberal and Radical thrown into the scale. This House of Commons had not been elected to decide on questions of peace or war; and until an appeal was made to the country he should continue to believe that the heart of England was not with this Vote. With regard to the Russian terms of peace, he asked was it right and patriotic of the Home Secretary to have said things about the Emperor of Russia which no common jury in England would be allowed to assume against a defendant in a matter in which only a few pounds were at stake? It might now fairly be assumed that the delay in signing the terms of peace was due to military, diplomatic, and political difficulties which had arisen. It was exactly a fortnight since the Chancellor of the Exchequer assured us in the most solemn terms that nothing had occurred to call for the Vote of Credit foreshadowed in the Speech from the Throne; and therefore if anything had occurred it must have occurred since then. In one sense, a great deal had occurred since then. In the first place, we have been on the verge of war. Indeed, he was not sure that we had not been at war without knowing it. Some of his hon. Friends held that, though we had not declared war, we had made war without declaring it. We had sent our Fleet into the Dardanelles and called it back again—a proceeding which reminded him of what had been once done by a King of France—

"The British Fleet, with twenty thousand men, Steamed up the Straits, and then—steamed down again."

It was said that Russia desired to have a *quid pro quo*. She desired a war indemnity, no doubt, as Germany had desired it when she exacted it from France and held a material guarantee until the indemnity was paid. He could not express his gratification at the thought that the gallant State of Montenegro should have gained the independence for which it had so bravely fought. With regard to Servia, he was not concerned to defend her; but surely they did not want £6,000,000 to deal with that part of the question. Austria was much more interested in respect to it than we were, and yet she was not adding £6,000,000 to her Budget. With regard to the formation of Bulgaria into

*Sir John Kennaway*

an autonomous State, under a Russian Prince—who now turned out to be as apocryphal as the Russian princes who used to be met at Homburg and Baden-Baden—he thought that was the very object for which they had all desired before the breaking out of the war. Mr. Layard, indeed, said it would be the destruction of the Turkish Empire; but the destruction of the Turkish Empire was a process which had been going on for many years past. The case of Turkey in Europe was not merely that of the sick man—she was dead, and it was vain to try to resuscitate her. They had been endeavouring to galvanize a corpse. Even if they were to guarantee Turkey now—pressed as she was on the one side by the Slav race and on the other by rising Hellenic nationalities fired with new ambition—she would fall to pieces in two years. Russia, with all her faults, had the germs of national, municipal, and communal life; but where was the national life of Turkey? If we put, in the place of a dying Power a young, vigorous nationality, of whom we could make a friend, and with whom we could act in concert, that would be the best course to adopt for British interests. The British Government wanted to go to the Conference with cheque-book in one hand and a loaded revolver in the other. For what? To make themselves look respectable? If every nation did the same the Conference would be a forest of bayonets. With reference to the question of the Dardanelles, to talk of the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan settling it between them was very like sheer nonsense. It was a European question, and it must be settled by European opinion. But there was a feeling growing up in Europe that England was playing her own hand, and they might call it independence, but it looked very like isolation. Yet, within the last few days, a report had prevailed that this money was required, not to back up England, but to re-assure Austria. Well, he said, that the interests of Austria and those of England, were not the same. We ought to be aware of entangling alliances, or of allowing ourselves to drift into war. It was easy to generate and to foster national animosities. Formerly, Englishmen and Frenchmen regarded each other as natural enemies. Thank God! that miserable feeling had passed away. But it seemed

that exactly the same thing, or something very like it, was arising in regard to Russia. Surely two great nations, bound together, not only by dynastic alliances, but by a common interest, and which ought to be the pioneers of civilization in the East—where there was room for them both—were created for better things than to cut each other's throats? Men talked glibly of throwing 10,000 blue-jackets into Gallipoli, just as 14 years ago they talked glibly of throwing 30,000 red-jackets into Düppel; but the first shot that was fired between England and Russia would kindle Europe into a blaze, and then their £6,000,000 would be found to go a very little way. Yet, though very little, indeed, for the purposes of a war, that sum was a heavy price to pay for a Vote of Confidence which they did not altogether feel. Moreover, at present, in his part of the country, the springs of industry were almost dried up; the iron trade was nearly gone; scarcely a coal mine paid its way; and the people were in a state of great misery and privation. And when he thought of such Votes, and the starving children, and the poor creatures huddled together at the workhouse door or trudging barefoot through slush and snow to receive their scanty pittance he could not bring himself to support a Vote that was either wantonly extravagant or ridiculously inadequate.

MR. BALFOUR said, that in his opinion, hon. Gentlemen opposite had not shown any consciousness of the gravity of the step they were about to take. While admitting that the Vote before the House, not through any action of the Government, but because of the very nature of the case, involved the question of confidence, he would appeal to the supporters of the Amendment to say whether they desired the Amendment to be carried, or if it was a patriotic course to pursue to try to turn their opponents out of office in the present very grave position of affairs, when they must know that there was no chance whatever of their being able to replace them in the event of their appealing, as they necessarily would do, to the verdict of the country. He contended that they had one of the two objects in view—either they really desired that the Amendment should be carried, which would have the effect of turning out the only Government which could possibly

carry on public Business; or else they did not desire this, in which case it was a mere paper Amendment, which they thought it good policy to flourish in the face of the country. It could not be said that the proposal of the Government was, on the face of it, extravagant. Russia was known to be ambitious; she was not known to be very scrupulous; and it would hardly be maintained that this demand for £8,000,000 was an outrageous one, seeing that from one end of the Continent to the other men's minds were agitated by rumours of war, and that there was hardly a nation from Denmark to Greece which was not arming, preparing to arm, or which had not already armed. The feeling by which hon. Gentlemen opposite were influenced seemed to be a survival of the feeling shown by the country in 1876-1877; but circumstances had entirely changed since that agitation had occurred. The Power which perpetrated the outrages which had horrified Europe which had defied the Great Powers at the Conference was now as much blotted out as the Turkey that formerly threatened the liberties of Europe and marched its armies to the very gates of Vienna. Every argument which did not take account of this; every argument, he might almost add, which was of older date than three weeks was, therefore, an anachronism; since the Ottoman Power—the persecutor of its Christian subjects—was really no more, and the basis on which so much of the agitation of the last 18 months was founded no longer existed. When, therefore, foreign nations saw that the efforts to hamper the foreign policy of the Government continued when the avowed objects of those efforts had by the mere march of events ceased to exist, they could only put one interpretation on the conduct of the Opposition. They would say that its real motive throughout had been a cowardly horror of war—that so long as a decent cloak could be found for this in general philanthropy, philanthropy was the order of the day; but that when this failed some other excuse was seized upon, drawn either from an ill-timed economy or the minutiae of Constitutional precedent. If such an idea really prevailed on the Continent nothing could exaggerate its danger, and he was very much afraid that it would lead to a state of things which would make war inevitable.

*Mr. Balfour*

Much had been said about the absurdity of our going armed into the Conference; but he would ask those who spoke thus what ground except our strength had we to justify our interference in the affairs of any other country than our own? Our real title to take any such step laid, not in the fact that we had a sort of historic right to do so, but because it was undoubtedly the fact that we were a Great Power. A Great Power was not a Power which had a command of fine sentiments, but a Power which could be dangerous to its enemies, useful to its friends, and which possessed great resources which it could and would use. If we ceased to possess these qualities, we might, indeed, attend the Conference; but the mere fact that we had been once a Great Power would give us no weight there. In a Conference affairs were not settled as in a Gas Committee, by a majority of voices, but by the comparative influence derived ultimately and not very remotely from the material power of the nations who took part in it. Refusing, therefore, to our Delegates the weight which the Vote now asked for was calculated to give them, in their endeavours to bring about a satisfactory and durable peace, hon. Gentlemen opposite seemed to him to be incurring a grave responsibility, and he did most earnestly ask them to consider whether the Amendment they had announced their intention of supporting was not calculated to produce exactly the opposite effects to those which they desired.

Mr. W. CARTWRIGHT said, he had taken no part in what was called the agitation in regard to this question. He had, however, tried to the best of his ability to ascertain the nature of the Vote which was submitted to the House, and of the reasons urged against it. It was, in his opinion, a Vote of immediate Confidence based on recent occurrences that was asked from the House. He had had very great difficulty in making up his mind as to how he should vote; but the small Correspondence presented to the House since the opening of the Session had supplied him with data which had led him to a conclusion that would sway his vote on the present occasion in support of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). They had heard a great deal about "British interests," and beyond doubt there were

interests which, in the present political juncture, might be touched in a sense adverse to the interests of this country; but the Ministers of the Crown, and notably the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had also recognized the fact that amongst these interests many affected other nations of the Continent; and which, therefore, were to be regarded as general European interests. In dealing with these interests, therefore, there should be concert and co-operation, and it was of capital importance that, in the present critical state of affairs, this country should be prepared to take its share in such concert and co-operation with the Great Powers. He searched, however, in vain through that Correspondence for any evidence as to the co-operation with the other States of Europe, and he was forced to the conclusion that there was not the agreement which ought to exist between Her Majesty's Government and the Governments of the other Great Powers. With regard to the policy of Her Majesty's Government, the basis of which he should define as conditional neutrality, by which he understood absolute impartiality, subject strictly to certain conditions not being infringed, the point of real importance was that having reference to Constantinople. Lord Derby, in his despatch of 6th May, had stated that Her Majesty's Government would not be prepared to witness with indifference the passing into other hands than its present possessors a capital holding so peculiar and commanding a position. The reply to that despatch on the part of Russia had been that, while accepting this proposition, the Imperial Government of Russia could not prejudice the course and issue of the war; and that reply had been received by Her Majesty's Government without protest and without remark at the time against this distinct reservation. On the 12th of December the Turkish Government, being then sorely pressed after the fall of Plevna, addressed an appeal to the Powers of Europe to intercede. On the very following day a despatch was indited by Lord Derby and addressed to Prince Gortchakoff, which involved a departure from the original conditions. He (Mr. Cartwright) contended that the despatch to which he referred did not maintain the position originally taken, while the contention of the Home Secretary on the previous evening was that Her Majesty's

Government had never swerved from the points laid down in Lord Derby's despatch of May last. On the 6th May objection had been confined to the transfer of the possession of Constantinople; but, on the 13th December, objection was extended to the temporary occupation of Constantinople by Russia. Again, on January 12th, Lord Derby further departed from his position by this new condition for the maintenance of English neutrality—that there should be no Russian advance even to Gallipoli. The despatch of the 6th May was written after protracted diplomatic Correspondence as the maturely considered expression of British conditions, and it was not till the Turkish collapse arose that these modifications in the original conditions were made. Her Majesty's Government had professed also to confine itself to the position of the mere channel of communication between Russia and Turkey upon the subject of peace, and yet there was evidence that the Government had itself sat in judgment upon the Russian proposals. For although the Russian reply was in the hands of the Government on January 29th, no communication had been made for a whole week to Constantinople; while, in the interval, the Russian Government had been asked to make modifications in its answer to suit the views of the English Government. In regard to Turkey, he maintained that Her Majesty's Government had pursued a course which approached very nearly to benevolent neutrality. That was shown by the fact that on the 14th December the Foreign Secretary informed the Turkish Ambassador that the Government would do their utmost to obtain the best possible terms for Turkey. Nothing was more remarkable in recent transactions connected with this question than the inaccuracy of the information received from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, who was, of course, himself misled. He (Mr. Cartwright) would not say one word against that right hon. Gentleman; but there could be no question that there were misstatements in his despatches, and that the intelligence which came from Constantinople was more or less ambiguous and doubtful. There appeared to be an air of mystery running through the Correspondence, and a remarkable instance of it was conveyed in the telegram from Constantinople con-

veying the terms. These were inaccurate; but it possibly occurred that the Ministers of the Sultan, hastily reading them over, might have misapprehended their meaning; but how was it that, so far as the Correspondence showed, there had been no subsequent correction of this great inaccuracy? In matters outside the area of that reticence which public interest required, when the Government appealed for the confidence of the nation in a critical moment, it was bound to give the most ample information; and this information he had not been able to find in the Blue Books which had been published on the subject. On the contrary, there was a great deal of mystery, and a great deal left out in the Papers which might have been communicated to the House; and he regarded as unwarrantable the action of the Government in withholding any documents which they could produce in relation to Greece. That evening they had received very important intelligence; but it had not come from Mr. Layard in Constantinople, but from Musurus Pasha in London. There had, no doubt, been a great many despatches given to the House by the Government; but he wanted to know, had the Government made frank communication of matter which, as regarded present negotiations, there could be no ground for concealing? The Government asked for a Vote of Confidence; but he, for one, could not, although he had tried hard to find it, discover a reason why that confidence should be given them. One word more he desired to say. The war was practically at an end; diplomatic action would now begin. He hoped that, in whatever was done in the future, when the Conference met, the influence of this country would not be thrown into the scale in favour of an obsolete formula—"the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire," but that it would be given in favour of those rising elements of strength in the East which were indigenous to the soil, and which, at the same time, were capable of being raised to a nation which might prove an obstruction and barrier to designing or ambitious foreign Powers. There was one point more—that of the possible occupation of Constantinople. As to the occupation of Constantinople, let them remember as a warning that in our own time there had been an occupation

hastily undertaken which had proved most disastrous to the Power that undertook it. That was the occupation of Rome by the French, in behalf, it was said, of ancient interests. The French went easily to Rome, but once there they were grievously perplexed how to extricate themselves from a most untoward entanglement, and that occupation continued to hang like a millstone around the neck of the French Empire.

MR. BENTINCK said, he had been struck with two remarkable facts which were very closely connected with the question before the House. It appeared to him that during the last 15 months marvellous hallucinations had existed throughout the country. Not only that, but they had seen a large number of persons, supposed to be in full possession of their senses, doing their best to bring about the precise results which they professed most to deprecate. As to the origin of this war—there was no use in mincing matters; hon. Members would be able to fill up the details—but he would ascribe it to the agitation got up by an ex-Minister in search of a "political cry." ["Oh, oh!"] He desired to speak with no discourtesy; but he was stating his impression, and he believed what he had said would be endorsed by the general opinion of the country. The agitation was supported by well-meaning but misguided persons, who had brought themselves into the strange belief that Christianity and carnage were convertible terms, and that the best way to relieve an oppressed nationality was to put it through a course of fire and sword, and subsequently consign it to the rule of a tyranny much more grinding and intolerable than that from which it suffered. What surprised him was that the persons who were taking this line were the very persons who declaimed against war, and yet who were chiefly instrumental in giving rise to it. He did not approve the course taken by the Government, and thought they were in some degree responsible for what had occurred. He was convinced that if the Government had interposed a year ago, and told Russia—"You shall not be permitted to go beyond certain limits," the war would never have taken place. He had heard a great deal from the other side of the House about the existence of a war Party—a Party determined at all risks, without reason, without an object,

to drive the country into war. All he could say was that if such a Party existed the persons composing it ought to be confined in Bedlam. He and those who sat near him were not advocates of war; they deprecated war; they would resort to it only when it became a painful necessity; but that did not make them a war Party, and such a Party did not exist. Last year all England was deluged with speeches and pamphlets on atrocities—atrocities which were manufactured for a political purpose, and an endeavour was made to prove that the Turks were utter barbarians, and not fit to live on the earth, and that therefore they ought to be exterminated. But it was discovered eventually, upon investigation, that the atrocities committed by the Turks were equalled by atrocities committed on the other side, and that there was nothing to choose between Bashi-Bazouk and Cossack. The misgovernment of Turkey he would be the last to uphold, but he could not understand why England should be the European policeman to interfere with it. History also showed that the Turkish Government contrasted favourably with that of Russia. He confessed frankly that during this struggle his sympathies had been with the Turks, for two reasons. In the first place, the Turk had, against overwhelming odds, been fighting for his home and country with a courage worthy of an Englishman; and, in the next place, he felt the conviction that the war undertaken by Russia against Turkey was for aggression and spoliation. ["Hear, hear!"] He would withdraw the latter assertion if the Emperor kept his word. He would go further, and say that the Turks had been fighting the battle of England and of Europe. ["No!"] Well, wait till the Conference met, and then they would see that the cause of the Turk must be taken up by those Powers who were not prepared to submit to Russian domination. They might like or dislike the Turk, but there he was, and he was the inevitable Turk, and they could not get rid of him. He should like to know what hon. Gentlemen opposite were going to do with him. The right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) had the credit of inventing what was called the "bag-and-baggage" policy. Let the House assume for a moment that such

a policy could be carried out, and that they could remove the Turkish Government and the 20,000,000 of Turks into Armenia, what were they going to do with the territory? There was a little difficulty for diplomatists to surmount. Another policy, which had been a good deal spoken of, was an older policy, and known as the peace-at-any-price policy; but if the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) were in his place, he (Mr. Bentinck) should like to ask him whether he was prepared to maintain that the peace-at-any-price policy could be upheld by Great Britain, and whether he was prepared to say that that policy would not subject this country to greater disasters than any war could produce? He had always contended for the maintenance of the armaments of this country, because he believed that was the true peace policy. He would only add a word with respect to the division they were to take. In his belief it could not be a Party vote. That was impossible. As for the Government, they could not be turned out; the right hon. Member for Greenwich had made any other Government impossible. Therefore, under all the circumstances, he regretted that the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had been moved. His belief was that the friends of peace throughout the country would rejoice that means were to be given to the Government of exercising a strong voice in the Councils of Europe. The honour of the House was involved in the Vote they were about to give. Every Member of the House who voted would be compelled to say one of two things—either that he was prepared to uphold the honour and defend the rights of this country, or that he was prepared to sacrifice both the honour and rights of his country for the miserable and sordid objects of Party warfare.

MR. P. J. SMYTH: Sir, I do not regard this question as one of confidence or no confidence in Her Majesty's Government. Although I disapprove of the negative policy of Her Majesty's Opposition—and the front Opposition Bench has never favoured us with any other on the Eastern Question—I deem it my duty to support the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster). Dis-



guise it as we may, the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is interpreted by Europe as a demonstration in support of Turkish domination in Eastern Europe. That domination is virtually overthrown, and I believe it to be for the interest of mankind that it should wholly cease. If I plead guilty to the weakness—if such it be—of being attracted towards a great Prime Minister who has the courage of his convictions, I cannot be insensible to the fact that this question involves great principles which I feel that I could not abandon in the East without ceasing to uphold in the West. The time, happily, has arrived, when the phrase “conditional neutrality,” of which we have had for the last eight months such a wearisome iteration, must give up its meaning. It is an ambiguous, and, as appears from a recently published despatch, an elastic phrase. If neutrality was meant, why not say neutrality unqualified by any epithet? Read by the light of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and the despatch of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs—that of the 6th of May—it meant absolute neutrality as regards the events of the war, though they should lead to a Russian occupation of Constantinople, with a reservation of the right of the Government to exercise its influence at the final settlement. That is the neutrality of Austria as defined by Count Andrássy. There are, however, some enthusiastic persons in this country who attach to the phrase another meaning; who see a menace to clearly defined British interests in every Russian victory, and in the exercise by Russia of the plainest of belligerent rights. It is time that this confusion should cease, and that it should be avowed that British neutrality is actually neutrality as understood by the rest of the world—that is, neutrality pure and simple, and subject to no condition save that Russia shall not seize and occupy that road whose existence as yet is a mystery to all except the Turcophile geographers who pin their faith to small maps. Hitherto, I admit, the two great Parties in this country, though differing widely, apparently, in their sympathies, have been substantially united on the basis of neutrality. No matter how the organs of one Party may have denounced Russia, those of the

other Turkey, the result practically has been a Joint-Stock Do-Nothing Company, Limited by British Interests. Every nation, especially in time of war, is bound to keep a watchful guard over its interests, but this ostentatious avowal of a policy of unmitigated selfishness marks a new era in humanity. The policy may have been a wise one or the reverse—a little time will tell—but heretofore men and nations have been wont to claim, even for questionable proceedings, the sanction of noble motives. No doubt—though the motive has never before been so openly proclaimed—a regard for British interests was the mainspring of the conduct of this nation in the great convulsions which have affected the destinies of mankind for the last 100 years—from the American Revolution to the Franco-German War—but, calmly surveying those events, must it not be admitted now that a too exclusive devotion to British interests has led the British nation into serious mistakes, and that at times she was belligerent when she ought to have been neutral, and again, neutral when she ought to have been belligerent? She has been neutral in this conflict, and I hold that she ought to have been belligerent from the beginning—not for Russian purposes, nor for Turkish, nor yet for purposes specifically British; but for justice, truth, and right, and for the sake of that political liberty which ought to be for her the dearest of British interests. Sir, I ventured to give expression to this sentiment on the first occasion on which the Eastern Question came before this House last Session. I am more than justified in repeating it now, and in repeating also that the cause in issue on the Danube and the Balkans was and is—not Russian *versus* Turkish domination; but liberty or slavery, weal or woe, life or death for Christian peoples. Such being unmistakably the issue, a policy of neutrality is a policy of effacement and desertion—effacement as regards England herself, as the highest expression of Constitutional freedom; desertion as regards the oppressed nationalities, which had been taught to turn their eyes towards this country as a protector and a friend. What have we beheld? Interest lifted above duty, national prestige sacrificed to national jealousy, and a thousand British pamphlets, Britain's only offering to a cause which a hundred

thousand British swords should have leaped from their scabbards to uphold. Seventy years ago England in her own person could defy the eagle of Napoleon—now, her highest ambition is to be the fly on the diplomatic wheel. She was first, then—is the second, now? What may be her position to-morrow? A localized war implies a localized treaty of peace. The idea of excluding this country from a participation in the final settlement has never, I am convinced, been entertained for a moment by either of the principal belligerents; but she would do well to remember that as a neutral she could advance no claim of right to participate, except for the protection of certain specifically defined interests. In other respects, the only claim she could advance—and it is one which will not be contested—must be founded not on her individuality as a nation, but on her membership of the European family. But a treaty of peace concluded with or without her participation, is there not some reason to apprehend that its legacy for her will be peace with a war establishment, to be followed at no distant day by a war without Allies? She cannot look to the Turk, whom, in his sorest strait, she abandoned; she cannot look to the Russian, in whose face she has flaunted the banner of British interests; she cannot look, above all, to the nationalities, to whom in the crisis of their fortunes she could extend, indeed, the cheap comfort of lectures and resolutions, but not the solid help of a man or a gun. War begets war; and this is especially true of that device of modern philanthropic diplomacy, the localized war. But there are eternal principles which will not be localized, and which will overleap the barriers which a selfish diplomacy may erect. Witness Servia. She was admonished, she was threatened, she was implored not to complicate the situation; she was told that if she drew the sword she would greatly displease her neutral friends, and seriously compromise her own position. This was the language of diplomacy, but Nature spoke a different language, and to it Servia hearkened. Why, Sir, for four centuries the sword of Servia has never kissed the scabbard. As a drawn sword it is represented on the arms of the reigning Prince. It could not, it dare not seek repose until it had re-established, with a secure

frontier, and in Sovereign independence, the Serb nation. Diplomacy has also been practising, and, I am sorry to say, with disastrous effect, upon the Greeks. We have now the deplorable admission that all the influence of this country was exerted to keep Greece quiet. Hopes were held out, promises, I fear, were actually given, that if she kept quiet the quiescent Greeks would obtain at the settlement the same benefits as the insurgent Slavs. Such promises, it is needless to say, could not be redeemed, and, therefore, if made, they should not have been made. The Greeks, being neutral in the war, should necessarily be ignored in the settlement. Ah! before listening to this deceitful counsel, the Greeks should have remembered how little they are indebted for their Kingdom to European diplomacy. It robbed them of the legitimate fruits of a victory purchased by incredible sacrifices, and by deeds of daring unsurpassed in the annals of warfare. The statesmanship of Canning, the heroism of the Greeks, and the sword of Russia, sufficed to liberate a race; but a barbarous diplomacy stepped in at the close, and, in defiance alike of nature and of justice, constituted a Kingdom of Greece minus the Isles of Greece and the land of Achilles. The external Greeks, who are attracted towards the Kingdom like the bees to Hymettus, and the internal Greeks, who naturally sympathize with their brethren under the Turkish yoke, felt that the hour had come, when, by one last heroic effort, they might crown the edifice of national freedom. But a Protector stopped the way. England, by treaty arrangement, is a Protector of Greece, and she discharges, it appears, that function, by dissuading her *protégé* from seizing an opportunity—the like of which she will not have for many an æon—threatening her, that if she dared to draw the sword against her ancient enemy, the Protector would permit Grecian cities to be bombarded, and the Crescent re-erected on the Acropolis. In the economy of Providence an opportunity arrives for every oppressed nationality, and woe to the nation that then talks instead of acts, or looks to foreign diplomacy for the freedom which native swords alone can win. Is the manner in which the name of India has been used throughout this controversy consonant with the dignity of England,

or just towards that Empire which gives a title to Her Most Gracious Majesty? What connection can there possibly be between Turkish rule in Bulgaria and British rule in India? Or, is the Indian Empire a structure so frail—a glittering pagoda without a pillar to support it—that a blast of liberating war from the Danube sends a tremour through every fibre? India apart, Constantinople and the Suez Canal are not British but European interests. Monsieur de Lesseps always intended that his great work should be maintained as an international highway for the ships, public and private, of all nations. That is the design with which the Suez Canal was constructed. The generous object might be best secured, perhaps, by means of an International Commission, and by making the Delta neutral territory, under the guarantee of the Powers. The claim of any one of the great Powers, whether in virtue of purchased shares in the Canal or of territory adjoining, to exercise exclusive control over that international highway would infallibly excite jealousies, and lead ultimately to complications fatal to the peace of Europe and pregnant with peril to India. The Mediterranean States, France especially, could not be expected to look with complacency on a British occupation of Egypt. I remember many years ago reading on a sign-board at Charleville Forest—a place familiar to my hon. Friends the Members for King's County—the cabalistic words—"Man Traps and Poluphloisboio set here!" The advocates of Egyptian annexation fancy, I presume, that a similar notice erected on the North coast of Africa would strike terror into all poachers from the Mediterranean. Road to India! Why, the effect of Egyptian annexation would virtually be to place India on the Mediterranean, with the certain result that the fall of British Egypt would be the fall of British India. Constantinople has been described as a barrier between Europe and Asia. Yes, a barrier against enlightenment and religion seeking to regain their source. But why should such a barrier be? Why not rather a bridge—a bridge of gold—by means of which the West might repay a portion of the immeasurable debt she owes to the East? Why not, in the form either of a free city or in that of the capital of a revived Eastern Empire, a star whose

beams would illumine two continents? Yesterday the indispensable barrier was the Isthmus of Suez, to-day it is Constantinople. Science has levelled the one—civilization rejects the other. Barriers, interests, concerts, lines of demarcation; but vanished the proud boast—

"Britannia needs no bulwark, no towers along the steep!"

But Constantinople as a barrier is worthless, it appears, without that other barrier, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. If the artificial waterway connecting the Mediterranean with the Red Sea must be regarded as the common property of all commercial nations, then, *à fortiori*, the natural highway between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea must likewise be so regarded. Why proclaim free trade on the Canal and uphold protection in the Straits? What interest has France, or Italy, or Germany, or Austria, or Spain, in the maintenance of this unnatural blockade? And here is England, the champion of free trade, with a Fleet equal in power to the combined Fleets of Europe, pretending—for I can regard it only as a pretence—to rest the security of her road to India on the maintenance of this barrier of a barrier. What road is meant, I should like to know? Is it the Euphrates Valley? I have searched the Stock Exchange list, but I can find no quotation. Is it the Suez Canal? That is, or ought to be, absolutely neutral. I fail to discover any possible connection between a blockaded Dardanelles and any actual or possible road to India; and, even if I did make such a discovery, I would say, away with the barrier that contravenes the manifest designs of nature and is a standing affront to the commerce of the world. The freedom, we are told, of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles would convert the Black Sea into a Russian lake. Well, at present it is a Turkish lake. Remove the barrier, and it becomes, not a Russian, but a European and an American lake. The world—the Old World and the New, with all their continents—would gain by the transformation, and I fail to see in what India would suffer detriment. The danger to India, if danger there be, is from within and not from without. Base your administration upon justice, efface by gentleness the recollections of the Company's dark deeds, and find in the contentment of the subject-

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races a security which no external barrier can confer and no road can take away. States based on justice need no rampart save that which justice herself creates, like the protecting reef which the coral architect throws around his fairy isle. By all means let England watch over and be ready to defend her special interests—that is her duty; but is it her whole duty? Does she acknowledge no duty to humanity, to civilization, to liberty? Happily, her duty to principles identified with her name is not incompatible with her duty to interests which she is bound to guard. The noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition, in an eloquent passage, compared Turkey to the withered, decaying trunk, the nationalities to the living, but struggling tree. What is the moral? “Cut down the trunk, why cumbereth it the ground?” Protect, befriend the living, but struggling tree, that so, when it attains maturity, it may cast a friendly shade over those very interests in whose name a passive or an active, a benevolent or a malevolent neutrality would arrest its growth. A year ago every heart in England thrilled with joy at the announcement that the entombed colliers had been rescued. Whole races are entombed in the South-east—they have been entombed for centuries. What will be the verdict of history on the selfish neutrality that bade this great free nation look on in sullen apathy, while the magnanimous despot of the North sacrificed blood and treasure in the glorious effort to liberate and save? [“Oh, oh!”] If the phrase “magnanimous despot” offends the susceptibilities of hon. Gentlemen, I withdraw it. I will substitute atrocious tyrant—yea, the atrocious tyrant who, a few years ago, was cheered, *fêted*, and applauded in this metropolis. This is not mere sentiment—though it should be remembered that in our own day sentiment has created a Kingdom of Greece, a Kingdom of Belgium, freed Venice, and restored Hungary—it is the dictum of the best statesmanship as accepted five years ago by the noble Earl himself, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The discussions which took place in this House last Session, and, during the Recess, out-of-doors, have had the effect at least of dispelling some fallacies. Among them none was more mischievous than that very modern

one, the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire—as if, for two centuries, under the eye of Europe, the work of disintegration had not been going on. The Treaties of Carlowitz, of Belgrade, of Kainardji, of Jassy, of Bucharest, of Ackermann, and of Adrianople, all tell the same story—a decaying Empire, and one whose integrity was not deemed to be essential to the European equilibrium. As regards its independence, that has never been admitted. Witness the Crusades, the Wars of Venice and Genoa, Lepanto and Navarino. Witness the withdrawal of the Turkish garrisons from the Servian fortresses, at the instance of the late Lord Derby, in 1862. Witness the Conference at Constantinople, and the London Protocol; witness Canning in 1827; the Duke of Wellington in 1829; and Lord Derby in 1877. As for the Treaties of 1856, they are gone—they can never more be appealed to. The British interest fallacy was virtually dispelled by the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and by the Gortchakoff Letter. There remains only the neutrality fallacy. It has survived all the rest, because of its dexterity in changing its form, rendering it impossible to grapple with it. Egypt may wage a vile and mercenary warfare against Russia, but Russia may not retaliate and make war upon Egypt. It is neutrality, but is it fair play? Threats of terrible things to occur in the event of Russia setting fire to the Persian Gulf, and dumping a pyramid into the Suez Canal—it is neutrality, but is it dignity? Wait till both combatants are exhausted, and then strike home for British interests—it is neutrality, but is it chivalry? At one period Besika Bay was found to be an inconvenient station, and so the Fleet was removed. A little later, the same bay was found to be a convenient station, and so the Fleet returned. I do not complain either of the coming or the going. But I do complain that in its searches for a convenient station, a British Fleet should, at a critical juncture, have overlooked the Bay of Cattaro, from which the rainbow flag of England might have cast a gleam of hope and sunshine on the unnamed demi-gods who could only die in defence of the liberty of their unconquered mountain. There is a universal wish that

negotiations may eventuate in peace. I share that wish, provided that the final Treaty shall embody the conditions of lasting peace. To do so it must satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the nationalities—Roumanians, Bulgarians, Montenegrins, Servians, Greeks. However ardent the desire for peace, it is the part of wisdom to contemplate the possibility at least that negotiations may fail. In such an eventuality, the war will enter on a new phase, and assume wider dimensions than before. What then will be the attitude of England? Whatever the sympathies of hon. Members, it must be admitted that Russia, in declaring war against Turkey, was strictly within the limits of her national right and of the public law. No hon. Member can point to any act of Russia, from the passage of the Danube to the present hour, inconsistent with the declaration of Livadia. To draw the sword against her, except in necessary defence of vital interests wantonly assailed, would be a crime as black as any in history. Such a war would degrade the sword of Wellington and Napier to the level of the yataghan of the Circassian and the Kurd. It would be a war against nationality, liberty, and law, and in support of despotism, slavery, and crime. It would be disaster now, and infamy for ever. Neutrality, I conceive, would mean abdication in the present, and humiliation in the future. There is a third course—it is alliance offensive and defensive, not with selfish and ungrateful Austria, but with the uprisen nationalities of the East, and therein alone, I do firmly believe, lies the path of honour, of duty, and of interest. The highest interest of a great nation, with proud traditions, is not peace—it is prestige. Prestige may be forfeited by a wicked or a disastrous war; but it may more easily be forfeited by an unprincipled neutrality, or an ignoble peace; and the nation whose prestige is gone is an extinct volcano, unworthy the notice even of the passing traveller. The policy I advocate is little in harmony, I know, with the feeling of this House. I am all the more grateful, therefore, for the indulgence extended to me. It is a policy of war, and of war for that despised thing—an idea. But the idea is of the class that ennobles men and glorifies States. It is the idea that impelled John Sobieski to raise the Siege of Vienna—it is the idea that moved

Cyrus, after the conquest of Babylon, to set the captive Jews at liberty, bidding them return to the land of their fathers, to carry back their sacred vessels, and rebuild the Temple.

MR. BOURKE said, that in rising, as he did, to continue the debate after his distinguished countryman who had just sat down (Mr. P. J. Smyth), he must naturally do so with some disadvantage and hesitation. That hon. Gentleman never addressed the House without entrancing it with the charms of his eloquence, and still more so with the fine and lofty feeling which they all must recognize. But if he (Mr. Bourke) were, on that occasion, to follow the hon. Gentleman into the vast domain of subjects which he had opened up—with much eloquence, he admitted—he should, he thought, be trespassing unduly upon the indulgence and time of the House, and be negligent of the issue before the House, which was very simple, though a very grave one—very simple compared with the range of subjects discussed by the hon. Gentleman. In addressing himself to the subject now before the House, he hoped he should be able to do so without offending any of those foregone conclusions which hon. Gentlemen on both sides of the House had arrived at on that question; for nobody could have observed the feeling of the country on the subject for the last two years without being convinced that certain foregone conclusions had been arrived at which no argument could shake, which no logic could alter. Therefore, when they saw that in that House foregone conclusions had been arrived at on the question, he thought it would be great presumption on his part if he were to attempt to argue against foregone conclusions, which in reality had very little connection with the subject now before the House. For instance, there were, no doubt, hon. Members in the House who believed, and who always had believed, that it would be a good thing for the future civilization of the East if Turkey were dismembered and destroyed. There were other persons in the House who said that we ought from the first to have taken our stand and to have drawn the sword for the great principle of fidelity to Treaties, notwithstanding the calamitous events which had taken place in Eastern Europe. But, as he had already said, he would not attempt to deal with these foregone con-

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clusions. Parliament had not been called together to consider foregone conclusions. They had to deal with issues far more limited and far more practical, and all Europe was now looking to that House with expectation to see what the issue of this great debate would be. He did not suppose for one moment that Europe believed that England had an intention of drawing the sword for the suppression of liberty, whether that liberty was the liberty of Greece or of any other State. But Europe did believe that England had vital interests in the East—interests involving the liberties of Europe and the commerce of the world. He would also remind the House that discussing the question from the point of view that he did, he must be to some extent on that occasion tongue-tied; it was impossible for him to reveal many of the transactions which had occurred. He believed that if he could treat upon those subjects without reserve there would not be a single opponent of the Vote before the House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in the earlier part of his speech the other night, described all those events which preceded the collapse of the military power of Turkey, and the proposal for an armistice. Nobody could doubt that they had before them one of those great chasms in history, dividing the past and present from the unknown future; and that, if they had interests in the East, in the Mediterranean, and in India, it was the duty of this country to do everything it could to secure for those interests in the future that consideration to which their importance entitled them. Nobody could take up the map of Eastern Europe and observe some of the preliminaries for the armistice without seeing that there was truth, and a great deal of truth, in an observation to be found in a despatch of Mr. Layard, to the effect that if these arrangements were carried out the Ottoman Empire might be looked upon as gone. ["Hear, hear!"] That, no doubt, was a consummation which hon. Members on the other side of the House, and some hon. Members on the Ministerial side, could not help rejoicing at; but he thought it was our duty and the duty of Europe to look far beyond any sentiment of that kind, because we could not but feel it was our duty, not only not to witness its destruction, but to do all we could to ensure that this Eastern Ques-

tion, which had caused so many wars, in the political re-settlement that must come over the whole of these vast regions, should be settled in a way that would be productive of permanent good in the future. When they considered the vast regions that the re-settlement must embrace, extending from the Pruth to the Adriatic, and from the Black Sea to Asia—when they took up a map and then looked at these preliminaries for an armistice—they could not shrink from the feeling that they were called upon to assist at a re-settlement in regard to races that differed from each other in nationality, in religion, and in many other respects; and they could not but feel that they had presented to them problems of the greatest magnitude and difficulty. These were problems that had baffled European statesmen for centuries past, that had led to wars innumerable, to secret compacts, to misgovernment of every description, and to jealousies which had ever been fruitful of danger. If, therefore, there was a new order of things bursting into existence, it would be the duty of this country, if it possibly could, to assist in making such arrangements as would not only benefit the races immediately concerned, whether they were Christian or Mussulman, but would contribute to the establishment of a permanent peace. It would depend on Europe whether such a satisfactory settlement as that should be made, or one which would only sow the seeds of future wars and fresh disturbances. No one could doubt that the preliminaries of the armistice, so far as they knew them, were vague—that they were open to various constructions, and that they were so general that they might be described as wholly uncertain. As representing the Foreign Office and looking forward to this country taking a part in a great re-settlement, it would be gross imprudence in him to speculate upon how those blanks were to be filled up, and how that great edifice which they saw foreshadowed should be erected, the scaffolding of which had hardly been presented to their gaze in those terms. He saw in the Amendment the words "burthens of the people"; but it was with the view of preventing those burdens from being increased that Her Majesty's Government asked them for this Vote. It was to enable Her Majesty's Government to speak with authority when they came to the Con-

gress or Conference with regard to the pacification of the East; and if that end was successfully accomplished, it would prevent future burdens being imposed upon the people. One of the great disadvantages under which we laboured as a Constitutional country was that in all our negotiations with foreign States those negotiations were carried on with mighty Powers which were already armed, and which could mobilize their forces first and find the money afterwards, whereas our Government was forced to come to Parliament and ask for grants of money when necessity arose. The policy of Her Majesty's Ministers on Eastern affairs had often been enunciated. Our interests had been defined in the most categorical manner; and certainly there was now one great interest to be considered which had not been very often mentioned in that discussion—namely, that of the permanent pacification of the East, including therein a harmonious *modus vivendi* for the various races in that region. If that was a great object which they were to promote when they went into the Conference, surely it was not unreasonable that the Government should ask Parliament for the means of putting themselves on an equality with those Powers which they would have to meet there; for they might depend upon it that the Powers which met there would not be estimated by their number, but by their strength. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) spoke of riding into the Conference with shotted guns and revolvers. That, of course, was a figure of speech; but he (Mr. Bourke) said, in answer to it, that it was much more likely to produce peace than war, if they went there having an outward and visible sign of the strength of this country, such as that Vote would supply—he thought it would be safer and more likely to effect the desired purpose than hollow panegyrics and meaningless phrases. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to think England had no great interest in this question, and that all these matters ought to be settled between the two belligerents. He alluded to the Franco-German War, and the case of Alsace and Lorraine, but there was no similarity between that case and this case of Turkey. There were Treaties no doubt which still existed which they were bound to respect, although they had been rudely

dealt with of late. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster) asked him (Mr. Bourke) a Question which he thought it would be convenient for him now to answer. He asked him whether Her Majesty's Government had allowed Mr. Layard to communicate to the Turks the pledge given by the Russian Government—that they “had no intention of directing their military operations on Gallipoli unless Turkish regular troops should concentrate there?” Now, he (Mr. Bourke) had placed on the Table that evening Papers which would give an answer to that Question, and which would be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow. From those Papers it would be found that Mr. Layard did inform the Turks of the answer of the Russian Government; but he could not be authorized, without further communication, to state, in the name of Her Majesty's Government, that the pledge would be observed. Of course, that would have entailed a responsibility which he was not prepared to undertake. Lord Augustus Loftus was, however, instructed to ask the Russian Government if they would authorize Her Majesty's Government to communicate it in their name to the Porte; and the Russian Government having, in their answer received that day, given their consent on condition that the whole text of their assurances should be communicated to the Porte, instructions to that effect had been sent to Mr. Layard. The hon. Member for Dumfries (Mr. Ernest Noel) had complained that the Government had not stated their opinion on the bases of peace, or their policy in the matter. Now, his answer to that was that they did not know what the bases of peace were—they had not the slightest idea what they might be more than was already before the House. The policy of the Government with regard to Greece had been several times alluded to by hon. Members during that debate. Well, their policy on that point had been perfectly frank and uniform from the first. They had given Greece originally the friendly advice that, looking to her own interests, it would be imprudent that she should engage in war with Turkey. He could assure the House—and the fact would be proved by the Papers—that it was not from the slightest hostility to the aspirations of Greece that they gave her that counsel. They had felt that it

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was their duty to localize as much as possible the area of belligerent operations; and seeing that in all probability Turkish troops, regular and irregular, would have invaded Greece, they had thought it incumbent on them to discourage Greece from entering into war with Turkey; but from first to last they had never shown anything but the most friendly feeling towards that State. They had never offered her any menace; but it did strike him—although he would not now enter into that subject, because it was not his duty to do so—it did strike him on taking them up that the arrangements foreshadowed by those preliminaries of peace, if carried out, might not suit the interests of Greece. He could not see that to make such arrangements as the ones proposed would suit the aspirations of Greece. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe) had made a very lucid and amusing speech; but one which was based, he thought, upon assumptions which were entirely erroneous. He had displayed great ingenuity in building up arguments from a state of things which was entirely devised by his own imagination, and afterwards throwing them to the winds. Nothing could be more erroneous than his statement as to the movements of the Fleet. He had also mentioned Lord Carnarvon in support of his case; but they knew that Lord Carnarvon had told the House, and had told the country, that he approved of the Vote which had been proposed. The right hon. Gentleman had also said that they had committed a breach of neutrality. He (Mr. Bourke) did not know what breach of neutrality they had committed—perhaps they should hear further on in the debate. The hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had said that they were going to flaunt their money bags in the face of Europe, and he said that that was an act which he should characterize as snobbish. He quite agreed with him that a snob was objectionable, but he thought there was a kind of person still more objectionable, and that was the person who, having said that he would defend the rights of his country, at the last moment shrank from taking the steps necessary for defending them. Some people called that a war Vote, and others called it a paper Vote. It was

neither a war Vote nor a paper Vote. It was a Vote proposed by a Government which, during all the negotiations which they had had to conduct during the last two years, had carried them on in such a way that the country had not been involved in war. Their voice had from the first been in favour of peace. When the insurrection broke out in Bosnia and the Herzegovina they recommended to the Porte, in the most earnest and the strongest language that diplomacy knew of, that the Porte should take immediate measures for restoring peace. Was not that a policy which the most ardent lover of peace would wish to pursue? When Serbia again proposed to go to war, they recommended her strongly to avoid those miseries which that war had entailed on her. They saw that she would very likely be made the victim of other Powers, and he had yet to learn that by going to war she had gained any advantage. At the Conference they did the best they could to maintain peace, and when unhappily the war broke out, they protested in the strongest manner against Russia taking the violent course she did; and they took the earliest opportunity after it did break out of endeavouring to bring about a peace. Whether they had been successful in those efforts or not there was, he maintained, abundant evidence to show that this was not a war Ministry. It was idle, therefore, for hon. Gentlemen opposite to contend that the Vote was intended to carry out a warlike demonstration and a warlike policy. Such a policy was entirely inconsistent not only with what they intended to do in the future, but with everything which they had done in the past. All he had to say, in conclusion, was that if the Congress did meet, and if the Powers of Europe were asked to deal with these great questions, they would certainly be called upon to meet nations who had great forces at their command. Would they then refuse to those persons who were to represent them, the outward and visible sign of England's resolution to protect her rights, and to show to the Powers of Europe that England's voice would not be raised in vain? He asked them, he asked the House, in the name of their common country, to give them the means of performing their duty to their country and themselves.



MR. GOSCHEN said, he expected that when the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs rose to address the House, he would, after the news which had been communicated to hon. Members in the early part of the evening with regard to the signature, or alleged signature, of an armistice, have informed them how that intelligence was likely to influence the action of the Government. The hon. Gentleman, however, speaking in the name of his Department, had told the House that England was on the verge of a most dangerous chasm; but he allowed it to be supposed that in his opinion the difficulty could be overleaped by the granting of a Vote of Credit which would expire on the 31st of next March. He hoped the House would have noticed that the hon. Gentleman had not alluded by one single sentence to the real or alleged advance of Russian troops from stage to stage, a circumstance which formed the staple of the speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary on the preceding night. He did not know whether the signature of the armistice had or had not altered the opinion of the Government; but, at all events, he wished to point out, it had been dropped out of that night's debate. Why had not the Under Secretary of State alluded to those dangers on which the Home Secretary had dwelt so much on the previous night? He hoped that if the armistice had been really signed, the Home Secretary sincerely regretted the speech which he delivered not four-and-twenty hours before. If the Government really believed in the speech of the Home Secretary, how was it that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had not indicated that the danger which was supposed to exist on the previous night still existed? They had been asked to adopt the Vote on the previous evening mainly because the Russians, as they had been told from time to time with dramatic effect, were advancing from point to point in the direction of Constantinople. Now, however, that the armistice was said to have been signed, not a word of information had been vouchsafed on the part of the Government as to whether, if that statement should prove to be accurate, it would influence either their opinions or their conduct. The noble Lord the

Member for Liverpool (Viscount Sandon) had asked them last night after, not before, the speech of the Home Secretary, not to indulge in recrimination. That was a little rebuke he had administered to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cross), for a more biting speech, and one more full of recrimination, had never been delivered. Though the noble Lord had asked for no recrimination after that speech, the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary could hardly expect that the words he had uttered last night should not be dwelt upon by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. The noble Lord had exhorted them to be charitable, and he (Mr. Goschen) would be charitable both to the Under Secretary and to the Home Secretary in supposing that the Under Secretary had composed the speech he had just delivered before the signature of the armistice; and that the Home Secretary had composed his speech before he had heard the speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford. The Home Secretary had not answered the speech of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster), but had answered a speech which he expected to hear, but which had never been made at all; and when an observation had been made to him on the subject, the Home Secretary replied that he believed he had heard that kind of speech made out-of-doors. Was that the way to deal with an important speech like that of the right hon. Member for Bradford? If the Home Secretary had been anxious to strengthen the Government in the negotiations which were about to issue, he ought to have picked out those parts of the right hon. Gentleman's speech which indicated the points of policy on which this country would be unanimous. He ought to have pointed out, and dwelt in the face of Europe, on that most conciliatory and temperate part of the speech which showed that on many points hon. Gentlemen on that side would unite with Her Majesty's Government in maintaining the interests of this country. The Home Secretary, however, had had nothing to say to that part of the speech; but had accused the right hon. Member for Bradford with having called hon. Gentlemen oppose a "war Party," implying that he had made speeches out of the House which he did not dare to make in the House of Commons. He

(Mr. Goschen) did not wish to misrepresent the Home Secretary, but he believed that was the effect of his statement. Now, if there was one man more than another with regard to whom such a statement ought not to have been made, it was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, who, of all persons in that House, had the courage of his opinions—not to get up in that House supported by cheers, and make somewhat offensive attacks, but to meet his own constituents and to tell them when he did not agree with them—a far truer courage than to make accusations in that House, backed up by the cheers of an excited majority, a majority which cheered unfair allegations made in the most offensive language. He regretted that he should have to dwell on such a point; but he did not think it tended, on a question of such great Imperial importance, to raise the character of their debates when a Home Secretary, a Minister of the Crown, spoke, after a pointed allusion to speeches of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on that side, spoke of a “lying spirit” being abroad. Did hon. Members opposite think that the Opposition would be mealy-mouthed when they had to reply? A more offensive Parliamentary phrase had seldom been heard in that House. The Home Secretary began his speech by stating that the speech of his right hon. Friend was ambiguous. Now it happened that the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) had observed that that speech was particularly specific, and that in the discharge of his duty as a Member of the Opposition he went almost beyond the practice in defining the policy, and indicating the points upon which he would be prepared to support Her Majesty’s Government. Notwithstanding the tone of the speech of the Home Secretary, it was important that they should not be misled on that side of the House by taunts and gibes, that they should not be led aside by being called friends of Russia, from the position they had taken up. That attitude was that, for reasons that had been observed, although they could not support the Government in that Vote, yet there were certain points on which the House of Commons would be unanimous if those interests of the country on which they were all agreed should be attacked. The Home Secretary had spoken of the

despatch of the 6th May—the famous despatch which was the charter of the policy of the Government—and he said, and said truly, but with a certain amount of bombast, the Government would never swerve from the line of policy there laid down. For his own part, he (Mr. Goschen) hoped they would not. No one accused them of going to abandon the interests laid down, no one invited them to do so, and many hon. Members on that part of the House would be prepared to endorse some of the points as being English interests. But, he asked, were those interests going to be attacked? They did not hear of one. Not Egypt, for they were agreed upon that. Were their interests going to be attacked in the Straits? These debates would be shortened if it might be assumed that the Government were satisfied, as they appeared to be, that as regards the Straits, the voice of England was to be heard. If the voice of England was to be heard, he was anxious that it should not be misrepresented, and for his part he agreed with his right hon. Friend, that any unilateral arrangement by which Russian men-of-war alone were to be admitted to the Black Sea would be unsatisfactory to this country, and that the Government were bound to protect our interests in this respect. Let them not be misled by taunts into conveying to any foreign country the idea that they were indifferent on this subject. He should greatly regret the results of these debates if by statements on the Ministerial side it should appear abroad that hon. Members were disagreed on those subjects on which they were really agreed, or agreed upon a policy with which they disagreed. Certainly every hon. Member on that side of the House desired that England should be able to speak with a strong voice at the Conference. They differed, however, from hon. Members opposite in one material point—that was upon what constituted real strength when they went into Conference. Was it a piece of paper—the war Vote, or the sham Vote, as it had been called? Would the Government not go into the Conference equally strong if Europe had the knowledge that they represented a policy approved by the country, and that in support of it the country would be prepared to vote not only £6,000,000, but £60,000,000? Even

the noisiest of hon. Gentlemen opposite would, he believed, in their calmer moments, prefer that it should be thought in Europe that the Liberal Party did care for the interests of England, and would support the Government in maintaining those interests even if they did not support this Vote. We ought not to be charged with a desire to weaken the influence which both the Government and the Opposition would exercise in the Councils of Europe in this question. Well, the policy of the Government, he would assume, was to maintain the interests of England as they had been defined by themselves, and to secure the voice of England being heard with effect in the Council or Congress that was to take place. Meanwhile, what means were they taking to secure their influence and their power, and to strengthen the hope that when they were in Congress they would be able to act effectively? They, in fact, dealt with the matter in several ways; but one of the main objects which seemed to have been pursued during the last few days, and one which he (Mr. Goschen) deprecated, had been to excite in the country a fear and jealousy of Russia. He must say that from that point of view he regretted beyond measure the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman last night. Her Majesty's Government had met the Russian Government in several different ways. In the first place, they had written despatches and diplomatic notes. He did not find any great fault with them for what they had written, if they stood alone. Such communications constituted a proper and traditional weapon with which to fight Russian diplomacy; but, besides sending the despatches, Her Majesty's Government had had recourse to other methods of action. They had been meeting Russian diplomacy by moving the British Fleet to and fro; and this very night a new discrepancy had been exhibited with regard to the motives which had induced them so to act. An endeavour had been made to get at the bottom of the reasons which had led to the Fleet being moved to and fro, and the result was that the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs denied, in the strongest terms, that the reason stated by the Leader of the House was the one that had influenced Her Majesty's Government to give the order for the movements of the Fleet. He had

understood the Under Secretary of State to say that the movements of the Fleet had nothing to do with the protection of British interests; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer said last night that the Fleet had been ordered to the entrance of the Dardanelles for the protection of British interests. The right hon. Gentleman had been very ingenious in reconciling the various statements which had been made on this subject; but, so far as the House and the public were concerned, they were simply bewildering. Although it was wished to keep the movement secret which was so to act, giving that order to the Fleet to move to and fro was a comparatively innocent mode of attempting to meet Russian diplomacy; but the third method of effecting that object, which Her Majesty's Government had adopted on the eve of a Conference, in view of which it was desirable that we should establish friendly relations with Russia, was to inflame the public mind against that country, and that, too, while they were still proceeding upon imperfect information. ["No, no!"] What, did they not try to inflame the public mind? Was not that the aim and object of the speech delivered by the Home Secretary the previous night? What was the meaning of the words as he (Mr. Goschen) heard them? The speech of the Home Secretary would tell. It meant, of course, that he had raised a strong presumption against or established a case of duplicity on the part of the Russian Government. The right hon. Gentleman, when he made that speech, reminded him more of a barrister in the Central Criminal Court, weaving a web of circumstantial evidence around a prisoner in the dock than of a British Minister speaking in the House of Commons on that passage in the Queen's Speech which said that Her Majesty believed Russia was observing the conditions of neutrality. There was one point that was essential in such an indictment, and that was that it should be correct. The right hon. Gentleman had asserted that the right hon. Member for Greenwich had charged Her Majesty's Government with having delayed the negotiations for peace, and he denied that they had in any way contributed to the delay. But what were the facts? Of course, he did not for a moment impute to Her Majesty's Government that they were not most anxious to avoid

delay; but, no doubt, there had been unavoidable difficulties arising out of that unanimous state of the Cabinet of which so much had been heard. What were the facts? He must ask the permission of the House to refer to two or three dates, in order to answer the challenge which the bold Home Secretary had thrown out. The first application on the part of Her Majesty's Government to the Russian Government was made on December 29th. In that application they informed the Russian Government of the desire of Turkey to treat for peace, and made their now famous suggestion on that subject. On the same day, he thought—at all events, within 24 hours—the Russian Government returned an answer to the effect that the Commanders-in-Chief in the field would be able to state the terms; but no answer was returned by our Government to that communication until six days afterwards, and then it was suggested that the negotiations should be through the two Governments. Again Russia answered within 24 hours, rejecting that view of the case—he did not say whether rightly or wrongly—and again Her Majesty's Government took three days—from the 5th to the 8th of January—to consider the point. The result of the consideration was that on the latter date they telegraphed accepting the very idea which had been proposed by Russia on the 29th of December. Thus, through the action of Her Majesty's Government, no fewer than 11 days were lost in the negotiations for peace. Did this not show that there had been delay on the part of Her Majesty's Government? There had been delay; and, so far as he could make out, not that of a wearied Ministry taking a holiday, but he believed it was due to the absence of union in the Cabinet—an absence of union which, for aught they knew, might still prevail, and which must be taken into consideration when the House was asked to pass a Vote like that which was now under discussion. Well, on the 29th of December, as he had said, the Government heard that the Russian Government proposed that the negotiations should be conducted through the Commanders-in-Chief. On the 1st of January there was an article in a well-informed organ of public opinion, stating that the Eng-

lish Government had been insulted, and there was to be a drumhead Conference. On the 2nd of January Lord Carnarvon made his famous speech, and hung out his signal of distress. It was not, however, until the 4th that an answer was sent to Russia. Was it not clear that the delay in the negotiations was due to the differences existing in the Cabinet? It was on account of discord in the Cabinet that five days were lost, and then Her Majesty's Government made the suggestion to treat through the European Cabinets. The Russians remained firm to their point, and Her Majesty's Government remained for three days apparently considering whether they could accept the decision of Russia, and not until the 9th did they inform Turkey of the result. He called that a rather significant history, and it appeared to him that it bore in a not unimportant manner on what the right hon. Gentleman had cited when he spoke of the delay caused by Russia in order to throw odium upon that Power, to stimulate the country, and to make a speech that would tell, and which, for all he knew, had told. It had told because the country did not know these facts. The right hon. Gentleman had tried to throw the odium of delay upon Russia, when for 11 days the English Cabinet was responsible. And it should be remembered that these were 11 most important days, for on the 2nd of January Sofia was taken, and on the 9th and 10th the Schipka Pass. These great events, which changed the military situation, took place while the English Cabinet were considering in what way Russia should be addressed. He did not cite those facts to prove that Russia was right, but to show the danger of casting out insinuations, merely to stimulate the House into voting the money asked for, that Russia was causing the delay while her armies were marching on from post to post. Then as to the Russians having sent their terms of peace by messenger, the Home Secretary made something of that point last night. He (Mr. Goschen) thought his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford had shown, in reference to the orders to the Fleet, how dangerous it was to send important information by telegraph. He supposed, because he was urging that there had been delay on the part of Her Majesty's Government,

he should be told that he was pleading the cause of Russia. They on that side of the House were accustomed to that; but they must not be discouraged from doing their duty by such false insinuations. Russia sent these terms by messenger. Her messenger left on the 3rd or 4th of January, and he arrived on the 13th, or four days after the intimation had been given to Turkey by the British Government. Therefore, assuming that Russia was wrong in sending the terms by messenger, she would only be responsible for four days' delay, while the English Government would be responsible for 11. He could pursue the point onward from the 13th to the 24th, but he would not at that time of the night attempt the task. Since the 24th of January we had had no kind of information, and he must say that he thought it was surprising that in the absence of information the Home Secretary should have pursued that point, and have pressed the charge against Russia of intentional duplicity in suppressing any communication with regard to the armistice in order that she might advance her armies. For his part, he objected to insinuations against a foreign Power unless they could be proved and embodied in a despatch to be communicated to that Government. It was not the duty of an English Minister to come down to the House of Commons and make a speech of that kind which could not be answered, and which could only tend to produce a kind of hostile and bitter feeling, even if explanation should afterwards be offered. That kind of thing was of a piece with the rumour mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer with regard to the Russian Prince who was to be placed at the head of the Province of Bulgaria. No Minister spoke that night before the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, but he should have thought that an early statement would be made with respect to the bearing of the news as to the signing of the armistice. Where did the right hon. Gentleman get the information from with regard to a Russian Prince? They had a right to demand of the Government either to substantiate or to withdraw that statement that a Russian Prince was to rule over Bulgaria.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I never made any such state-

ment. I merely spoke of it as a rumour.

MR. GOSCHEN said, then it was not a statement—it was only a rumour. A rumour the source of which the right hon. Gentleman did not state—a rumour with regard to which he was obstinately dumb. Why was the rumour circulated? Was it not in order to inflame the public mind against Russia? ["No, no!"] Then, what was the object? Were they to believe the rumour, or were they not. Was it true? He was anxious to know, for his mind had been inflamed. The right hon. Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe) had said it was ridiculous to vote money with the foregone conclusion that it was not to be spent; but he (Mr. Goschen) would do his best to vote any actual money to the Government if they would tell the House that they themselves believed a Russian Prince was going to be put into Bulgaria. He might mention that he understood the rumour had been contradicted in the official journal of Russia. [*Laughter.*] He did not wonder at the Party which jeered when the name of the Emperor of Russia was mentioned, jeering at the Russian Press. They would swallow any story told against Russia, and no rumour was too absurd for them to swallow, not only with delight, but with positive gluttony. A very significant incident had occurred that evening. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) made an amusing speech, and they enjoyed it very much; but they were silent when the right hon. Baronet left behind the jocular vein, and, speaking with real earnestness and eloquence, made a vow that he would never again vote money on behalf of the Turkish cause. [*Ministerial cheers.*] Those posthumous cheers were all very fine, but the right hon. Gentleman was not cheered when he spoke of his vow. When the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer last evening spoke of the bases of peace, and when it was made clear that all that had been demanded at the Conference had been achieved, he had not a word of sympathy for all that had been achieved by Russia in the course of her military successes. What was the reason that no sympathy was shown? Did not the Government know full well that the objects of the Conference had been achieved, and achieved by other than English means? He hoped that it was

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not jealousy of the victories of another country. ["Oh, oh!"] He believed there was something in that. He believed that there was a feeling of jealousy at the success of Russia, but he would be only too glad if that was repudiated by hon. Gentlemen opposite. He entreated them to repudiate it. [*Cheers.*] Were they really jealous of the growing power of Russia? ["No, no!" *from the Ministerial benches.*] That was the first satisfactory cheer he had heard from that side. Well, if it were not jealousy, was it fear? ["No, no!"] Neither fear nor jealousy? ["No, no!"] And still the Government wanted money. He did not mean pusillanimous fear, but that fear which, as the noble Lord the Postmaster General said, made them draw the sword and not sheathe it until the lily of peace was twined round it. He had been under the impression that writers in the Press and the summoners of public Conservative meetings had been filled with alarm at the encroachments of Russia. That, it seemed, was a mistake, and hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side were now, he supposed, to congratulate themselves upon Russian successes. ["No, no!"] What! There was no jealousy, there was no fear, there was no congratulation! Well, then, hon. Gentlemen viewed the whole thing with indifference. And yet they asked the taxpayers of the country to vote £6,000,000 of money. He wished to know what were the dangers against which this money was intended to guard? Were the grounds assigned those on which the Liberal Party could support the Vote? Last night they might have thought it was to be the seizure of Gallipoli, or the occupation of Constantinople. But no mention of either of those fears had been made that night by any Member of Her Majesty's Government. Had that alarm disappeared? If so, the Government ought to say so, and not ask them to vote money for a purpose which was not defined. Otherwise they would be perfectly justified in refusing to vote the money. If the Government would say they believed the danger still existed, they would perhaps obtain unanimous support; would they appeal for that support? He trusted that the alarm caused by the speech of the Home Secretary would be allayed. He wished to support the Government if he could, but they would not say what

they wished him to do except that they did not wish to "leap into a chasm." What were the dangers that were to be obviated by this Vote of £6,000,000? They had got satisfactory assurances about the Straits. According to hon. Gentlemen opposite, it was to be voted not on account of any feeling of jealousy against Russia, not because our interests were being attacked, not because of any fear of Russia, but simply to express confidence in Her Majesty's Government. He (Mr. Goschen), however, preferred the Under Secretary's phrase that they wanted an "outward and visible sign." We knew they had never swerved from the lines they had laid down, although everybody thought they had wavered a good deal. ["No, no!"] Of course hon. Members opposite believed everything they said before they said it—["No, no!"]—cheering contradictions before they heard them—["No, no!"]—which he hoped they would not do again. Why did they want an "outward and visible sign?" He was afraid it was because the diplomatists were too hard-hearted and unbelieving to have confidence in the Government. In his opinion, it was wanted to convey, among other things, to foreign Powers that we meant business. But would not the Powers believe it without the Vote? The Government simply asked for the confidence of Parliament in order to make those Powers feel that we meant business. The Government wished to be supported in the eyes of Europe, and therefore they came to the House of Commons for "an outward and visible sign" that they had the confidence of the House. It had been asked, was this a sham Vote or a war Vote? The Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs said that some said it was the one and some the other. He (Mr. Goschen) would show it was both. Because it was intended to be a menace, it was a war Vote. It was a sham Vote because it was to be bounce. If the right hon. Gentleman asked for the money in advance, and said he did not intend to spend it, then it was not to strengthen our armaments, it was not to build ships or purchase stores, but it was to be an outward and visible sign in the Conference. That was why it differed from the Vote of 1870. Then the men were raised and the money was spent. But what was the present Ministry going

to do? Were they going to spend it, or were they not going to spend it? Why, if he pressed them too much, he began to fear that they would spend it. On the day the Chancellor of the Exchequer wanted the money, or wanted ships, let him come to the House of Commons and state the actual objects for which he required it, and then the House would consider whether they should incur the responsibility of voting it. But he trusted to the sense of fairness in the Government, and the sense of justice in the country, that they should not be charged with refusing necessary Supplies in an emergency, when they were only asked for an outward and visible sign—for Supplies that were not necessary, but only to be used till the 31st of March next. They were not refusing Supplies which the Government wanted. He denied it in his place in Parliament, and would deny it in any place he might be called upon to speak. He denied that for the honour or the interests of this country this money was wanted; it was wanted to strengthen the voice of a Government which ought to be strong without it, which ought to be able to speak with authority, and without allowing foreign nations to throw it in their teeth that they had not got the confidence of the country. ["Oh, oh!"] He was only paraphrasing the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, "No one would be listened to unless he was strong." Were they not strong without that piece of paper? Ay, stronger without it, because then they had the resources of England at their back. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said—

"We desire that we should be armed with this, which would be not only a Vote of Credit, but a Vote of Confidence."

And afterwards, the right hon. Gentleman said—

"We do not desire a Vote of £8,000,000 to be spent in this way or in that, but in order that the Government may be able to go into the negotiations with the voice of England at their back."

It they were to be any use in Conference there should be some "outward and visible sign." Oh, he had been complimenting the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs under a mistake. He was dreadfully disappointed that the

Representative of the Foreign Department had not contributed at least one remarkable expression to their debates, and now he found that "outward and visible sign" was a Cabinet phrase. Well, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said if they were to be of any use in the Conference there should be some "outward and visible sign" that they possessed the confidence of England. If they were to be told that the opinion of England was not to be expressed by them, but by "So-and-so," that would be not only humiliating to them, but injurious to the country. The Chancellor of the Exchequer made use of the slipshod phrase about "So-and-so" expressing the feelings of England. But who was "So-and-so"? He knew who "So-and-so" was. What the Government wanted in the Conference was not this Vote of money; what they wanted was a division. They said they wanted union; but that was a rhetorical expression. They wanted to take the division list with them into the Conference and to say—"Look at our majority, we are able to speak in the name of So-and-so and So-and-so." In other words, they wanted to speak in the name of a body created by the Patronage Secretary of the Treasury. [*Laughter*]. He trusted he had not spoken on the present occasion with any unbecoming levity. ["Oh, oh!"] He must apologize to hon. Gentlemen opposite, if he was not able to speak in a "lying spirit;" but he begged to assure them that he felt deeply and strongly on the question before the House, because he thought, to use the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it would be humiliating and unbecoming in this country that the Government could not go into the Conference except with those "outward and visible signs" of a sum of money which there was no intention to spend. It was not flattering to Members of the Opposition that the Government did not feel themselves in a position to take part in the proceedings of the Conference, unless they passed a Vote to which in their consciences they could not assent. That was not the position for the Government to take up. He, for one, was anxious that the Government should go into the Conference strong; but he regretted the proposal of the Vote for this, among other reasons—that if they went into it

*Mr. Goschen*

with the division list, the other Powers would be able to say there was a large section of their fellow-countrymen whom they did not represent. When, however, they went into the Conference, having passed the Vote by their majority, he would nevertheless wish them to state that although they might not be supported by the minority on a particular question, that minority would support them if any single point were mooted which was contrary to the real honour and interests of England. They might truly say that whatever might be the divisions among us, every Englishman was prepared to make sacrifices whenever any real question was touched in which, as was so eloquently pointed out by his right hon. Friend, that honour and those interests, not leaving out of sight the position of those populations which had so long suffered, were involved. In that event, they would find the minority added to the majority without the loss of a single man.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH said, he could not well understand the position which had been taken up by the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken (Mr. Goschen). He expressed a desire to support Her Majesty's Government, but he had not offered to the House any idea of the way in which he intended to give practical effect to that desire. He declared himself anxious that they should speak out with a strong voice, and should be supported in their defence of British interests; but he himself suggested no way of protecting those interests, and declined to agree to the way that the Government, speaking with the responsibility of Advisers of Her Majesty, proposed to Parliament. He said if they wanted to build ships or to raise men he would support a Vote for that purpose. But knowing that their neutrality was conditional—knowing that they intended to preserve peace unless certain conditions were infringed—he said with the same voice that he would give them nothing to prepare for those possibilities against which he desired to guard, and which all must admit could not be met without due preparation. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) could not understand that position were it not that under the whole argument of the right hon. Gentleman, in common with that of many hon. Members who had preceded him, might be detected the real motive

of their action—namely, that, though knowing the importance of the crisis, and admitting that the Government possessed the confidence of the country, they were led by mere personal feeling against the Prime Minister to refuse to those on that side of the House, who had acted very differently towards them in similar emergencies, that support which was necessary for the defence of the interests and honour of the country. But he believed that the people were beginning to appreciate this conduct, and that a knowledge of this might have led to the singular complaint of the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) that evening. That hon. Gentleman and those who agreed with him had attempted the unconstitutional course of appealing to mass meetings in order to overawe—or at any rate to bias—the decision of the House of Commons, and, greatly to their disappointment, the monster they raised had turned against them. Why was it that they had heard the hon. Member for the Border Burghs talk of the necessity of securing order and decency at public meetings; why was it that the hon. Gentleman was reduced to make a pitiful appeal to his (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's) right hon. Friend (Mr. Cross) as the guardian of law and order, and to denounce the Lord Mayor of London and the Governor of the Bank as leaders of organized gangs, with the natural sympathy, evidenced by his cheers, of the hon. Member for Sheffield?

MR. MUNDELLA: I beg to say that when the hon. Member referred to the Lord Mayor I was not attending to his observations.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: The hon. Member's cheer was readily recognized; but he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) never said the hon. Gentleman had cheered the particular reference to the Lord Mayor. He had heard him cheer the denunciation by the hon. Member (Mr. Trevelyan) of these terrible meetings that had been held in the country. He did not wonder that, after the experience of the hon. Member for Sheffield as to the feeling of his constituents—

MR. MUNDELLA: Mr. Speaker—["Order!"]—I only wish to repeat that I was not in the House.

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman is in possession of the House,



and the hon. Member for Sheffield can make any statement he may wish in the course of the debate.

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH:** He should sympathize in the denunciation delivered by his hon. Friend. With regard to the objections which had been taken by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Goschen) to any statements indicating suspicion of Russia, he wished to express his own belief that the Emperor of Russia would meet the promises if circumstances permitted. He believed that the generals and diplomatists of Russia would show as much sincerity in the future as they had shown in the past; and he should be extremely sorry to excite one spark of fear or jealousy in the country or in that House by anything which he might say with regard to the proceedings of Russia. But he would just ask the right hon. Gentleman to bear in mind that, although he had very justly deprecated any language of unnecessary or improper strength being used towards a Power with whom we were on friendly terms like Russia, yet no speaker who sat on the other side of the House had ever, as far as he remembered, deprecated any language, however violent, however unfair, applied to another Power with whom we were also on friendly terms—namely, Turkey. The Government were asked to justify the Vote they were proposing to the House. The Amendment of the right hon. Member for Bradford stated that he saw no reason for voting unnecessary Supplies. That was the pith of the question. Were the Supplies necessary or were they not? The right hon. Member for the City of London said—"Oh, the situation is changed by the armistice of which they had so recently heard."

**MR. GOSCHEN:** I asked whether it was changed? I did not give an opinion one way or the other, but asked for information.

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH** would also hesitate to express a decided opinion; because, in the first place, he was not sure, although he hoped the news was true, that the armistice had been signed; and, in the second place, he did not know what the terms of that armistice might be. It was possible—he spoke without knowledge—that there might be terms in that armistice more dangerous to Europe than

anything which appeared in the bases of peace which had been communicated to Her Majesty's Government. It was possible there might be questions of the occupation of territory or of fortresses, which might make the circumstances even graver than they had hitherto appeared. He did not say that it was so; but he said that before they expressed an opinion as to the effect of the armistice, they must know—first, whether it had been actually signed; and, next, what the terms were. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Cross) as basing the case of the Government on the continued advance of the Russians. His right hon. Friend had very properly referred to that continued advance as a serious element among the circumstances which the House had to consider; but he had not for a moment, neither had his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, based the case of the Government in proposing that Vote, either solely or mainly, on that advance; though, he must add on this point that, for all we knew, that advance might be continuing still. But he was bound to say that he had listened with amazement to the hypothesis of the right hon. Gentleman opposite—that dissensions within the Cabinet had led to delay in the negotiations. He did not think it necessary to reiterate arguments in order to show who were responsible for that delay—it was enough for him to know that those who had profited by it were the Russians, and that was a fact worth any amount of argument. But putting all this aside, supposing the bases of peace accepted, a satisfactory armistice concluded, and the Russian advance checked, was there no necessity for preparation on the part of this country? Let them look for a moment at the relative positions of the two parties to this war. There was no longer any equality between the contending forces—adopting the words of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, the scale of the Turks had kicked the beam—an expression which very fairly described the overwhelming defeat which had overtaken the Turkish arms. The right hon. Gentleman had further admitted that there was legitimate ground for jealousy of Russia, and that the safest and most effective check on Russia was to be found in the concert of Europe. In that concert Her Majesty's

*Mr. Speaker*

Government hoped to have their fair share. But they knew that the other Powers were in a state of armed preparation, which it was the boast of this country that our forces were never in, during times of peace. And besides this, some at least of the other Powers were in such a geographical position that they could almost immediately interfere by force to secure that their interests should be respected; and, under these circumstances, was there no need to ask the House of Commons to place this country on an equality in this European Conference with other Powers. Her Majesty's Government did not regard this Vote as an empty thing, though they believed that by asking the House to assent to it, they were taking the best means to secure that, not only this, but a far larger expenditure, should not be incurred. It was strange to observe how quickly hon. Members opposite had discovered that they wanted a policy of peace, although, when the interest of their own country was not touched, they had advocated a policy of war. But if they did want such a policy, it would be more certainly attained by supporting the Government in the matter of that Vote, than by confining them to a miserable inaction, which was the only alternative proposed, which would cause England's enemies, if she had any, to rejoice, and her friends—and she had friends—to mistrust her. That was the reason why the Government asked for this Vote. If required to protect those interests which hon. Gentlemen opposite themselves admitted must be protected, the money would be spent; but he again repeated that the Government believed the Vote to be one of peace rather than war, and it was with the hope and intention of securing and maintaining peace that they proposed it. But let him for a moment refer to the published bases of peace. Was there nothing in them that suggested some kind of preparation on the part of this country for what might possibly occur? He hoped he might allude to the question of the Straits, without being charged with attempting to excite the fear or jealousy of Russia. What had happened with regard to this subject, which it was essential should be clearly and concisely put before the country? On the 21st of January the Russian Ambassador stated that in the bases of peace

sent to the Grand Duke Nicholas no mention was made of the Straits. On the 24th of January Mr. Layard informed Her Majesty's Government that the question of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles was to be settled between the Sultan and the Emperor of Russia. On the 25th of January the Russian Ambassador communicated the bases of peace in which these words occurred—"Ulterior understanding for safeguarding the rights and interests of Russia in the Straits." On the 30th of January Prince Gortchakoff declared that the Article referring to the Straits was vague and unnecessary, and that he had no objection to suppress it altogether. He denied that it referred to an understanding between Russia and Turkey alone, and stated most categorically that Russia considered the question of the Straits a European question, which could only be settled in concert with other Powers. Well, that was a very satisfactory result so far as it went; but why was the Article ever inserted in the bases of peace? Could we suppose it was due to the haste with which those bases were prepared? Why, we had been led to understand that they were so carefully framed, so complicated, and so voluminous that they could not be transmitted by telegraph, but had to be sent by courier at the cost of precious time and a continuance of the war for perhaps a fortnight longer than was necessary. These facts appeared to him to be worthy of the consideration of the House and of the country, especially when taken in connection with the fact that three times during this century—in 1807, in 1829, and in 1833—the Russians had endeavoured to force the Porte to grant them the exclusive right to pass through the Straits at all times and under all circumstances, and that when Turkey had been reduced to her present position it was scarcely likely that, having been abandoned by all the European Powers, she should care to insist on the exclusion from the Treaty of a condition so peculiarly desirable to Russia, and which, however injurious to the interests of European Powers, might appear to the Porte to have comparatively little influence on her own fortunes. He would now turn to the article in the bases of peace affecting Bulgaria, and he must say he was really unable to understand how it was that hon.

Gentlemen opposite should both in and out of the House be always stating that the Government and the Conservative Party took no interest in the condition of the Christian populations. Why, he could quote despatches without end to show the interest which had been taken in their condition by the Government. Perhaps, however, he might be told that despatches were mere waste paper; but he could also refer to the action of Lord Salisbury as the Plenipotentiary of England at the Conference, when it would be admitted that reforms were agreed to by all the Plenipotentiaries of the European Powers, including the Plenipotentiary of Russia, for the purpose of securing the good government and freedom, as far as it could be given to them, of the inhabitants of those districts. But those reforms were essentially different from the Article proposed in the present bases of peace, for there never was a question at the Conference as to the establishment of a tributary State. That point was distinctly reserved in the bases of the Conference as one which should not be considered. What did we find in the bases of peace? An autonomous Bulgaria, of indefinite extent; but possibly implying the evacuation of the Quadrilateral by the Turks, and the substitution of a new State for the greater part of the present possessions of Turkey in Europe. He admitted that the position of things was now changed. But what did the proposed Bulgaria really mean? It was conceivable—although the interpretation might not be accurate, and he hoped it was not—that Bulgaria, as defined in this base, might mean a Principality which should be neither free, nor autonomous, nor Bulgaria. It might mean a Principality which would not necessarily be under a Russian Prince, but subject to Russian influence, guided by Russian officers and advisers, maintained by means derived from Russia; and, in fact, having its whole policy directed by Russia, as had been the case with other autonomous Principalities in times past. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not say this would be so, but that it might; and if his supposition were true, would such a State be a peaceable neighbour to the remnant of Turkey on the South, or to some other Power on the North? On the contrary, it was likely to become a hotbed of insurrection, and to lead to a

renewal of all the troubles which constituted the history of most of the Northern Provinces of Turkey for many years past. This was a point which he mentioned now because several hon. Gentlemen who had spoken seemed to think that this Article in the bases of peace was so satisfactory that it could only result in a durable peace. He had not heard it stated in the course of the evening's debate that the Vote was a war Vote, though it had been freely spoken of as such elsewhere. He denied that this was so, and said that this might fairly be described as less of a war Vote than that of 1870; because, while that was voted to be spent at once, the Government had stated that this was not to be spent until it was clearly necessary to do so. In 1870, at the very commencement of the war between Germany and France, before there was a sign that Belgium would be attacked, the Government asked for a Vote of Credit to strengthen the Military and Naval Forces of Great Britain for the protection of Belgium. It seemed to him that if the Vote now asked for was a departure from a policy of neutrality, it was less so than was the Vote taken in 1870. But that was no departure from a policy of neutrality. What did the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich say with regard to it? The present Prime Minister spoke of the position of this country at the time as being one of "armed neutrality." The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich took great exception to that expression. The phrase, he said, was eminently unsuited to the circumstances and to the unequivocal friendliness this country entertained for both parties to the war. He described the position of Great Britain as that of a neutral. What was the difference between the position of affairs at that date and the present time which made this Vote less compatible with perfect neutrality than that? He would not dwell upon the objections which had been raised by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe). The right hon. Gentleman favoured them with some very violent epithets as to the policy which Her Majesty's Government recommended to the House. It was, he said, vulgar, ridiculous, unconstitutional; and he based these epithets almost entirely on the view that the Vote would technically expire on the 31st of March. The right

hon. Gentleman said—and very wisely, considering the tone of his argument—that he would not go into the question of patriotism; and although he occupied the responsible position of Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Liberal Government of 1870, it would appear from his speech that he had either forgotten or been ignorant of the foreign policy of that Government. As to the Vote expiring on the 31st of March, if a renewal of it were required, and if the House were satisfied to support the Government in the policy they had always adhered to, he was confident they would continue the Vote beyond the 31st of March, and as much longer as might be required. The question was, had the House confidence in the Government, or had it not? At all events, the course they had pursued was in accordance with the policy laid down in the despatch of the 6th of May, and the Vote they asked for was a logical and natural sequence of it. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite had no alternative to propose; they admitted that they had no hope of supplanting the Government; and some of them expressed concurrence in the objects at which the Government aimed. Yet they thought it consistent with their duty to their constituents and the country to decline to give the Government the means they deemed necessary to carry out their policy. At Oxford the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich was reported to have spoken of the condition of the Irish Representation as deplorable. He did not admit the accuracy of that description; but however that might be, he was sure that the Irish Representatives would not find in a time of difficulty and danger to their country an opportunity for a Party move. The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) had disclaimed the Amendment as a Party move, and after the speech of the right hon. Member for the City, he should be reluctant to attribute that character to it. He could not help thinking, therefore, that on further consideration these right hon. Gentlemen might see the strength of the case of the Government and the difficulty of their own, and reflecting on the way their action had been received by the country, might withdraw the Amendment. [“No, no!”] If not, he was confident that the great Liberal Party would not support a Motion calculated to deprive the Govern-

ment of its power in the Councils of Europe, or be misled by personal abuse of the Prime Minister, and by misrepresentations of the grossest kind of the acts and intentions and views of the Government, into action that would paralyze the arm of England at a time when that arm might be more necessary than ever to maintain the interests of our Empire and the freedom of Europe.

MR. GLADSTONE moved the adjournment of the debate.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Debate further adjourned till Monday next.*

House adjourned at a quarter  
after One o'clock till  
Monday next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 4th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — Private Bills—Standing Orders Committee, *appointed and nominated*; Opposed Private Bills—Committee of Selection, *appointed*; Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, *appointed and nominated*.

### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—QUESTION.

EARL GRANVILLE asked the noble Earl at the head of the Government, Whether he had any announcement to make, as promised, with reference to the Business of their Lordships' House?

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD, in reply, said, that next week—probably that day week—his noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor would invite the attention of their Lordships to the consideration of a subject of much importance—namely, the jurisdiction of the Crown over the territorial waters of the Empire, especially in relation to the recent case of the *Franconia*, and would lay a Bill on the Table. Very shortly, also, a Bill would be introduced to fulfil a promise made last year with regard to the protection of the Telegraph Service and

property of the Post Office. Before Easter a Bill would be introduced to consolidate clauses relating to railway, gas, and water companies, and other works of that description. Such a Bill, in the opinion of the Government, could be advantageously originated in their Lordships' House; because they would have in its discussion the assistance and experience of his noble Friend the Chairman of Committees. There were two other Bills connected with legal matters, which it might, perhaps, have been expected the Government would introduce in their Lordships' House; but, on consideration, it was thought more convenient to bring them forward first in the other House. One was a Bankruptcy Bill, which had been already before their Lordships' House, and had had their opinion expressed upon it, and the other was an important Bill to codify the laws relating to indictable offences. These two Bills would be introduced by his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General. He hoped, also, that next week his noble Friend the Lord President of the Council would be able to bring in a Bill on the subject of cattle diseases.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE ARMISTICE.—QUESTIONS.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** May I ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he has any information to give the House on the subject of the armistice and the terms of peace concluded between Russia and Turkey?

**THE EARL OF DERBY:** My Lords, I have received nothing more than what confirms officially the statement which your Lordships will have already seen through the ordinary sources of information—namely, that the terms of peace and the armistice have been signed, and that orders have been sent to the commanders of the forces on both sides, in both Europe and Asia, to suspend operations.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** Can the noble Earl give us anything as to the terms?

**THE EARL OF DERBY:** The exact text of the terms of peace as signed has not been communicated to us; but I do not understand that they differ in any material respect from those already in your Lordships' hands. With regard

to the military bases of the armistice, I am not at present in a position to give your Lordships any information on that subject.

#### PRIVATE BILLS—STANDING ORDERS.

**THE EARL OF REDESDALE,** as Chairman of Committees, moved a series of new Regulations as to Private Bills. They had, he said, been before the House since last July, and there had been, therefore, ample time to consider them. They were of great importance, particularly with regard to Bills originating under Provisional Orders; but their sole purpose was to secure for the House sufficient time to give an adequate consideration to such measures. He therefore moved—

"1. That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after Tuesday the 11th day of June next:

"2. That no Bill originating in this House authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a first time after Tuesday the 9th day of April next:

"3. That no Bill originating in this House confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a first time after Tuesday the 9th day of April next:

"4. That no Bill brought from the House of Commons authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a second time after Tuesday the 18th day of June next:

"5. That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a second time after Tuesday the 18th day of June next:

"6. That when a Bill shall have passed this House with amendments this order shall not apply to any new Bill sent up from the House of Commons which the Chairman of Committees shall report to the House is substantially the same as the Bill so amended."

**LORD HENNIKER** said, he was sure no one would wish to oppose any proposal of the noble Earl at the Table unnecessarily on a question of this kind. He understood, however, that these Resolutions, as far as Provisional Orders were concerned, would probably lead to great inconvenience. He would ask the noble Earl to postpone his Motion till to-morrow or Thursday, so that some further consideration might be given to the subject.

THE EARL OF REDESDALE said, there was some force in the objection of the noble Lord, and he would therefore consent to the postponement for a few days of Nos. 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Ordered, That no Private Bill brought from the House of Commons shall be read a second time after *Tuesday the 11th day of June* next:

Ordered, That when a Bill shall have passed this House with amendments this order shall not apply to any new Bill sent up from the House of Commons which the Chairman of Committees shall report to the House is substantially the same as the Bill so amended.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE CORRESPONDENCE.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

EARL DE LA WARR said, he had given Notice that he would ask the attention of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (the Earl of Derby) to the recent Correspondence relative to Turkey, with special reference to the Note addressed to Count Schouvaloff on the 6th of May last. His noble Friend not having been able to inform their Lordships as to the actual terms of the armistice, and as the public reports of what had occurred were, it seemed to him (Earl De La Warr), far from satisfactory, his noble Friend would, perhaps, allow him to act on his Notice. He might, perhaps, mention, in passing, that he felt the unsatisfactory position of affairs, particularly with regard to the report that the fortresses on the Danube were to be evacuated by the Turks. That would have the effect of placing nearly the whole of Turkey practically under the power of Russia for the present. It was not his intention to enter upon the many and various questions of the past connected with the war between Turkey and Russia—a war which to all appearance was involving the ruin of a great Empire and desolating one of the fairest portions of Eastern Europe, and which was marked with horrors and sufferings almost beyond all precedent; but he wished to confine his few remarks as far as possible to the recent Correspondence on the affairs of Turkey in connection with the Note of his noble Friend the Foreign Secretary addressed to Count Schouvaloff on the 6th of May last. He believed that Note represented the policy of Her Majesty's Government. It had frequently been

referred to in that sense, and in the communication of Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary to Count Schouvaloff, on the 13th of December last, it was quoted as enumerating what, "in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, would most directly affect British interests." It then proceeded to say—

"Among these it was stated that Her Majesty's Government were not prepared to witness with indifference the passing of Constantinople into other hands than those of its present possessors."

To this the Russian Government replied on the 18th of May last—

"Pour ce que concerne Constantinople, sans pouvoir préjuger la marche ni l'issue de la guerre, le Cabinet Impérial répète qu'une acquisition de cette capitale est exclue des vues de sa Majesté l'Empereur."

Her Majesty's Government not being satisfied with this reply—under the circumstances, very rightly, as it appeared to him, no other communication having taken place on the question during the interval—in the despatch of the 13th of December last, added that the occupation of Constantinople by the Russian forces, even though it should be of a temporary character, and for military purposes only, would be an event which it would on all accounts be most desirable to avoid. In a later paragraph of the same despatch a similar statement was made with regard to the Dardanelles. Thus far, then, up to the 13th of December last, the policy of the Government was clear, and he believed it had been so accepted by the country since the despatch of the 6th of May. Confidence had been felt that the occupation of Constantinople and the Dardanelles by the Russians would not be permitted. Then let them look to what happened on the 16th of December. Prince Gortchakoff informed Count Schouvaloff that the Russian Government requested Her Majesty's Secretary of State to define more clearly what were the British interests which might be affected by the eventualities of the war. To this Lord Derby replied on the 12th of January, in a despatch to Lord Augustus Loftus—

"That Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that any operations tending to place the passage of the Dardanelles under the control of Russia would be an impediment to the proper consideration of the terms of the final settlement between Russia and Turkey."

He came then to the chief point to which

he desired to ask the attention of his noble Friend. The occupation of Constantinople by Russian troops was there entirely omitted as a question in which British interests were concerned. It was the Dardanelles only which were mentioned, and this seemed to him to be a matter of very serious moment. Had anything occurred to render even the temporary occupation of Constantinople of less importance than it was on the 13th of December last? Were British interests in Constantinople less now than they were a short time ago either in a military, a political, or in a commercial point of view? If so, he was not aware when the change occurred. He did not doubt, or in any way distrust the assurances given by the Emperor of Russia that he had no intention of occupying Constantinople permanently; but military reasons might be urged for doing so for a short time, and possibly other reasons for doing so for a longer time; and what was the actual position of Constantinople at the present time? Why, it was practically invested, or very nearly so, on the land side. By the recent telegrams received from Mr. Layard, it appeared that the Russians had advanced to Rodosto on the Sea of Marmora on the right, extending their line almost to the Black Sea on the left; and on the 30th of January Mr. Layard telegraphed—"The Russians continue to advance on all sides." Now, if Russia should insist on possessing Constantinople, what could be said in answer to their demand for its occupation in a military point of view? He sincerely hoped that, although omitted in the despatch to which he had referred, Her Majesty's Government would re-echo the statement, and re-assure the country that the military occupation of Constantinople as well as that of the Dardanelles would be strenuously opposed. Much as there was reason to deplore the war and its results—and he confessed he could not witness unmoved the fall of a great Empire—a nation with whom we had been a long time in alliance, a people who had fought bravely for their country, for their independence and their homes, against a powerful enemy displaying equal gallantry; indeed, it was impossible to regard these events without deep concern—it would be not a less cause of dismay and apprehension for the future if the support in Parliament and elsewhere was withheld

from Her Majesty's Government which would enable them to uphold British interests, to keep good faith as regarded the obligations of existing Treaties, and to stand upon what the country had from the first believed to be the intention of the Government, and upon which the country had relied. The country believed that though the policy had been one of neutrality, yet that it was a conditional neutrality, and that one of those conditions was that Constantinople and the Dardanelles should not be occupied by Russian troops.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I think that many of the observations which have fallen from my noble Friend will commend themselves to your Lordships' attention. He commenced by lamenting the great sufferings which attended the progress of this war, and he expressed a feeling, which, if not universal, is certainly very generally concurred in by this House, of regret at the fall of a great Empire with which we have been long in alliance. My noble Friend has paid a compliment, to which I am sure none of your Lordships will take exception, to the gallantry displayed by the weaker party; and he went on to discuss the conditions of peace, so far as they are known, and the manner in which British interests are likely to be affected by them. But, my Lords, that part of the speech I can very easily pass over; because though he considers the bases of the terms of peace unsatisfactory, and though he considers that the evacuation of the Turkish fortresses on the Danube will leave a large portion of Turkish territory in Russian hands, still my noble Friend did not, and could not, point out any means by which these results could be avoided, except means the adoption of which I scarcely think he would have advised, and which, if adopted, would certainly not have been approved of by public opinion in this country. The Government of this country deliberately, and after full consideration of all the circumstances, declined to take part in the war which we hope is now come to an end. We assumed a position not of absolute, but of conditional neutrality; we defined the conditions on which that neutrality was based; those conditions, so far, have not been violated; and, that being so, we thus deliberately, by that act, put it out of our power to interfere with the

results to which my noble Friend has alluded. We stated at the same time that while we claimed for this country no exclusive or exceptional privileges, we should yet, in common with the other Great Powers of Europe, claim a right to have a voice in the settlement of this question. That is the attitude we assumed at the first, which we have maintained to the end, and in which I believe we shall be upheld by the great body of the people; and I do not think, however lamentable may have been the consequences of the war, that any blame is attributable to Her Majesty's Government for them. I now come to the particular point which my noble Friend has raised, and which I am glad has been raised, because, although, for my own part, I do not think it was open to misunderstanding, the language of the Government in relation to the despatch of the 6th May has been misrepresented in some quarters in the manner indicated by my noble Friend, and some misunderstanding has arisen in consequence. My noble Friend's point, as I understand it, is this—that although in the despatch of the 6th of May we objected to Constantinople passing into Russian hands, and in the despatch of the 13th of December we say that we shall maintain our objection even to a temporary occupation, yet in our reply to the Russian Memorandum of the 16th of December, when the Russian Government asked what were our interests, we did not treat of Constantinople at all, and only spoke of the inconvenience which would arise from a Russian occupation of Gallipoli. If that is the construction which my noble Friend places upon our words, it certainly is not the construction which they were intended to bear. We drew a marked distinction between the two questions of temporary or permanent occupation. We had stated that the acquisition of Constantinople by Russia would be inimical to our interests, and was one of those circumstances which would affect, if not put an end to our attitude of neutrality; but we said nothing, and we carefully avoided saying anything about the possibility of a temporary military occupation of Constantinople; and that was for various reasons. One was, because the two sorts of occupation—temporary, and for military purposes on the one hand, and permanent on the other—are

in their nature different. Another was, that while there was no objection to saying that the acquisition of Constantinople by the Russians would be an infringement of British interests, clearly it would not have been desirable to tell the Turks that, if they wanted to drive us into war, all they had to do was to abandon Constantinople and leave it open to Russian occupation. If we had announced that to them, it was in their power to have involved us in war, whether we would or not. The language of the despatch which my noble Friend referred to was therefore purposely made general, and referred not to the military, but to the political act of taking possession by Russia of Constantinople. But, my Lords, on various occasions, and particularly one my noble Friend has alluded to—the despatch of the 13th of December—we supplemented our former communications on the point by saying that, although we had not referred to a temporary military occupation as an act which would call upon us to abandon our neutrality, still it was an act to which we entertained the gravest objection, and which we in every way deprecated. We did so on three grounds. In the first place, if allowed, it was impossible to doubt that the presence of the Russian forces in Constantinople would give a vehemence and a fresh impulse to the warlike feeling of this country which might be dangerous to the interests of peace. In the next place, it was impossible not to apprehend that even the temporary occupation of Constantinople would lead to great danger in a humanitarian point of view; because it would almost certainly be the means of raising the Mahomedans against the Christians, and the Christians against the Mahomedans, and tend to aggravate the danger which has existed at all times in the Turkish Empire, since the beginning of the present struggle, of a civil war between various religions and races. And, lastly, in our opinion, the occupation of so important a point as the Turkish capital would place the Russian Government in a position in which it was not desirable to see it placed with respect to the dictation of the terms of peace. We have, therefore, in terms deliberately considered, deprecated the temporary occupation by Russia of Constantinople. I shall quote our language, as given in a Memorandum communicated by me



to Count Schouvaloff on the 13th of December—

"While appreciating the courtesy and friendly character of this answer, Her Majesty's Government feel that it does not sufficiently meet the dangers against which they desire to guard. They are strongly of opinion—an opinion which the course of events tends still more to confirm—that the occupation of Constantinople by the Russian forces, even though it should be of a temporary character and for military purposes only, would be an event which it would, on all accounts, be most desirable to avoid. They cannot conceal from themselves that if such an occupation appeared imminent, public feeling in this country, founded on a just appreciation of the consequences to be apprehended, might call for measures of precaution on the part of Great Britain from which they have hitherto felt justified in abstaining. It is with the view of avoiding what might endanger seriously the good relations happily maintained between the two countries that Lord Derby has been charged by the Cabinet to express to the Russian Government their earnest hope that, should the Russian armies advance to the south of the Balkans, no attempt will be made to occupy Constantinople or the Dardanelles. In the contrary event Her Majesty's Government must hold themselves free to take whatever course may appear to them necessary for the protection of British interests; but they sincerely trust and confidently believe that any such necessity will be averted by mutual understanding between the two Governments."

Now, my Lords, I maintain that while we are in friendly relations with the Power thus addressed, it would not have been possible to speak more distinctly or more emphatically than we have done in that despatch. My noble Friend seems to think we have fallen back from our attitude of the 6th of May; because he says that in our answer to a further communication from the Russian Government to define British interests, we did not again mention Constantinople, but referred only to the inconvenience which would arise from a military occupation of Gallipoli. But that is not receding from our former position. We did not imply that our former despatch was withdrawn or modified; but being asked to specify more clearly what were the English interests which Her Majesty's Government considered might be affected by the eventualities of the war extending beyond the limits to which they were restricted by the assurances of the Imperial Cabinet, we proceeded to mention what appeared to us the obvious inconvenience that would arise from a Russian occupation of Gallipoli. That was not taking

away from, or altering our previous statement. It was simply something added or supplementary to what we had said before. I am quite ready to give any further explanation which any of your Lordships may ask for; but I think what I have said will be sufficient to show that we have not in any manner receded from or abandoned the position we took up from the first.

LORD HAMMOND inquired, Whether there was any objection to lay on the Table the map defining the limits of Bulgaria referred to in the 8th Protocol, and which was used at the Conference of Constantinople?

THE EARL OF DERBY: There is certainly no objection to produce that map; indeed, I thought it was on the Table already with the other Papers.

LORD CAMPBELL said, he did not rise to detain the House for more than two or three minutes. He could not, however, wish the debate to close until he had thanked the noble Earl (Earl De La Warr), for the judicious way in which he had brought the subject forward, for the firmness of his protest against an occupation of Constantinople, and for the clearness with which he had explained that the movement on Rodosto did a great deal to invest the capital. At that moment, the essential point was not to attribute too much importance to the armistice. Political society appeared to be catching at excuses for repose and confidence instead of guarding against dangers. It was therefore worth while to recollect that the armistice was not certain to preclude the Russian advance on Gallipoli and on Constantinople, while the terms of peace were described by Mr. Layard, our Ambassador, as involving the destruction of European Turkey. The noble Earl the Secretary of State had asked what could have been done to lessen the existing complications. There never was a question easier to answer. The Fleet might have advanced to Constantinople instead of going back to Besika Bay. The Government might have persisted in the measure which Europe saw to be their own. Its retraction was a topic of regret and of dismay in nearly every circle. No cause had been assigned for it. The world was only left to view it as a sacrifice of policy by which the talents of the noble Earl the Secretary of State had been regained to the Department he pre-

*The Earl of Derby*

aided over. But this disastrous and humiliating step might be revoked. He (Lord Campbell), although he would not enter now into the argument, believed it was essential to revoke it; that only by revoking it the Government could mitigate a situation everyone deplored.

#### PRIVATE BILLS.

Standing Orders Committee appointed: The Lords following, with the Chairman of Committees, were named of the Committee:

|                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| D. Somerset.     | V. Eversley.            |
| Ld. Chamberlain. | V. Halifax.             |
| M. Winchester.   | L. Camoys.              |
| M. Lansdowne.    | L. Saye and Sele.       |
| M. Bath.         | L. Balfour of Burley.   |
| E. Devon.        | L. Colville of Culross. |
| E. Airlie.       | L. Boyle.               |
| E. Carnarvon.    | L. Monson.              |
| E. Cadogan.      | L. Ponsonby.            |
| E. Belmore.      | L. Digby.               |
| E. Chichester.   | L. Colchester.          |
| E. Powis.        | L. Silchester.          |
| E. Verulam.      | L. De Tabley.           |
| E. Morley.       | L. Skelmersdale.        |
| E. Stradbroke.   | L. Belper.              |
| E. Amherst.      | L. Ebury.               |
| E. Sydney.       | L. Egerton.             |
| V. Hawarden.     | L. Hartismere.          |
| V. Hutchinson.   | L. Penrhyn.             |
| V. Hardinge.     | L. Wolverton.           |

#### OPPOSED PRIVATE BILLS.

The Lords following; viz.,

|                         |                  |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| M. Lansdowne.           | L. Boyle.        |
| L. Colville of Culross. | L. Skelmersdale. |

were appointed, with the Chairman of Committees, a Committee to select and propose to the House the names of the five Lords to form a Select Committee for the consideration of each opposed Private Bill.

#### OFFICE OF THE CLERK OF THE PARLIAMENTS AND OFFICE OF THE GENTLEMAN USHER OF THE BLACK ROD.

Select Committee appointed: The Lords following were named of the Committee:

|                  |                         |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| Ld. Chancellor.  | E. Bradford.            |
| Ld. President.   | E. Granville.           |
| Ld. Privy Seal.  | E. Kimberley.           |
| D. Saint Albans. | E. Sydney.              |
| Ld. Chamberlain. | E. Redesdale.           |
| M. Lansdowne.    | V. Hawarden.            |
| M. Salisbury.    | V. Hardinge.            |
| M. Bath.         | V. Eversley.            |
| Ld. Steward.     | L. Colville of Culross. |
| E. Devon.        | L. Ponsonby.            |
| E. Doncaster.    | L. Colchester.          |
| E. Tankerville.  | L. Skelmersdale.        |
| E. Carnarvon.    | L. Aveland.             |

House adjourned at Six o'clock,  
till To-morrow, half-past  
Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 4th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Charles Stuart Parker, esquire, *for* Perth.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Printing, *appointed* and *nominated*.

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—*First Reading*—Ecclesiastical Buildings (Fire Insurance)\* [99]; County Courts Jurisdiction\* [100].

*Third Reading*—House Occupiers Disqualification Removal\* [45]; Public Parks (Scotland)\* [34], and *passed*.

## QUESTIONS.

### CHURCH OF ENGLAND—THE BURIAL SERVICE.—QUESTION.

MR. WADDY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is a fact that the Vicar of Tetbury, Wilts, lately refused to read the Service of the Church of England at the burial of a child who had been baptized by a Primitive Methodist Minister unless the Bishop of the Diocese granted him a Dispensation; whether, on being informed of the illegality of his act, he replied that "he has made the Prayer Book his guide;" whether such conduct is not a violation of the Law; and, whether he will take any steps to check the repetition of such proceedings?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: It is true that the Vicar of Tetbury refused to read the Church Service in the case alluded to and upon the grounds mentioned by the hon. and learned Member. This refusal was, in my opinion, illegal. The father reported the circumstances to the Bishop, and his Lordship, in a reply which has been made public in the newspapers, has expressed his deep regret at the occurrence. The Vicar of Tetbury has written to me as follows:—

"Having seen by the public papers that I was under condemnation by the Bishop, his Lordship having given it as his pronounced opinion that the child had a full right to be buried in the churchyard, which latter was never disputed, it seemed incumbent on me to write to the representatives of the Primitive Methodist Connexion to say that, if I had exceeded my authority and had deprived individuals of privileges which the law of the land entitled them to, I was very sorry for it."

With regard to the last part of the Question I can only say that the Secretary of State has no authority whatever in the matter, and I can only express my unfeigned regret that it should ever have occurred.

**PUBLIC HEALTH ACT—MEDICAL OFFICERS OF HEALTH.—QUESTION.**

COLONEL NAGHTEN asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he has considered the desirability, with a view to the better carrying out of the Public Health Act, especially with regard to the suppression of nuisances, of making it compulsory to appoint the Medical Officers of Health, in all cases, for unions or other large areas, instead of, as is now sometimes the case, for parishes only?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, he was not altogether satisfied with the existing condition of the law on that subject; but he did not intend to propose any change in the law at present. The Local Government Board had always encouraged a combination of local authorities in respect to the appointment of these officers, and it would continue to do so; but it had no power under the existing Act to compel such combination of authorities.

**FRIENDLY SOCIETIES—POOR LAW AMENDMENT ACT, 1876.—QUESTION.**

MR. MELLOR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether he intends to introduce a Bill this Session for the purpose of modifying the twenty-third Clause of "The Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876," in so much as it relates to Friendly Societies?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, he could not undertake to introduce a Bill for the exclusive purpose of amending the section of the Act referred to; but he should be ready to deal with the subject when an opportunity offered—namely, whenever there was a Poor Law Amendment Bill before the House. Possibly he might be able to bring in such a Bill after Easter; and if that assurance did not satisfy the hon. Member, he would be happy to consider any measure which the hon. Member might introduce himself on the matter.

*Mr. Asheton Cross*

**SOUTH KENSINGTON—NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY.—QUESTION.**

MR. BERESFORD HOPE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been drawn to the delay which has occurred in handing over to the Trustees of the National Portrait Gallery the additional rooms assigned to them at South Kensington by a Treasury Minute of March 1876, and to the fact that gas has recently been laid upon a portion of the temporary and easily combustible building at South Kensington in which the Portrait Gallery is for the present housed, including the rooms so assigned to it in 1876?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The proposal in the Treasury Minute of March, 1876, to assign the additional rooms to which reference is made to the National Portrait Gallery was made under some misapprehension with regard to the possibility of removing the collections belonging to the South Kensington Museum, then occupying a portion of this space. If the rooms on the ground floor had been transferred to the National Portrait Gallery, as proposed, access to the collections of the South Kensington Museum in the western and southern galleries would have been cut off. Under these circumstances, and pending the consideration by Her Majesty's Government of the offer made by the Royal Commissioners of the Exhibition of 1881, it was thought more advisable that the rooms on the upper floor contiguous to those occupied by the National Portrait Gallery and affording as good if not better light than those below should be vacated by the Kensington Museum. They have since been used in part for examinations by the Civil Service Commissioners. Gas has always been laid on to the whole of the galleries, even before their occupation by the National Portrait Gallery; but the quantity has been recently increased in these examination-rooms. Every precaution is taken to avoid risk of fire. The building is patrolled night and day by the police, who are in communication with a fire picket of the Royal Engineers in the adjoining building.

**TURKEY—THE WAR—THE BLACK SEA PORTS.—QUESTION.**

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government will use their influence to prevent British ships or other ships laden with cargoes for England, which may sail from Odessa and other Black Sea ports in the event of an armistice, from being seized at the Bosphorus; and, whether there will be any objection to lay upon the Table Papers referring to the alleged ineffectiveness of the Turkish Black Sea blockade, the issue of "passes," and the seizure of neutral ships at the Bosphorus?

**MR. BOURKE:** I am sorry that the hon. Baronet has had the trouble of putting the Question. I know there are a great number of hon. Members in the House who are extremely anxious to be informed on this matter. Papers are now before the Law Officers of the Crown; and I think it would be more satisfactory to the hon. Baronet and to the House generally if I were to make no statement until we receive these Papers. I may say generally that the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to this important subject, and they will do their very best to provide protection for British commerce in respect of the points which may arise. As to the second Question, there will be no objection to lay the Papers on the Table.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—ROUMANIA. QUESTION.

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If Her Majesty's Government have any information as to the demand reported to have been made by Russia for the cession by Roumania of a considerable extent of territory inhabited entirely or almost entirely by Roumanians, and as to the attitude of the Roumanian Government and people in regard to the above demand?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, all I can say is, that Her Majesty's Government have received no definite official information on this subject.

#### TURKEY — ALLEGED OUTRAGES IN BULGARIA.—QUESTION.

**MR. JAMES** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Lord Derby's attention has been

called to a statement contained in Mr. Layard's Despatch, dated Therapia, May 30, 1877, laid before Parliament at the close of last Session, in which, with reference to the Bulgarian outrages of the previous year, Mr. Layard writes—

"I grieve to say there are persons, and amongst them Englishmen, who boast that they have invented these stories with the object of writing down Turkey, to which they were impelled by a well-known hand;"

whether Mr. Layard has been asked for any further explanation of this statement; whether his reply has been received; and, if there is any objection to lay a Copy of it before Parliament?

**MR. BOURKE:** Lord Derby's attention was called to the paragraph mentioned in the Question by a letter from the hon. Member himself to Lord Derby, and the letter of the hon. Member was sent to Mr. Layard, calling his attention to the paragraph. Mr. Layard's answer has been received, which is to the effect that he had no observation to make upon it.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION — THE ARMISTICE.—QUESTIONS.

**MAJOR NOLAN** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he can inform the House, with regard to the Armistice stated by the Turkish Ambassador to have been signed, for how long the Armistice is to continue; and, if it is not agreed on for a definite period, with what notice can it be denounced by either belligerent?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** We have received no information as to any period having been fixed for the duration of the Armistice, or any arrangement having been made with respect to denouncing it.

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can give the House any information with regard to the terms of peace and the Armistice said to have been concluded between the Russian and Turkish Governments?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, the only official information we have received on the subject is a copy of a despatch from the Foreign Minister at Constantinople to the Ottoman Ambassador in this country, which the Ottoman Ambassador has communi-

cated to my noble Friend (the Earl of Derby). It is a despatch dated Constantinople, February 3—that is, yesterday. It says—

“The Ottoman Plenipotentiaries have signed, on the 31st of January, with the Grand Duke Nicholas, the Protocol of the bases of peace and of the Armistice. His Imperial Highness has promised our Plenipotentiaries to transmit immediately to the commanders of the Russian corps the order to suspend hostilities. We, consequently, have issued orders upon our side in the same sense to the commanders of our corps in Europe and Asia.”

That is the only information we have, and it is at least so far satisfactory that it shows that an Armistice has been signed, and that the further effusion of blood has been stayed.

#### TURKEY—THE INSURRECTIONS IN BOSNIA—THE HERZEGOVINA, &c.

##### QUESTION.

MR. ASHBURY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to a pamphlet, printed in Constantinople, entitled “*Les Responsabilités*,” purporting to give copies of letters from eminent Russians, inspiring rebellion in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and adjacent Provinces; and, whether any measures have been taken to ascertain if the originals of the letters in question, now or lately in possession of the Porte, are authentic documents?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Copies of this pamphlet have been sent to the various Members of Her Majesty's Government, including myself, and, from what I can learn, it seems probable that some of the documents containing letters are authentic. I have, however, no such information as would justify me in speaking with certainty on the subject.

#### TURKEY—CRETE.—QUESTION.

MR. MONK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government have received information of a serious insurrection in Crete, and of a declaration of Independence and annexation to the Kingdom of Greece?

MR. BOURKE: A few days ago I answered a Question put by the hon. Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre).

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Since then, no despatch has been received on the subject; but I believe our Consuls are instructed to send, by telegram, any information they may have to communicate. Since the 29th ultimo we have received no intelligence to lead us to believe that the condition of the Island is otherwise than what I then described it—not in a state of insurrection, in a very disturbed state indeed.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

##### SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

##### THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

##### ADJOURNED DEBATE. [THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [31st January], “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair” (for Committee of Supply).

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word “That” to the end of the Question, in order to add the words “this House, having been informed in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech that the conditions on which Her Majesty's neutrality is founded had not been infringed by either belligerent engaged in the war in the East of Europe, and having since received no information sufficient to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, sees no reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies,”—*Mr. William Edward Forster*.)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, “That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question.”

Debate resumed.

MR. GLADSTONE: Mr. Speaker—If there is anyone who hears me as I rise to address the House, and who is under the anticipation that I intend on the present occasion to arraign keenly the past policy of Her Majesty's Government, or to attempt any review of that policy, such a hearer, I believe I may say and I hope, will be disappointed. We approach this debate under great and peculiar responsibility; and in order that I may show the House that I do not use these words in a manner altogether general and vague, I will briefly state what are the propositions on which I shall endeavour to dwell, and which I shall hope to impress upon

the minds of hon. Members. In the first place, I would say that I think it is evident a great change—though it is not now possible to explain that change in all its details—has come over the conditions of this question since the proposal of the Government which we are now discussing was made, and even since the proposal of the Amendment of my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster). I hold, in the second place, without the smallest doubt, that we cannot consistently with public duty assent to the Vote that is now before us. In the third place, I take particular note of the object of the Government in proposing this Vote. It was to procure some united expression of opinion, some such development of the state of mind and sentiment in this House and in the country, as would really strengthen their hands in the Councils of Europe. I will not only admit but assert that that object is one most highly desirable to attain, while I despair altogether of its attainment by the particular method which Her Majesty's Government propose. And, finally, having gone so far, I will endeavour to point out that there is a method by which that object might be attained—if not with the sanguine expectation that the Government may adopt that method—as it seems to me they might without dishonour, and even without prejudice to anything that may hereafter be done—at any rate, which the consciousness that I have contributed what little in me lies towards the tranquil and concordant settlement of this great question. ["Oh! oh!"] I am extremely sorry that before a word has fallen from my lips to excite the susceptibilities of hon. Gentlemen opposite, it should be thought necessary to receive with jeers an expression of that kind. But be that as it may, I can assure those hon. Gentlemen that no word shall consciously fall from me, beyond what the absolute necessities of my argument may require, that will partake of invective, or, so far as I am able to avoid it, of criticism.

I begin, however, by noticing under a sense of public duty in the way of criticism, two matters which were contained in the speech of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and I cannot but refer, in the first place, to the language which was used by him on the opening night of

the Session. He then used, without the least qualification, these words—"Until we know the Russian demands and conditions we have no proposition to make." I took very particular pains to assure myself that the relief conveyed to my mind by those words was a real relief, and not founded upon a misapprehension or an inaccurate recollection of anything that had fallen from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Well, time passed on, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer found himself unable to act upon the engagement which he had given to the House; and it was afterwards stated that that engagement was given under the belief that within a very few days the conditions of the armistice would have been made known. I did not, of course, for a moment question the good faith of my right hon. Friend or the Government in regard to that matter; but it was certainly unfortunate that he should find himself in the position of importing *ex post facto* into his engagement a term which it had not contained; and I do think that in his speech in which he proposed the present Motion and under the Notice which he gave before he knew the conditions of the armistice, he ought to have offered to the House something by way of explanation, and even of apology. ["No, no!"] It is, it seems to me, of the utmost importance that declarations of this nature, by the organs of Government, relating to the course of conduct they mean to pursue on matters of great moment, should be accepted with implicit confidence by the entire House; and they cannot be so accepted by the House—although they may be by the three or four Gentlemen who say "No, no!"—unless we understand that we have them stated with exactness. I think it my duty to take notice of this circumstance, not meaning to impute blame or to go beyond noticing what I think was an unhappy omission; but in the interest of those general rules under which Members of Parliament and Members of the Government are accustomed to conduct their proceedings.

There is another matter, perhaps, of less importance, which also, I think, calls for notice. In describing, as far as he knew them, the conditions of peace which were to precede the armistice, and particularly in describing one of those

conditions affecting Bulgaria, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that there was a rumour afloat to the effect that there was to be a Prince of Bulgaria to be selected by the Emperor of Russia. That certainly was a rumour of a most astounding character. It was mentioned strictly as a rumour, and not as matter within the knowledge of the Government; but it was mentioned as a portion of a most important Ministerial statement, and intended to enter into the body of those considerations which my right hon. Friend was urging upon the House in support of the proposal he had then to make. I asked my right hon. Friend what was the source of the rumour. I put the question, not under the influence of an idle curiosity, but because the rumour was thought fit to form part of a Ministerial statement of the highest moment. It was important that we should have an opportunity, so far as he could give it, of accurately appreciating the value of the rumour; and therefore I asked if my right hon. Friend could give me information; but my right hon. Friend utterly declined to give me that information. I wish to say, in my place as a Member of Parliament, that it appears to me that the House of Commons, or even the person putting the question, was entitled to have received that information. I pass on with satisfaction from these remarks, because we have important matter before us, and it has only been from what I thought a necessity of duty that I have referred to such matters at all.

An immense change has occurred, as I think will be felt on all hands, in the conditions of this debate since its commencement. I do not hesitate to say that when, on the first night of the Session, I experienced an intense relief, and when last Thursday week the whole of that relief was extracted from me, and in lieu of it an oppressive sense of coming embarrassment and mischief took its place, I was under the influence of one apprehension more than any other—an apprehension so grave and so serious as to absorb every other. It was a sense of the enormous responsibility which the Government and Parliament and the country would incur if we took any step that was either in itself calculated to prolong the war, or even short of being calculated to prolong the war was calculated to produce

in the mind of the Sultan and his advisers the belief that we might possibly appear as their allies, and thereby, through the medium of that belief, to induce them to prolong the war. Sir, it is with an immense satisfaction that, in consequence of the signature of the armistice, I find myself relieved from that apprehension; but I wish to point out in a few words that that apprehension was not unreasonable. Often and often have we heard Gentlemen on the Treasury bench complain, and Gentlemen in other portions of the House complain, of the disposition shown on this side to impute to the Government a desire either to assist the Turks in the war, or to take measures calculated to encourage them in the belief that they would ultimately receive assistance. That imputation undoubtedly I have often heard. The imputation probably was repeatedly made; but are we the only persons who have made that imputation? Are we the only persons who have believed down to a late period that many of the steps of the Government would have that unfortunate effect? The answer given by the Government upon all occasions has been—"Look at what Lord Derby wrote on such a date; look at our declaration that the Turks are not to expect assistance from us." But in the Papers laid on the Table, and as late as the 21st of December last, Musurus Pasha, as Lord Derby has recorded, expressed the hope entertained by his Government that they would have England on their side in the prosecution of the war. I do not wish to push this matter further, and I do not go back upon it as a matter of accusation; but I go back upon it as a matter of explanation and defence of those who have seen this character in the measures that have been taken by the Government. I think it is not unfair that I should vindicate them and myself by pointing out that the same expectation was entertained by the Turkish Ambassador himself, and that he thought he had heard these words spoken aside, and that he, too, had known something of those underground channels of communication through which we have had too much reason to fear that encouragement—cruel encouragement, I may say, by whomsoever given—had been conveyed to the Ottoman Porte to persevere in the struggle, from which they have so grievously

and perhaps fatally suffered. I have made freely the admission that the greatest of the fears entertained, at least by myself, has disappeared. I think, upon the other side, it must be felt that what to some the greatest, or one of the greatest of all the inducements, to persevere with a proposal of this kind, has disappeared also. But I will examine that more carefully by-and-bye. What I wish to say at the present moment is this—that the character of this debate is eminently, and indeed entirely, prospective. I listened on Friday night with very great pleasure to the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour)—a speech distinguished by its candour as much as he is himself distinguished by the great promise which belongs to his ability. My hon. Friend stated in that speech, with happy terseness of expression, that every argument that was more than three weeks old would be an anachronism in this debate. I do not want to bind him, or to be bound myself, by the precise multiple of seven by three; but I accept that declaration in its spirit, that it is the present position that we have to consider. Let bygones be bygones. [*Laughter.*] I hope that remark does not offend any hon. Gentleman. I am sure I desire to avoid it, and will do all in my power not to offend. It will be greatly to their own convenience if they will kindly extend their indulgence on such an occasion as this, as far as they can, to allow free scope for my argument. I will not finish the sentence if they do not like it; but I think it is fair that I should refer to the speech made by my right hon. Friend the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel), who did me the honour to refer to a speech that I had made elsewhere. Most legitimate was that challenge. There is nothing more Parliamentary. There is no rule of Parliamentary procedure more legitimate than that Members of this House who make speeches elsewhere should be liable to be called upon to account here for their expressions. My right hon. Friend wished, perhaps, to avoid a charge which might be disagreeable, and simply quoted my words with perfect accuracy, and left them to speak for themselves. They did appear to speak for themselves, for they drew a most emphatic cheer from that side of the

House, with regard to which I will only say that it did not appear to be a cheer of approbation. It appeared that I said that I had boasted that I had been employed for 18 months as an agitator. I did no such thing as boast. It was not a boast. I look upon it as a misfortune that a person who has served the public and the Crown for such a length of time as I have done should have found himself driven to so much extra-Parliamentary action in such a time as this. I have never boasted of my conduct. I have always spoken of it in terms of apology. For 18 months, I said, it had been my endeavour to oppose with very feeble means the policy of the Prime Minister. It has been stated that this is altogether a matter of personal hostility. I do not complain of imputations of that kind. I have never from the beginning of this controversy made one single imputation as to the motives of one single man. I think I have never read a speech directed against me in this controversy of which imputations as to my motives have not been the staple of the argument, with one marked exception, which I rejoice to take the opportunity of acknowledging, in the case of the present distinguished and learned Solicitor General (Sir Hardinge Giffard), who, in a speech to his constituents, which I had the pleasure of reading, discussed my conduct, and, of course, disapproved of it, but expressly acquitted me with regard to motives. However, the simple explanation of my conduct is this—I have complained of the conduct of the Government for ambiguity and uncertainty; but the policy of Lord Beaconsfield, I think, I perfectly understand. I have found in it nothing ambiguous or uncertain. Taking his speeches in this House, his answers about the Bulgarian outrages, his speech at Aylesbury, and his speeches at the Guildhall, they appeared to me to form a perfectly consistent whole. I knew what I had to deal with; and, therefore, wishing not to be ambiguous myself—of which I have been sometimes accused—I referred to the policy of Lord Beaconsfield as that which I understood, and stated that, with the best of the feeble means in my power, it would be my object to oppose it. I need not trouble the House with any statement on the right hon. Baronet's allusion to my description of this as the most indefensible



and ill-advised measure that was ever submitted to Parliament, or to his congratulation to the country on the felicities it has derived from the Divorce Act. That is susceptible of controversy, and I am afraid I am widely at issue with my right hon. Friend; but I am not disposed to recede from what I said on that occasion. But my duty at the present moment is plainly this—to avoid as far as I can in this debate what may properly be called controversy, and to show as clearly and as strongly as I can what are the reasons which restrain me, and which may possibly be, to some extent, the same as restrain others, from supporting the particular proposal of the Government; and, above all, to show as well as I can how far it is or might be possible for us to go towards meeting the Government, and towards fulfilling the purpose which they declare to be the aim and object of this Vote.

Now, Sir, I take the Motion before us to fulfil the first part of that engagement, and to show why it is that we—I ought not to say we, but I—cannot support this Motion. I know it is only according to human nature when professions are made, such as I have made, with a desire to promote, if it were possible at this late stage of a great controversy, some approximation to agreement, for a person in his own mind to say—"That is all very well; but, if so, why not support our policy?" Now, Sir, I must show reasons why I think the proposition cannot be supported. First, I will point out the absence of arguments in its favour, and then those objections to the proposition which appear to me never to have occurred to the minds of many Members of this House, and which even, I will venture to say, if they have occurred at all have occurred very slightly and cursorily to the minds of Her Majesty's Government. First of all, let me point out cursorily what in the present state of this question are not the objects of the Vote. When the Vote was first mentioned, there were many possible or actual objects which have now passed out of view. The Vote is not intended to follow up the Speech delivered at the opening of the Session. With that Speech it has no affirmative connection whatever. I am rather disposed to argue that it has a negative connection with the Speech, and that a man who

reads that Speech is entitled to say that the Vote ought not to have been proposed at all, because everything that was said by Her Majesty in that Speech with regard to her intention to appeal to Parliament for additional Supplies is said on the supposition of a prolongation of hostilities. But hostilities are now not prolonged, and we are debating a proposal of the Government which is entirely outside of that Speech, and which, thought of course, I cannot question the liberty of the Government to make it, is, so far as it goes, in a certain contrariety with regard to the anticipations which that Speech was calculated to raise. I observe as remarkable that this proposition, although one of very great importance indeed, was not introduced by reading a paragraph in the Speech from the Throne or by Royal Message. I do not say there is anything wrong in that. There are precedents for such a course of procedure; but the common practice is, unless there be a strong reason to the contrary, to introduce proposals of this kind, lying wholly outside the ordinary course of business, in one of these two ways. But observe, then, that this proposal has no connection whatever with the Speech from the Throne; for, if it had, undoubtedly the paragraph in the Speech would in the usual course have been read from the Table. When the proposal was made and the speech in support of it was delivered, it was difficult, undoubtedly, to make out a positive argument or statement. It consisted for the most part of surmise and theory, and rather vague anticipation; but I think no one who heard that speech would say that it was evidently the purpose of the Government, by obtaining authority to arm, to influence the preliminary negotiations which were going on between Turkey and Russia. But whether that was so then or not, it cannot be so now, because those preliminary negotiations are at an end. Again, it is quite evident that the purpose of the Vote is not to indicate the conditions of our neutrality. Much might be said of those conditions; and I am afraid that when this occasion has passed by, there are some of them which we may hear of again. I do not wish to multiply the occasions of discord; but I confess it was with astonishment I heard nine months ago that we demanded of Russia—it was perfectly unnecessary, and Russia had no power to comply with

the demand—that Egypt should be free to supply her whole resources and her military population to aid the Porte in her war against Russia, and that Russia should under no consideration be allowed to touch Egypt. I do not know what injustice is if that were not injustice. Moreover, it was perfectly unnecessary, as Russia could not have touched Egypt. I do not know how to give Russia sufficient credit for the way in which she bore the affront. Nobody has touched the conditions of neutrality except one party—except ourselves. [Hear, hear!"] Wait a moment. We imported a new condition. In our original statement to Russia we said that we could not view without jealousy, without interposition—I do not quote the exact words—the transfer of the possession of Constantinople. [MR. GATHORNE HARDY: Passing into other hands.] Thank you. Prince Gortchakoff agreed that they had nothing to do with taking Constantinople into their hands, although military requirements might, of course, make this necessary, and they must, therefore, preserve perfect freedom of action. The meaning of that was obvious. It meant that a temporary occupation of Constantinople, like the occupation of Paris, and like any other occupation, must remain a matter within their free discretion. Well, we received that declaration from Prince Gortchakoff, and we let it remain without notice for seven months; nor was it until the middle of December that we produced a claim to the effect that Russia should renounce the temporary occupation of Constantinople. I confess that that was a proposal which was open to exception on various grounds; but upon which I will not dwell, except as they are necessary for my argument. Then, Sir, finally, this Vote is not necessary in order to stop the advance of the Russians. They are stopped already; they are stopped by the armistice; and though I do not think we were in a position to ask it, yet in the answer Prince Gortchakoff has given to our demand in December last, he has given an honourable engagement against the occupation or possession of Constantinople. It was possible in the nature of things that for some temporary purpose, for the sake of what is called "prestige," the sham production which I wish were banished from the language and the minds of men—but it has great power over the minds of men,

and it may have over the minds of Russians as well as others—it was in the nature of things possible that for the sake of the vindication of military honour there might have been some occupation of Constantinople. I am rejoiced to think, so far as I can understand the terms of Prince Gortchakoff's despatch, that that is now entirely excluded, and that it would be a virtual breach of faith if any military occupation were to take place. Well, Sir, these purposes are no longer in view; and I now ask myself, what are the purposes contemplated by the Gentlemen who have proposed this Vote, or by the Gentlemen who intend to support it? I have heard a great deal said about its being intended to strengthen the hands of the Government, to protect British interests, and to put us upon a footing with other Powers. Let me for a very few moments deal with these three supposed objects of the Vote. First, it is said to strengthen the hands of the Government. The right hon. Baronet who has to-day, I believe, become Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach)—and whom I congratulate on his advancement—made an appeal to us on Friday night which appeared to be founded upon very great inattention to matters of history. He appeared to be under the impression that in all matters of national interest abroad it was unpatriotic for Gentlemen in Opposition to differ from the measures of the Government. I do not know at what period of our history such an opinion prevailed. Of all Leaders of the Opposition in this country that I have ever known or read of, perhaps the late Sir Robert Peel was the most conscientious, the most circumspect, and the most strict in observing the limits he laid down for the action of the Opposition. But Sir Robert Peel did not scruple to join, in the first year in which I sat in Parliament, in objecting to the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston in Belgium and Spain; and I believe that that conduct of his was entirely agreeable to Parliamentary precedent. If I go further back, I find it was the foreign policy of Mr. Canning which aroused against him an amount of animosity greater than any which in the whole of our history was ever discharged at the head of a public man. If I go still further, I ask what is the brightest jewel in the fame of Fox? Undoubtedly, the resist-

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ance he offered to the Revolutionary War. It is the duty of the Opposition to study methods of conciliation with the Government if they can; it is the duty of an Opposition not to magnify small causes of difference into great ones. But I am sure that, so far as I am concerned, no Gentleman opposite will say that my difference with the Government has been small. I have always held that they were bound by the honour of the country to marshal in Europe, so far as they could, a common purpose and concert in order to enforce upon the Porte, in case of need, that which was necessary for the good government of the country.

I will endeavour to show, as we do not wish to push these doctrines to extravagance, why it is that we cannot come up to the point which you ask us to come up to, and what is the point up to which with a safe conscience we can go. If, then, we are to strengthen the hands of the Government—a proposition to which we do not demur—I am certainly entitled to ask, nay—I am bound if I can to ascertain—for what purpose we are called to strengthen their hands. At present I know nothing of this purpose, except in the utterly vague and, as it seems to me now, irrelevant proposition that it is to protect British interests; because I do not see, in the actual position of affairs, what distinct and separate British interest is likely to be brought into question. The Suez Canal is not in question; Egypt is not in question. As regards Constantinople, as I have said—and as I cannot help thinking it will also be the contention of the Government—we have an engagement—a virtual engagement—against even the momentary presence of the Russian Army in Constantinople. As regards the Straits, you have this great advantage—that the question is to be referred to European concert; and that even those words which appear to me perfectly innocent—words in which it appears to be indicated that there was to be a preliminary understanding between Russia and the Porte, binding the Porte, but none else—even these words, we are told, have been removed from the bases of peace. Therefore, as to the settlement, nothing has been said by Her Majesty's Government; and my poor wit is a great deal too blind to discover anything in the shape of a British

interest which, in this great question of the East, is now at issue. Then we are told this Vote is to put us on a footing with other Powers. What is the meaning of that? The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and the hon. Gentleman the Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour)—to whom I am glad again to refer just before he retires for a moment of slumber—said it was to put us on a footing with others. What is the meaning of that phrase? Do we not pay £25,000,000 a-year for our peace establishment, and what is the use of our paying £25,000,000 a-year if it is not to keep us on such a footing? What is our share in the operations of a war in Europe—especially the preliminary operations? It is a naval share. But we are on a footing, and we are more than on a footing, with others already. We are the only people except the belligerents who have done, and done with an ample force, an act which is liable to be construed—and perhaps be argued to be—I will not stop to argue it, an act of war already. I contend that the whole of what may be conceived to be included in these words has been done long ago, and that for everything that can properly pertain to us in any of the proximate contingencies of the future, we are already upon a footing with others. I am bound to say that argument has not been advanced by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

I will now state my views. I need not state them in terms so strong as to be offensive, or to excite any asperity opposite; but, at the same time, I must state my objections sufficiently strongly to be perfectly clear and explicit. The first objection that I have to this Vote is that it is a perfectly unreal Vote as it stands. In my opinion, if we are going to make war, or to make one step in the direction of war, that step should be a real one. Do not let us proceed by a mere flourish of trumpets. Do not let us proceed by pretending to do that which in reality we do not do. Now, I say this—and I will say it with confidence until I am corrected—there may have been changes since I was conversant with pecuniary matters, changes in the manner of business and payments, which may affect what I am about to state; but I state it with the utmost confidence, in relation to the transactions

of the Exchequer of this country, so far as my own experience has made me conversant with them, that you are asking for £6,000,000 with less than two months to spend it in, for the augmentation of your military and naval establishments. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a statement which was perfectly satisfactory to me, has told us that no portion of this money has yet been expended. Now, I will venture to tell him this. He said the expenditure of it would be improbable. I will go a great deal further, and tell him it is absolutely impossible. He cannot do it; there are no contrivances known to us, within the regular order of business within which, if not spent already—I am entirely placing my confidence in him on that point—there are no contrivances by which he can expend it in the regular enlargement of the military and naval establishments between this time and the 31st of March. Without speaking from mere vague impressions, I will give the House facts. I was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1854, and war was declared in the latter part of March in that year. From the time war was declared—I do not know whether it is known to all Gentlemen in this House—control over the public expenditure did not diminish; it was extinct. There is no such thing as Treasury control—as real Treasury control—over war expenditure. Everything—as to the extent of establishments, as to the provision of stores, as to the prices to be paid for them—the whole thing, so far as administrative direction in ordinary times is concerned, entirely escapes from all Treasury restriction. Every effort was made that the establishments of the day could make, to make and accelerate military preparations, which followed the declaration of war in 1854. Those efforts were not ineffective, because this little country, which was then supposed to have no Army, went into the Crimea and fought the battle of the Alma in September with an Army somewhat greater than that which the vast military power of France was able to produce on the same date. Although this was the state of things, the charges in anticipation, incurred right and left without stint or limit, on the 10th of October, after more than six months of war, was within a few hundred thousands, paid out of the ordinary revenue of the country. I will go one step

further, for I am sure the House will receive this information with interest. It is commonly stated—and I think not very inaccurately—that the cost to the country of the Crimean War, which lasted for two years at the outside, was about £80,000,000. What was the actual charge out of these £80,000,000 in the first half of the time—in 12 out of the 24 months? It was £6,200,000. That was the amount at the end of 1854, when we were engaged in actual war with this gigantic Power—as nearly as possible the sum we are now asked to vote. But we are now asked to vote for expenditure within a period which will probably be a period of six weeks, a sum of money as large as all we could contrive to spend in the first 12 months of the Crimean War. That is rather, I think, in the nature of what may be called an unreal proceeding. With facts like these within our recollection—and I am speaking from Papers open to the view of all men, and especially of official men—it is certainly rather an unreal proceeding that the House of Commons, with a tremendous conflict of Parties, with meetings held all over the country, and I know not what, should be called upon to vote these £6,000,000; while, according to the evidence derived from the facts of the past, it will be hardly possible for any ingenuity or extravagance—I beg the Secretary of State for War to believe that I am attributing to him only ingenuity, and not extravagance—to put any portion of the money into charge and payment by the 31st of March; and if it is not got into the payment by the 31st of March, it comes back into the Exchequer, and the work has to be done over again. Then, Sir, to mend, or to aggravate, or what you may think proper to call it, this appearance of unreality, how are we to provide all this money? I should have thought, if your object be to impress the minds of foreign countries with the willingness of this country to support you in the negotiations, and to support you, if need be, in arms, that there is one method that is far beyond all others for producing an impression of sincerity, and that is to test the feelings of men by their willingness to make sacrifices. If the right hon. Gentleman and the Government had thought fit to give to Europe a deep impression of the earnestness of this country, he should have

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proposed some taxes; but he proposes to issue some Exchequer Bonds. It does not appear to me, when he speaks of outward and visible signs, that a very profound impression of earnestness will be produced abroad, when it is stated that in this great crisis the House of Commons, on its most crowded benches, with every circumstance of interest which could magnify the event, summoned in the name of glory and of magnanimity to a great effort, was at length induced to enter into a mood of heroism, and to resolve to add £6,000,000 to the National Debt. It reminds me of something I read the other day in the newspaper about the desire of the Khedive of Egypt to testify his anxiety for the maintenance of public faith and honour, and to discharge his duty, and he determined to indicate it by a stoppage of dividends. I do not carry through the comparison, but I only speak of the contrast—

“*Quid dignum tanto feret hic promissor hiatu*”

—between the dignity of the appeals made to us, the gravity of the motives alleged, the efforts that are used to rouse us into our highest mood, and the result, which is at the outset an addition of £6,000,000 to the National Debt. That, I say, shows the unreality of the proceeding.

Now, let me proceed to another point. It is a proceeding, as far as I know—and our knowledge, I am sorry to say, has not been in the least enlarged by the statements of the Government; whether it will be in future stages I know not—it is a proceeding, as far as I know, entirely and absolutely without precedent in one single point. What precedents have been alleged? I will not rake up the annals of previous periods. Some inquiry I have made about them. Some of my right hon. Friends, I think, may enter upon them. I will go to the only precedent that has been alleged—namely, the precedent of 1870; and if the definition of a precedent consists in its having every imaginable point of unlikeness, then the Vote of 1870 is one of the very best precedents that ever was alleged. Let me make that good. I shall not put my strong points first, but will go over them in rapid succession. The Vote of 1870, as a Vote of Credit, was taken near, not at, the commencement of the Franco-German War. The

Government considered the matter at the commencement of the war, and determined that it would not be wise to make any addition to the military establishments of the country. But shortly after a special occasion arose which required that a Vote of Credit should be given. That, however, was very near the commencement of the war. This Vote is to be used after the close of the war. Conversely, that Vote of Credit was taken at the close of the Session, when Government and Parliament were about to part company. We asked for the moderate sum of £2,000,000, without putting the 600 Members of this House to the serious inconvenience of abandoning their recreation and their business in the Recess and gathering again in Parliament. Here, on the contrary, a proposition is made when we have just come up to town with blooming looks and with energy at the commencement of the Session, with an enormous fund of strength unexpended in us, and quite competent for months to come to deal with any proposal the Government may wish to make, and to discuss it in a spirit of good humour and liberality. That, surely, is a contrast. I am very curious to know what answer will be made to the challenge of my right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) the other night, who said—Wait till the occasion has arisen, and then make your proposal. I take now the amount. In 1870 we asked the House of Commons to vote £21,000,000—I am speaking roughly—for the Army and Navy; £21,000,000 *plus* £2,000,000 is £23,000,000, and £23,000,000, therefore, was the total sum which appeared to us adequate to the very special exigency that had arisen. With £23,000,000 thus obtained through the Vote of Credit we were already £2,000,000 behind the ordinary Estimates which are in the pockets—of course I am not speaking personally—of right hon. Gentlemen opposite. As against the £23,000,000 which was then judged by Parliament and by the country perfectly adequate to an emergency which had arisen, they proposed to add £6,000,000 to £25,000,000, making a total of £31,000,000. And for what emergency? Now, Sir, in 1870, I cannot say that in the speech which I made upon the Vote of Credit the reasons for that Vote were fully stated. It was not possible for me to state

*Mr. Gladstone*

them without the gravest imprudence. [*Ministerial cheers.*] But wait a moment, if you please, for the conclusion of the sentence. They were perfectly understood. ["No!"] They were perfectly understood by every man in the House of Commons—everyone knew that they arose out of a proposal for the partition of Belgium—most dishonourable in itself, but of which the authorship was contested, and with regard to which we were absolutely precluded by our public duties from giving information. But we made a very decisive proposal. We made to each of the belligerent Powers a proposal to enter into a new engagement for the period of the war then raging, and under that new engagement each of them was to join us against the other, or against any Power, infringing the independence of Belgium. Therefore I do not anticipate any contradiction of what I am now stating—that the purpose of that Vote was perfectly well known and understood in the House of Commons. It could not be stated explicitly in speeches; but it was unmistakably read in every line of the Treaties that we made. What is the purpose of this Vote? Vague generality; to support some British interest. There is no separate British interest in danger. Now I come to this vital point of difference. What is the danger to British interests? We can very well estimate when we recollect that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us with some appearance of satisfaction that either the whole, or the greater part, of the money will never be wanted at all, and the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) on Friday night said—"I beseech you to vote this money, for your voting it will be the best security that it will never be spent." Was that our language? We asked for the money we wanted, and it was known for what we wanted it. We set about spending it at once. That the whole absolutely was spent I will not say, for there was a greater difficulty than there is now in recruiting, and I am not sure that we could get the 20,000 men in a very limited time. But then, again, the Vote of Credit was asked in order that we might spend it for the purpose we proposed. Here it is asked for purposes in the air, purposes in the dark, purposes that are still behind the screen, and with an engagement from Her Majesty's Government that probably the

Vote, or the bulk of the Vote, will not be wanted, and that the real aim is to make us strong in the Council that is to be held. Now, I think, after all these points of contrast on every single head of the subject, it is hardly worth while to notice the one remaining point—namely, that the magnanimous Resolution of 1878 is to provide the money, or such of it as is to be wanted, by addition to the National Debt; whereas the Vote of £2,000,000 asked for in 1870 was paid for out of the revenue of the year. Now, I think we shall hear no more of the matter of the precedent. I have given you the objection that this proceeding is totally unreal, and as an unreal proceeding it is not agreeable to the dignity of Parliament and the country. I have given you the objection that it is entirely without precedent in any shape or form as to every substantial point involved in the case.

I come to a matter which is totally unconnected with foreign policy, but which, in my opinion, deserves serious consideration. This Vote—if I understand anything about finance at all, or anything about the function of the House of Commons in regard to British finance—is contrary to all the rules which determine our duty in laying a charge upon the people. I will not say it is against the competency of the House of Commons. It is within the competency of the House of Commons, if they think fit, to vote not merely £6,000,000, but £6,000,000,000. Everything is within the competency of the House of Commons; but it is not within the spirit of that ancient, unwritten charter under which the House of Commons acts for the people. This is a matter on which the first foundations of the power of the House of Commons as an historical Assembly were laid. This is the field upon which were fought all our greatest and noblest battles for freedom. This is a matter upon which our ancestors—and I hope all of us have some respect for our ancestors—entertained the greatest and strictest jealousy, and from which nothing could induce them to deviate one foot or one inch, and for one hour or for one minute nothing could induce them to deviate from the rigid line of duty. And my proposition is this—that it is the duty of the House of Commons to refuse sternly to lay a

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charge upon the people except after proof that it is required. And, so far as I know, we should not in this way tamper with the great subject of charging and taxing the people for any political aim or end whatever, however innocent or honourable that end might be in itself. In morality the means are not justified by the end, nor are they justified in Constitutional law and usage. Confidence is very well; but cannot you express confidence in the Government without charging the people? Is our vocabulary so poor, are our resources so narrow, that if we want to support the Government we can do it in no other way than by placing at their absolute disposal—for it is an absolute disposal—an enormous charge upon the people, to the nature of which the people will be in some degree blinded by the careful avoidance of all taxes to meet it, but with respect to which there is no proof given that the charge is needed?—for one Minister tells us that he thinks the Vote will not be wanted, and another Minister, more liberal still, says that if we only vote the money it will be the greatest security that it will never be wanted at all. Now, it is said—and I have no doubt it is said with perfect truth—that the object of this money is, in the words used by the Government, to strengthen their hands in negotiations. Well, Sir, I now pass from the financial question, and I am very thankful to the House for hearing me with patience and kindness; but I think they will perceive before I sit down that the purposes for which I speak are not controversial purposes, though I cannot well avoid that tone, but that the object is to strengthen the hands of the Government in the Councils of Europe. Now, this is a subject quite distinct from that which I have endeavoured to convey to the mind of the House, and which dwells in my own mind. It is really an attempt to associate arms with negotiation. Now, permit me to say that such an attempt, by whomsoever made, is radically bad. Let me not make my proposition too broad. I do not pretend to say that it is under all circumstances wrong when two Powers have a difference and are still in negotiation upon it—I do not mean to say it is always wrong for them to strengthen themselves for an issue of force which they see coming upon them; but what I do venture to state, al-

most in the nature of a general proposition—though I know the danger of general propositions in politics—is this—that it is bad, bad as to the precedent, bad as to practical interests of peace, when a Conference of European Powers is about to sit, for any one of those Powers to make a prelude to that Conference by the clash of arms—by the clash of arms, or, if you tell me that you are not going to spend the money, by the anticipation of the clash of arms, by that which naturally introduces the clash of arms. This is really a very grave subject. I beseech hon. Gentlemen to consider what they are about. I have never been one of those who have talked in unlimited terms of the doctrine of peace. I have been one of those who, at any rate, in one instance, have been responsible for a serious war; but we shall all be agreed in recognizing the general mischiefs of war, and in admitting it to be among our most sacred duties to choose, wherever we can, for the settlement of international or European difficulties, those methods which are peaceful. I would venture to urge upon this House that, during this 19th century in which our lot has been cast, some little progress has been made in civilization, in the general recognition of the principle that the leading Powers of Europe acting together in the face of day, exercise, and ought to exercise, a great moral authority in the settlement of disputed questions. It is our interest not to depreciate, but to magnify that power; it is our interest not to make little, but to make much of Conferences. But if, before going into Conferences, we are to take Votes for naval and military establishments, we are doing our best to destroy the character of those Conferences. If we may take such Votes, every other Power may take them. If we may take them for our peace establishments, other Powers may take them for theirs. If peace is best preserved by preparing for war, that is a doctrine which, if it be good for us, is good for them. They take what they think is necessary for them in time of peace; we take what we think is necessary for us in time of peace. In the special tension of affairs in Europe, the special expenditure of France might at the present moment be greater than ours, though I am not certain that it is. I am not even sure that that of Germany is greater than ours, notwithstanding

its enormous amount. The expenditure of Austria is much below ours, and that of Italy is far less—I believe it is not one-half of ours. But hon. Gentlemen seem to think that we have no peace establishment at all; that the cost of our peace establishment does not run into eight figures; that there is no burden on the people, and that this Vote is a sort of beginning, everything else not being worthy to be taken into account. I cannot argue with those who take this view; but I do hold this argument—that, so far as I know, there is no case when a Conference of the Powers of Europe has been called together where those Powers, as a preliminary to its assembling, have increased or taken powers to increase their naval and military establishments. I am curious to know whether it is so—perhaps Her Majesty's Government can tell us—but it appears to me that this Vote is entirely at variance with the principle of taking from war as much as we can and giving to peace as much as we can. It is a step backwards—a step towards violence and barbarism, instead of towards reason—a step in the opposite direction to that in which we have been endeavouring to march, and it ought to be viewed with the utmost aversion by all who are in favour of peaceful methods. These are strong objections, in my opinion, to the proposal of the Government. But now, I want to know whether, upon their own showing, the Government can, by means of this proposal, attain the end they have told us they have in view; and when I say they have told us, I mean the end that on the highest authority without doubt they have in view. The Chancellor of the Exchequer used a striking expression in his speech the other night. He said—"Our object is to go in the Councils of Europe armed with the strength of a united nation." Does he think that this Vote is likely to exhibit us in the character of a united nation? I am coming, I know, near tender ground when I speak of the state of public opinion out-of-doors. Hon. Gentlemen have been exceedingly pleased with some of the good campaigning conducted within the last few days. My own opinion is that as to certain metropolitan transactions we shall hear a good deal more than we have yet heard. You are delighted, also, with what has happened at Sheffield. Well, that was not

the first remarkable town's meeting that has been held at Sheffield. Sheffield is one of the most Radical towns in the country, and I do not wonder at your looking on what occurred there as the dawn of a better day. But the question comes to be, was it really a town meeting? At Sheffield, in 1863, at the time of the war in America, there was a similar meeting, with a similar thick and dense assemblage, and a resolution was carried in favour, to all intents and purposes, of war with America. That is to say, it was a resolution in favour of the immediate recognition of the Confederate Government. If you will reflect on that resolution of 1863, it may assist you a little in estimating the value of the triumph obtained in Sheffield. What I want hon. Gentlemen opposite to observe is this. We hear of the resolutions passed at different meetings. Now, I have seen the resolutions which were passed at large and public meetings against the Vote proposed by the Government. Have hon. Gentlemen opposite seen any that were passed in its favour, for I have not been so fortunate? The meeting at Sheffield said nothing in favour of voting those £6,000,000. I do not believe that even the Guildhall meeting rose to such a height of sublimated enthusiasm as to vote to add these £6,000,000 to the National Debt. But I will be very liberal to hon. Gentlemen opposite. I am most anxious to give them no offence if I can avoid it. I will make every possible concession which can be made—and concession which, I think, the argument and the state of the case does not at all justify. I will say, take the meetings at Sheffield and at the Guildhall as you like, and forget those at Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds, Manchester, and Birmingham. Take them all your own way and read them as you think proper, it remains not the less true that the effect of this Vote which the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposes in order to exhibit before the world a united nation, can be nothing but to exhibit a divided nation. True, you may have a majority in the House of Commons; but is a majority unanimity? Do you think the nation is united in favour of this Vote? You know perfectly well—I speak of that which is not doubtful—that the Nonconformists of this country are a large fraction—I do not say a large proportion—of the population. Well, you know the state of



sentiment among them. You know that they are nearly to a man opposed to this Vote. ["No, no!"] Nearly to a man. Would it not be a great misfortune—I now make an appeal which is not a Party appeal to the Government—would it not be a great misfortune, which you ought not to incur except under an overruling necessity, to exhibit this picture of a divided nation in circumstances such as those that now exist? Is it not worth while to consider whether there is any path along which we can walk in some kind of union and concord? Now, what I wish to do in the remainder—I hope the very limited remainder—of the time that I shall occupy is to get at the root of this case, and to inquire for myself and for others what it is about which we are in conflict. I know that we are in conflict about this Vote. Nothing can remove our objections to the Vote proposed under the circumstances in which we stand. But what are the real purposes about which we are now in conflict? I am afraid that we have been in serious conflict further back. But many of the former differences between us have in the course of events passed, if not into oblivion, yet beyond the reach of recall, and they no longer exist as practical considerations to divide us.

Now that I have stated all my objections—and I trust that I have stated nothing in a way that could annoy or greatly shock the opinions of hon. Gentlemen opposite—I frankly own that I cannot altogether abandon the hope that by some proceedings independent of this Vote we may arrive at the partial or substantial fulfilment of the purpose which the Government has in view. [*Murmurs.*] It is quite clear that we shall not obtain it, nor make one inch of progress towards it, by manifestations of the kind. I will take no notice of them. I am very grateful to hon. Gentlemen for the kind and attentive hearing which they have given me, and I will endeavour to state in a simple and straightforward manner that which appears to me might possibly be done. Our position is this—Without professing confidence in Her Majesty's Government generally—which is really irrelevant—and without going back upon the past and reviving subjects of difference, we may admit that Her Majesty's Government are the Government of the country, and that they are the actual Represen-

tatives of the country in the Councils of Europe. I am desirous to the furthest point to which I can go to give them the strength they want by the exhibition of a united nation. It appears to me that there are many things which the Government will have before them when they go into the Conference, with regard to which we must have practically one and the same view. I will just refer to two or three of the questions that must come before the Conference. One subject of the greatest importance that must come before them, is the perfect freedom of the navigation of the River Danube. I am very imperfectly informed upon that point, and have seen conflicting statements regarding it. But I see with great regret that it is stated—I hope it is not true—that Russia intends to claim from Roumania the restitution, or as I would rather call it the alienation, of the bit of territory called Bessarabia, which, under the terms of the Peace of Paris, was, I think, very wisely demanded from Russia, in order to exclude her from the position of a Danubian Power. She had no natural interest in the Danube. It was a term imported late into the controversy with Russia; but it was a very proper thing to be done. Well, I hope if that question comes in any form before the Conference—as I suppose it must come—that such influence as the Government possess will be used to oppose that alienation. I do not mean in a hostile manner, because I deprecate, until a real necessity comes into view, even the remotest association of friendly discussion with the rumour of arms. But I hope—and I cannot doubt—that the Government will exercise their influence in a manner which possibly will prevent that restitution, and I shall support them in that case in everything that relates to the free navigation of the Danube.

Now I will take the question of our conduct to Turkey. Her Majesty's Government, in July last, promised to do their best to secure liberal terms for Turkey. I am rather sorry that that engagement has been so long kept from our knowledge, because it is now seven months or more since it was entered into. Now, with regard to that engagement, it appears to me to be one capable of senses that are altogether mischievous and wholly contrary to our duty. But it is also capable of senses that are

innocent. In an innocent sense, I do not in the least object to the Government using its good offices in favour of leniency to Turkey. But, then, when I speak of leniency to Turkey, I mean leniency as between Turkey and the other Powers; and by leniency to Turkey I do not mean cruelty to the subjects of Turkey. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER: Hear, hear!] I am heartily glad to notice that the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not appear altogether to disapprove that sentiment. But if the influence of the Government is not going to be used against the privileges of the subjects of Turkey, then my hopes rise rapidly, and begin to glow within my breast; because that is the very subject, and the main subject, upon which our alarm and jealousies have been excited, I will not say whether with or without cause, because that would lead me back upon what I will now treat as forbidden ground. But I wish to show my right hon. Friend that I am not endeavouring to judge the prospect of proceedings or the probable policy of the Government in a narrow or captious spirit; and I can conceive circumstances in which liberality to Turkey is an object that might fairly be proposed to be pursued by the Government. I will go further, and say what shape that liberality should assume. In my opinion, there is no shape in which liberality to Turkey would be more appreciable by the subjects of that liberality than in the shape of a little money. I may be wrong; but my impression is that that commodity is estimated in Turkey at its full value. I think that anybody who would present to Turkey a solid expectation of any future fund upon which, or upon some portion of which, a little loan could be effected in the European markets, would find that the anodyne—the soothing operation of such a suggestion—would be marvellous, and would help us to dispose of many abstract difficulties. I am not one of those who think that it would be a hardship upon the people of Bulgaria to be made to pay a considerable tribute. If men liberate themselves—and that is what they ought to do—at all events, they ought to strain every nerve to bring about their own liberation—they ought to fight as Montenegro has done, refusing to ask aid from anybody, but relying upon the strong

arms and resolute hearts of their own children. We might not expect them to comply with such a condition; but if people have not virtue and manhood enough in them to liberate themselves, they must be content to take the enormous boon of liberty subject to some alloy, and to pay for it. I believe it is kindness to Turkey, in your arrangements for Bulgaria and the other Provinces, to get rid of points of future friction between the Suzerain Power and the people subject to that suzerainty. If it be said that they would not pay the tribute, I reply that in that case it would be perfectly just that the European Powers, if they thought the payment of a tribute a fair and reasonable condition to impose, should tell the people of Bulgaria and of the other Provinces similarly circumstanced, that unless they paid that tribute, and kept in good faith the arrangement made for them in good faith, they must in future be content to fight their own battles for themselves. Then there is another question that will have to be discussed—that of the Straits. All I can say in respect of the Straits is that I hope Her Majesty's Government will be content to act on this point in concert with the rest of Europe. Here, again, I think that we have some common ground with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer. If I remember right, he spoke of that question at a former period in connection with Constantinople, and he said—"No doubt this is a British interest, but it is also the interest of others quite as much as of England." Then, if it is the interest of others quite as much as of England, do not let us do their work. He spoke the other night of the distinguished foreigner. There are a great many distinguished foreigners, who are extremely anxious that England should do the work which they ought to do themselves. They know the lively susceptibilities of this people, and they practise upon our simplicity by taunting us with having retired from intervention in Europe. But what they mean is that there are certain things which they wish to have done, but they do not wish to make the costly sacrifice of doing them for themselves, and would find it very convenient for us to do it for them. Therefore, I say, let the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer take his

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ground beside the other Powers of Europe.

I come now to the other question which will come before the Conference, and that is as to the condition of the Hellenic Provinces. In considering this question, we must distinguish between the Kingdom of Greece and the Hellenic Provinces. I do not say that the Kingdom of Greece has, or can have, any positive substantive claim for itself upon Turkey or upon any of the other Powers; but I think that the Hellenic Provinces have a very considerable claim upon them. And even with regard to the Kingdom of Greece, I would go as far as to say that I do not think that the Government of Greece can be very severely blamed for what they are now doing. Indeed, I am rather astonished that so young and so small a Government has been enabled to exercise so lengthened a forbearance and so great a pressure upon the national spirit of its own people. But with regard to the Hellenic Provinces, the question is most important. It has come to be slowly understood in this country that while there is a very strong sympathy at the present moment between Russia and the Slav subjects of Turkey, there is very little sympathy indeed between Russia and the Hellenic Provinces. On the contrary, it might almost be said that in certain circumstances there is an antipathy between them. I do not think that Turkey has any reason to complain of the conduct of her Hellenic Provinces during this war. I am astonished at the patience they have displayed, especially since the catastrophe which has reduced Turkey so low. I could not have believed that their patience would have endured so long. I do not want to preach any extreme doctrine upon this subject; but I cannot, for the life of me, conceive why, within reasonable limits, the Government of this country, towards which the Greeks have the strongest feeling of sympathy, and from which they would rather receive assistance and countenance than from any other quarter in the world—I cannot conceive why the Government of this country should not assume its natural and beneficial attitude in the Conference in befriending the cause of the Hellenic Provinces. The Slavs have a powerful champion in Russia, and it is most natural and most becoming, it is most poli-

tic and most expedient, if we want to check the advance of Russia in the South, that within reasonable limits we should associate ourselves with the cause of the Hellenic Provinces in the Councils of Europe. I am sure that there is a deep policy in this. The Chancellor of the Exchequer the other night spoke with alarm and misgiving as to the extension to be given to Bulgaria itself. I really go a long way with him if that is to be an extension to the undue prejudice of a great race. Why should not the right hon. Gentleman and the Government avail themselves of the probable assistance they would derive from the strong national life and sentiment of that people, by befriending their cause and becoming in a certain sense the advocate and champion of that cause in the Conference which is about to meet? I begin to hope that hon. Gentlemen opposite have seen, in some degree, that I have spoken the language of reality when I have said it appeared to me, in the midst of this fierce controversy that is going on, and that threatens to exhibit us as a divided instead of a united people, that there were modes of proceeding by which we might get rid, not only of any lingering animosity amongst us, but of this appearance of division. Some Gentleman—I forget his name—who sits on the other side of the House, is reported to have said, in addressing his constituents on the Eastern Question—"The question is whether we are to go into the Conference with the undivided support of the country." That is the question; but there are modes by which you may go into the Conference with the undivided support of the country other than by asking a Vote of £6,000,000, a proceeding which is without precedent, and is, in my view, contrary to Constitutional principles. If, as I understand, it is the desire of the Government to go into the Conference, not only in the spirit of peace—far be it from me to ascribe to them a departure from that spirit—but in an attitude conformable to that spirit, if they are going to work as far and as long as they may, not in setting up of separate and entirely British interests where there is no separate British interest at all; but in prosecuting European interests in concert with the Powers of Europe, and reserving their separate action for the time and the contingency

*Mr. Gladstone*

when British interests shall really be involved; if, above all, it is given us to hope that we are not going into the Conference for the purpose of abridging those concessions to the subject-races of Turkey; of practical liberty and security which the fortune of war and the sword of Russia have won for them, I, for one, will lament most profoundly any issue to which we may be driven which shall exhibit us—and exhibit us falsely—in the light of a divided Parliament. As far as I know—and my assurance will carry weight, for I am supposed to keep the very worst company in connection with this question—there will be no inclination on this side of the House to raise these phantoms of unreal difference and to appear to be at odds with you when in fact we are at evens. I shall try to make an humble effort to promote that agreement, and I shall give you the last of it in these few words. I should have been glad if this Vote would be withdrawn also; of course I mean with the substitution of another method of proceeding. I do not wish to propose anything except what would be equitable in principle, and therefore I think that the Vote might, at any rate, be postponed; and with that postponement of the Vote—so that, on a nearer evidence of necessity, and with a perfect reservation of your freedom of judgment, to push it hereafter, if you should think fit—you might adopt an intermediate proposal, which I cannot help thinking would go far to disarm opposition, and which I even venture respectfully to submit, by disavowing opposition, even in its own character, would be better than the Vote you desire. It is that, instead of choosing this intricate and singular and novel method—the last epithet you ought to like the least—of obtaining the support of Parliament, you should resort, without, if you like, surrendering your judgment or future intention as to the Vote, to an old and Constitutional method. You might feel—I do not wonder at your feeling—that, after all the controversy you have had, it is well and it is desirable on public grounds—it would not be necessary in ordinary cases, but in a case like this it would be desirable and expedient—that, if possible, the Government should be supported by some declaration before they go into this Conference. I think it eminently desirable, on the

ground that we have been exhibiting ourselves as a divided people. What I want is to see that wound healed and the breach closed. Revert then, without, if you like, abandoning anything you have said, but adopting an easy and early measure—to the Constitutional method of inviting the sense of both Houses. You are not afraid of defeat or difficulty in the House of Lords, and, so far as I know—though I cannot presume to speak except as an individual—many of those who are supposed to go the furthest on this question would be glad to find the means of agreement with you. I have made a note of the points I considered most essential; and, in touching upon them, the manifestations partly of the House and partly of the Treasury Bench lead me to believe that this is really a subject of serious consideration, and that that man will do a real public service who, if possible, shall extricate us from the dilemma in which we find ourselves—namely, the danger of presenting ourselves at the Conference as a divided Parliament. Now, Sir, supposing the two Houses of Parliament—an interval being given them, and this proposal of £6,000,000 standing for future consideration—were to present to the Crown a humble and loyal Address, setting forth that they were desirous unitedly of supporting the action of Her Majesty's Government in the Councils of Europe, that would do something to bury the controversies of the past. Supposing they said it was their desire and determination to aid Her Majesty on all occasions in defending the interests of this Empire with the strength of this Empire, and that it was their desire to pursue European objects and purposes by means of concert among the Powers of Europe; supposing they recognized and adopted the engagement which has been given by the Executive Government, that they would endeavour by friendly means to obtain for Turkey the most favourable arrangement that circumstances would permit in all matters that might arise as between the belligerents or between the Powers of Europe. I hope you would not grudge, and would not refuse, in this great crisis—in this great day, when the future fortunes of 12,000,000 or 14,000,000 of men are to be dealt with and decided, and a line is to be drawn which shall mark for them the

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boundary between the two conditions of servitude and freedom—I hope you would not grudge or refuse to say a word in mild and guarded terms for that which is dearer to Englishmen than life itself—namely, the liberty which they have fought for, which they have inherited from their fathers, which they cherish for themselves, which they mean to hand down to their sons, and with which they must sympathize, and which they most earnestly desire to see passed on to and enjoyed by all the nations and peoples of the world. You would not, surely, grudge the expression of your hope that in all questions between Turkey and her subjects the influence of this country would be used in a manner agreeable to its ancient and noble traditions, and in support of the just and well-ordered freedom which affords, and which alone can afford, the smallest hope for the future peace and prosperity of England.

Now, Sir, I have done. I have detained the House long. I am indebted to hon. Gentlemen opposite as well as to hon. Gentlemen behind me for the fund of patience they have exhibited. I trust I have effected something to redeem the pledge with which I set out, and if I have not been able fully to abstain from criticism, that I have shown criticism not to be my main purpose. I resume my seat in declaring that, next to the paramount and sacred duty of promoting the interests of justice, humanity, and freedom all through the world, there can be no object at the present moment nearer to the heart of every Englishman and every Member of Parliament, than, in a great crisis like the present, which has now reached its ripeness, to make some effort, however humble, towards the re-establishment of domestic concord and peace by enabling those who are charged with the cares and anxieties of Government to enter the Council Chamber of Europe strong in the strength of an united people.

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: Sir, I am not surprised at the cheers which have greeted the close of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, and if, like him, I could attempt to forget all that has passed, and if I could indeed suppose that the project he has advanced was one for the honour of the Government and the good of the country, I might meet it in a different tone from that which I

shall think it my duty to adopt. I am glad we have a sign, now that Parliament is called together, that some moderation and temperance is adopted in the language which right hon. Gentlemen and hon. Members have in the country used in view of the existing state of things. But I cannot but remember that within the last few days the right hon. Gentleman who has just addressed us has indicated that he has no confidence in the present Government, and that he considers the Government to be typified and embodied in its head. Nor can I forget that the noble Lord has been watched, and I will venture to say misrepresented—I do not say wilfully, because I would not impute that—but consistently misrepresented by the right hon. Gentleman during the whole of the 18 months to which he has referred. I feel as deeply as the right hon. Gentleman can do the gravity of the issue which we are debating. We have within the last few years seen Treaties upon which the greatest expenditure of time and trouble—nay, I may add the greatest expenditure of blood and treasure—has been made, torn to pieces and scattered to the winds; and therefore, when we are on the eve of a new Treaty, it seems to me that it is incumbent upon us to take care that that Treaty should be so framed as to be more lasting than were those which have preceded it. Why, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman, who has at times ventured to impugn the neutrality of Her Majesty's Government, was himself not in favour of neutrality; he was himself in favour of our drawing the sword on one side.

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg pardon. I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman does not desire to misrepresent me, and the case is so important that I must repeat what I said. What I spoke of was action by us in concert with the Powers of Europe. I never expressed any opinion in favour of our drawing the sword in concert with a particular Power.

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: The right hon. Gentleman was within the hearing of the House within a very few moments, and I understood him to say that we should have used pressure or coercion upon Turkey in concert with other Powers; but in the case of the failure of concert, then by ourselves. [MR. GLADSTONE: No, no; I said force in

concert.] The right hon. Gentleman assumes that the nation which has contended with overwhelming forces would have submitted to the force of the concert of nations of which he speaks. There is no proof or indication that such would be the case. Turkey may have been blind, but she has been brave. She may have been foolish, but she was at least determined. She believed that she had interests to support, and, although the terms proposed to her were again and again filtered down until they took form in the Protocol, she still resisted the combined entreaties of the Powers; and, though she considered England to be her friend, she still resisted the importunities of this country. What did this country do? It has been said that we have neglected the interests of those Provinces which were oppressed by Turkey. I deny it in every term it is possible for me to use. What was the course this Government took? The right hon. Gentleman, who has been in office for years, says it was not until 1875 the condition of Turkey was thoroughly known. Why was it not known? Has the right hon. Gentleman no responsibility for not knowing it? In 1871 he renewed the Treaties. He renewed them, I presume, because England was deeply interested in their renewal. Did he, then, in 1871, renew the Treaties without inquiring into the condition of Turkey? In 1872 our Consuls reported to him that Turkey was in a good condition and going on well. He was satisfied with those reports. In 1873 inquiries may have been going on, but it was not until another Government was in power that the condition of Turkey attracted the notice of the right hon. Gentleman, when that condition might have its effect upon the condition of the Government. Well, Sir, I strongly object to the course which the right hon. Gentleman has taken on this occasion. It seems to me that those who have within a very recent period—even since this Vote was under discussion—taken upon themselves to address the strongest language with respect to it to excited audiences, have no right to come into this House and with “bated breath and whispering humbleness” to speak to us in a totally different tone and with a totally different intention. Sir, I think that the Government have much reason to complain of this. The right hon.

Gentleman has stated that we encouraged the Turks to go to war without one tittle or shadow of proof; and when the right hon. Gentleman condemned listening to rumours and not giving authority for statements, did he act in conformity with that condemnation? What does the right hon. Gentleman mean by those underground communications of which he spoke between Turkey and England which encouraged Turkey to continue the war? Who was the author of those rumours? Who was the man who gave currency to those rumours? Who, I ask, is the individual the right hon. Gentleman accuses of being the author of those underground communications? Let the right hon. Gentleman dare to name him. Why, Sir, we have seen, not only for the last 18 months which he admits, but for years past, the feeling—I will not use a stronger phrase—with which the right hon. Gentleman has pursued my noble Friend who now sits in the other House. There had been here and there small indications—a little oozing of lava from cracks in the mountain; but at length it poured forth in pent-up force at Oxford on the devoted head of my noble Friend. But, Sir, how is it that Turkey has been encouraged? Turkey has been encouraged by those who, like the right hon. Gentleman, who has been a Prime Minister, and by those who have been his followers, have gone to and fro in the country stating that the Government were not sincere in their professions of neutrality, and that the Prime Minister was for war in behalf of Turkey. Let the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) dare to say in his place in the House of Commons what he said at Selkirk—that the noble Lord at the head of Her Majesty's Government had never concealed his desire to plunge this country into war. Let the hon. Member prove this statement, or let it go into some category which it is not Parliamentary to name. Does the right hon. Gentleman opposite expect us to submit to those taunts which have been made outside the House and then to come here and listen, without indignation, while he addresses us in this meek manner as if they had never been uttered. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of ciphers. I am one of the ciphers of the Government. I am content to be one of those ciphers;

but the right hon. Gentleman, when he spoke of the ciphers in the Ministry of the Duke of Wellington, forgot that one of those ciphers was Sir Robert Peel. If Sir Robert Peel was a cipher, then, I repeat, I am content to be one. Why, the right hon. Gentleman, a few days ago, put forward Lord Beaconsfield as the beginning and end of the policy of the Government. What did the right hon. Gentleman say? He used these remarkable words, and they are so remarkable that I cannot help calling the attention of the House to the passage. The right hon. Gentleman said—

“To my own great pain and with infinite reluctance, but under the full and strong conviction of my political old age, for the last 18 months I may be said to have played the part of an agitator. My purpose, I may tell you fairly, has been, with extremely inadequate means, and in a very mean and poor degree, but still to the best of my power, for the last 18 months, day and night—”

Well, Sir, it is said that misery makes men acquainted with strange bedfellows. My noble Friend is a most excellent companion by day, but if for the last 18 months the ideal of him conjured up by the right hon. Gentleman has been the nightmare of the right hon. Gentleman, he must have been disturbed by strange phantoms.

—“day and night, week by week, month by month, to counter-work as well as I could what I believe to be the purpose of Lord Beaconsfield.”

For my part I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman did mean to do so. The right hon. Gentleman is one of those impulsive natures which, when they take a matter in hand, invariably go through with it. In all the great changes that have taken place in his career I have no doubt he has entertained a firm and unhesitating belief in the course he has taken at the time. But, Sir, is that a very good description of a safe and wise politician? A friend of mine kindly sent me a passage which I think the House will say has some bearing upon the particular idiosyncrasy and the impassioned feelings of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman says that my noble Friend Lord Beaconsfield is the head and front of our shocking and wicked policy—the very embodiment of that policy. Well, a Ministry ought to be perfectly willing to be tried by that test. We know that Lord Beaconsfield from the first professed certain intentions;

that he has kept to them; that he has acted upon them; and we know, too, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham has admitted, that from first to last, according to our profession, we have kept this country at peace, and that not under such easy circumstances as the right hon. Gentleman may suppose. The right hon. Gentleman, in his new policy, to which he gave expression the other day, intimated that the first object of his attack was to be Lord Beaconsfield; but now so entirely has the right hon. Gentleman changed his mind, that he is willing to be a party to an Address from both Houses of Parliament in order to show that they have the utmost confidence in Lord Beaconsfield. Well, Tom Moore was not a bad satirical writer on political matters, and he suggests that a man should set up a sort of ideal, contrary to which he should always act. He says in his “Recipe for a Good Politician”—

“Keep him always reversed in your thoughts night and day,

Like an Irish barometer turned the wrong way.

If he's up, you may swear that foul weather is nigh;

If he's down, you may look for a bit of blue sky.

Never mind what debaters or journalists say, Only ask what he thinks and then think t'other way.

Is he all for the Turks? Then at once take the whole

Russian Empire (Czar, Cossacks, and all) to your soul.

In short, whatsoever he talks, thinks, or is,

Be your thoughts, words, and essence the contrast of his.”

Well, Sir, I think that that passage sets forth emphatically the policy on which the right hon. Gentleman admits that he has acted. The right hon. Gentleman says there has been a great change. Well, no doubt a certain amount of change has occurred. Changes have occurred day by day; but we have not observed that with those changes there has been any change in the bitter sentiments expressed by right hon. Gentlemen opposite in reference to Her Majesty's Government. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) made a speech the other night, to which, on account of its ability, we all listened with pleasure; but there was not a sentence which was

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not impregnated with the gall of which he has an abundant supply. Then the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford is said to have spoken with moderation. Yes. The speech was calm, and apparently of a peaceful nature, but he imputed charges and accusations against the Government of the most formidable character. But they were told to forget all this before the debate was over. It is impossible to forget it. It is impossible not to condemn those right hon. Gentlemen, however much they may wish to get out of the scrape into which they have brought themselves, however anxious they may be to get out of the charge which I make against them—of stopping Supplies, of taking a course which is inconsistent with that which has been taken by any Opposition heretofore—I say it is impossible this can be passed by lightly, for they are attempting to stop Supplies at a time when they know they cannot displace the Government. The right hon. Gentleman divided his speech into four parts. I do not enter into the question of his criticisms on my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because I have no doubt he will take care of himself. They were criticisms which did not affect the case, and which will never affect the credit which the House will give to any statement made by my right hon. Friend. Now, the right hon. Gentleman says that when this proposal was made his objection was made because there was an idea that the war would be prolonged. ["No, no!"] I took it down at the moment, and I do not think the right hon. Gentleman disputes it. It was then going on. But how was it going on? The Turks had assented—had sent Delegates to assent to—the bases of peace, and we had every reason to suppose that they would be listened to. The reason apparently given to show why we had given encouragement to Turkey to prolong the war was because Musurus Pasha had said something or other—that we some time or other might come to help him. Now, is it to be supposed that because the Minister of a State in the condition in which Turkey is has a hope that this would occur—is it to be supposed that that is proof that the Government ever gave encouragement to Turkey? On the contrary, we repeated again and again that it was

in vain for him to offer any such prospects to the Turkish Government, and that the mind of the Government was made up. He was told that so long as Turkish interests alone were in question nothing would induce us to intervene. But because the Minister of the Turkish Empire entertained hopes, we are supposed to have encouraged them. I will venture to say that neither the Minister for Turkey nor anyone else can produce any evidence that we held out any such encouragement as the right hon. Gentleman suggests. Now I come to the second head; but here I may make one remark. I might comment in stronger terms on what the right hon. Gentleman said the other day, but I think there has been quite enough discussion of that. Still, I have always said this with respect to the right hon. Gentleman—that when he adopts this high tone in lecturing the Government, he might remember that those Tories whom he so much abuses were the men with whom he once acted; and the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt), when he spoke of him as having given the whole of his honourable life to the services of freedom and peace, might have recollected that at least half of that honourable life has been spent in the Tory Governments and in the service of the Tory Party against which he had made these charges. The right hon. Gentleman was, I believe, even during the time I have been in Parliament, a member of the Carlton Club. I do not suppose that he feels it an imputation that he was a member of that Club. All I say is that when he attacks so bitterly the Party to which he once belonged he is going beyond the limits of fairness. Then he said that this Vote was not in connection with the Speech. That is true as to the terms of the Speech; but Parliament was called together to assist our efforts for peace, and we believe that this Vote will have that beneficial effect. The Vote, which was not asked for in the terms of the Speech, rests on what has happened since. But I now come to the important part of the question raised by the right hon. Gentleman. He says—"It can no longer influence preliminary negotiations." I am not sure of that. Why not? Preliminary negotiations are not over. We have not heard for what time



the armistice is granted, or upon what terms. We know as a matter of fact that the Russian Armies have advanced to certain positions which, if the armistice were abandoned, would put them in possession of points which might be deadly to Turkey, and perhaps deadly to Europe. There are other points on which great doubt still remains, and therefore I venture to say that the question is not yet settled, and that a great deal yet remains under consideration. Well, the right hon. Gentleman has made one statement which I am glad to recognize, and that is from his study of the question, looking at it from the outside. He has come to the conclusion that Prince Gortchakoff has given an honourable engagement against the occupation of the Turkish capital. Surely, then, those negotiations and those despatches which he admits have brought about so desirable a result have not fallen altogether to the ground. We were taunted very frequently with not carrying into effect that which we had promised in May; but, according to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, the effect of what we did has been that it was laid down that Constantinople should only be approached for strategical reasons, which reasons having ceased, according to the right hon. Gentleman, the Russians cannot in honour approach that capital. Well, now, the right hon. Gentleman assumes that we are objecting to the Opposition condemning our foreign policy, and he tells us that the noble Lord the Secretary for the Colonies objected to this Vote; and he said all Oppositions have objected to foreign policy, and he points to Peel, Fox, and others as having done so. Quite true, they have objected, and no one complains of that. But what we do object to is an Opposition attempting to stop Supplies. If they stop Supplies, they stop the course which the Government thinks necessary to carry on its existence—that which is essential to the interests of the country. If we misuse Supplies, Parliament is sitting, and Parliament we have not attempted to exclude from our deliberations. We live under the eyes of Parliament, and Parliament has the power, if we misuse any portion of the Vote, of condemning us for it. That is legitimate. But stopping Supplies is another and totally different thing, and I believe has never been attempted before upon

any Ministers who are in the position of the Government of the country. Objections to different items in an Estimate I can understand; but here you are taking the initiative against any Supply at all, and deny us that confidence which is necessary for strengthening our hands, even though you know we must remain in office, according to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). I will not go out of the way to accuse the character of Mr. Fox, but I have heard with some astonishment that it was the proudest period in his political history when he pursued the course he adopted as to the war between England and France. In my opinion nothing was more unpatriotic in the history of the country, and I think it is a stain on the political character of Mr. Fox, and certainly it could never add anything to the credit of his life. The right hon. Gentleman asked what distinct British interests were in danger. Well, distinct British interests are few; but I have yet to learn that because others have interests involved with British interests, Great Britain is not to take steps to protect those which concern her. But still more is she bound to take steps if there are others able to take action which may affect her in defence of their interests. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) has put it as an absurdity, that if this Vote was necessary for diplomatic purposes it ought to be refused. I should have thought that that would have been one of the strongest arguments in its favour. It seems to be thought that England alone should have no special interests. Other nations are acting upon their own interests—they are all acting upon their own interests—and I am bound to say in any negotiations we may enter into we must consider those interests, and pay a deference to them as long as they do not interfere materially with our own policy. I do not understand what is meant by the selfish interests of England. Our interests may be just the same as those of other nations, and it is at least desirable that we should be ready to defend them. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) talks of the vast cost of our peace establishment, and implies the needlessness of asking money for naval and military purposes, and he

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made a curious reference to the time of the Crimean War. He told us, and I dare say correctly, what was the course taken by the Government at that time. The troops went out rapidly, it is quite true; but what was the state of those troops? There were brave officers and soldiers; but what was wanting? Why, they were destitute of everything that was necessary to bind an Army together. It was hardly to be called an Army when it came to move. It was without transport; it had no commissariat; it had no medical arrangements; and it had to borrow surgeons from the Fleet. No force, I believe, was ever landed in the face of an enemy so utterly wanting in all the appliances which ought to accompany an Army, and which ought to be provided as a preliminary to action. The right hon. Gentleman tells how efficient it was made in 12 months; but he does not tell us what was spent in that time. It may be that the ordinary Estimates that had been voted were applied to the purposes of the war, leaving deficiencies to be made up. There were, of course, large Votes on the ordinary Estimates and Votes of Credit—voted, I venture to say, in confidence in the Government without any statement being made as to how they were to be applied. They were handed over to the Government for the purposes of use, as we ask for this Vote now for the purposes of use. If you look through the Papers of the Crimean War, you will see that again and again there were Votes of Credit without any specification of the way in which they were to be used. [An hon. MEMBER: That was for war.] Yes; but still money was voted without specific application, and the objection that has been made to this Vote is that we do not say in detail what we are going to do with it. It seems to me a most extraordinary proposition. What said the right hon. Gentleman about his precedent in 1870? He said he could not state publicly everything he knew, and that there were good reasons why the Government should not state publicly all they knew. No one knows better than the right hon. Gentleman and those who have sat in Cabinets, how many occasions there are in which Members of Cabinets fight, as it were, with their hands tied behind them—occasions when Members of the House may attack them, and they are unable to break con-

fidence and so defend themselves, though the answer they have may be absolutely perfect. As to the mode in which this money is to be raised, everybody can see what that mode must be under the circumstances. It is simply impossible to raise it by taxes in the course of two months, and as it is necessary that we should have the money, my right hon. Friend (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) has taken that which is the ordinary means of obtaining it. With respect to precedents, it is all very well to talk about the 1870 Vote as not being a precedent; but I say it is, in spite of all the exceptions you may make. The Government asked for a Vote for strengthening our Forces, and they received it in a lump sum of £2,000,000, to spend as they thought fit. That is a precedent. Referring to the terms of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), I want to know whether the Vote of 1870 was a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, because the money might have been used under conditions? Was it a breach of neutrality and peace because you meant to use it with reference to certain Treaties by which you had engaged yourselves? If not, why is ours to be considered a breach of neutrality and peace? That Vote did not lead to war, but it was spent, and, as it turned out, uselessly spent. It was spent for a purpose advantageous in itself, but exactly at the period when it was of the least service, and I will tell the reason why. Twenty thousand men were added to the Army, and no sooner was that done than it was reduced again. It was at the time they were beginning the Reserve; and ever since the Reserve has been lagging behind because they reduced the Army at the very time when they had the men whom they might have passed into the Reserve. I think that was as foolish a policy as was ever adopted; because you first of all wasted your £2,000,000, and then you wasted the means of obtaining a Reserve. The right hon. Gentleman then said that negotiation and armaments are utterly incompatible. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] I understood him to say that this Vote of Credit is taken at a time when we propose to go into Conference, and that when you are going into a Conference is exactly when

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you ought not to be putting on your armour. I took down the words from the right hon. Gentleman's lips as I understood them. I thought that was rather a remarkable thing to be said; because the latest Conference we have had was the Conference of Constantinople, and just previous to that Conference Russia mobilized her Forces. She not only mobilized her Forces, but advanced to the frontier, and she mobilized such an enormous mass of her Forces that it is almost impossible to suppose that when she went into that Conference she must not have meant war. I never heard any complaint of the course taken by Russia, who mobilized her forces on the frontiers of Turkey at the time the Conference was sitting. It was never suggested by hon. Gentlemen opposite that these preparations were an impediment to peace; but they led all Europe to suppose that the Conference must fail, because so large an expenditure had been incurred that it was inferred war was intended. But this is a totally different transaction; it is a preliminary and precautionary measure, and not a measure of war, as the Russian course was. Anyone who knows anything of the requirements of modern war will know perfectly well that the amount of this Vote could by no means carry us far into war; and, besides, the House is sitting, and it is known perfectly well that before war could be declared, or we should be plunged into war, the House would have an opportunity of expressing its opinion. But it is important we should have everything ready in case it should be required at any moment; for if anything has been proved of recent years, it has been that wars arise suddenly and have broken out from unforeseen causes. When the right hon. Gentleman compares the expenditure of different countries, let him also compare their armaments, and when he says Austria and Germany do not spend so much money, let him remember what armies they have on a peace footing, what resources they have for immediate movement, and then compare with their armies our small army, which I value very highly, but which I quite admit is a peace establishment, and which could not engage in a great war without large additions and expenditure. I say the comparison the

right hon. Gentleman makes between the peace establishments of the different countries is quite untenable. He tells us he is anxious for a path to concord; none can desire it more than we; but as the right hon. Gentleman objects to an unreal Vote, we object to an unreal concord. We have asked the House to give us this Vote, not as a general Vote of Confidence; but because on our responsibility we believe it will be highly advantageous to the country that we should have it. Everyone must desire that we should be united at the present crisis, and if hon. Gentlemen opposite have such confidence in what we are going to do as to be ready to adopt the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to an Address of both Houses, surely he cannot hesitate to trust the Government, which he is ready to praise so highly, and to which he is so prepared to give his confidence, with the small sum of money asked for? I do not think it will be prudent of me, as it was easy for the right hon. Gentleman in his unattached position to do, to go through the different proposals which the Government ought to support in the Conference. I will say that the Government have shown that they have no separate interests, that they have no desire to act except in concert with Europe, not indeed in the coercion of the Turk, in proposing which the right hon. Gentleman stood almost alone. Those who sit beside him were unable or unwilling to support him in the proposition he was desirous to make to that effect, and therefore I have the right to assume that the right hon. Gentleman stood almost alone with respect to coercion. We have shown our anxiety that the subject populations of Turkey should receive fair terms; that they should obtain, under adequate guarantees, such good government as shall ensure that their liberties will be respected, and that they may be able to live in security and happiness under whatever Government may be determined upon. But that anxiety is not confined to the Slav populations; it includes all the populations of Turkey. Our great desire is that such bases of peace shall be laid down as, by making those who are brought under its influences contented, may ensure that the peace shall be permanent; and whether the specifics of the right hon. Gentleman would lead to such a peace would require

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grave discussion. He has spoken of the duty of men to defend their own interests and to fight for them. I think there is great justice in what he said of the Bulgarians, who owe everything to others and hardly anything to themselves; and who, therefore, though they might be dealt with fairly by those who have delivered them, might be placed under conditions to which they would have no claim to object. When the right hon. Gentleman lays down so broadly as he has done in a recent article, the right of oppressed peoples to rise against their oppressors, the question is, who is to judge what is oppression? Who is to say when the people are sufficiently oppressed to rise? What is the amount of oppression that will justify them in doing so? The Bulgarians may say that the tribute you put us under is an oppression. And the very peace which the right hon. Gentleman wishes to produce may turn out to be, by resisting the payment of that very tribute, broken; and so bring about the very evils which he deprecates and wishes to prevent. But it is obviously impossible that we can discuss this question here. So it is with all these points. We cannot discuss them here. We cannot tell what may be the views of the different Powers in relation to them. We can only speak of them in the merest generalities; and in discussing them at all we may be taking on ourselves a task which may lead us into difficulties even greater than those which have already been brought about. Now, Sir, I come to the question of the present position of affairs. We have heard that the preliminary bases of peace are signed; we have heard that the conditions of the armistice are signed; but we have not yet ascertained on what conditions the armistice stands, or for how long it is to continue. With regard to the bases of peace, I frankly own that they appear to me to convey but the vaguest idea of what is intended. We have not the full information on that subject which I think we ought to have had. With regard to the bases of peace, it will be remembered that at first we were told by the Russian Ambassador the Dardanelles were not mentioned; then we found that they were included; then Prince Gortchakoff told us that the Dardanelles would be taken out; yet we are now told to-day that the Dardanelles are among the

conditions, and that ulterior measures are to be taken respecting the Straits between the Sultan and the Czar. That is not a state of things so clear or satisfactory that we can say the bases of peace are fully established. The hon. Gentleman who sits for Orkney (Mr. Laing) advised that we should have trust in Russia, and the right hon. Member for Birmingham said we had a mean and ignorant jealousy of Russia. I will not say that I am prepared to ignore facts. I cannot shut my eyes to what has occurred in former years, nor can I believe that the suspicions of this country were always wrong, and that the course of Russia has always been right. The right hon. Gentleman who has just spoken has put before the country his views on this matter. If I had said a short time ago suddenly to the Liberal Party in this House—"Do not you all agree that there is legitimate ground of jealousy with regard to Russia?" would they have adopted that sentiment? No, for they did not know that the right hon. Gentleman had written such a sentence. The right hon. Gentleman has had the courage to lay down that position in the article of which I shall read two or three short paragraphs. He says there are many grounds on which there is fair and frank reason to distrust Russia. I do not think we do any dishonour to a country or necessarily disparage or insult a country when we say it has had a large ambition which it has testified by great wars; nor are we forbidden to say that we think we have a right to look with jealousy at present events on account of the proceedings which Russia has adopted in former years. But the right hon. Gentleman has dwelt on that subject. I will not read much, but I should like very much to call attention to one or two passages; because it bears upon the circumstances in which we are placed, and to which he has called attention. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Will you read the whole article?] The whole article?—No, no! The right hon. Gentleman has already spoken for an hour and a half, and has stated to the House his opinions fully. I shall not, therefore, read the whole of his article in the *Nineteenth Century* for February. He says—

"Our view ought, in my opinion, from the first to have been this—that we should keep the separate action of Russia out of Turkey by

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means of the common action, which was the true aim of the Treaty of Paris in 1856. What may now be practicable, in the way of limiting that separate action, will be practicable only by the use of that same instrument."

But every attempt was made by us to obtain the concert of Europe, except that of dipping our swords in the blood of the people of Turkey, which we refused to do. Short of that, everything was done by this country to bring about that common concert without relegating to Russia single action, and we retain the same views. What says the right hon. Gentleman next?—

"But then there is no Power with hands so clean as to be beyond reproach. Here the misfortune is that the Power whose hands seem to many the most soiled of all in Christendom is also the Power under the greatest temptation to misuse its opportunities for corrupt and disorganizing purposes."

Sir, I should be sorry to use language as strong as that of a friendly Power. It is language which I quote but do not adopt.

Mr. GLADSTONE: You must take it as a whole.

Mr. GATHORNE HARDY: You may say, "Take it as a whole," but there is nothing to qualify the meaning of that passage. The right hon. Gentleman then says—

"We seem, then, to arrive at three important propositions which will serve for guides in considering the parts of the subject as they come up in detail. First, there is a legitimate ground for jealousy of Russia; secondly, the safest and most effective check upon Russia is to be found in the concert of Europe; thirdly, the setting up of separate interests and the advancement of separate claims, even without passing beyond the sphere of diplomatic action, tend to break up that concert, and are, therefore, to be eschewed unless in grave and evident necessity."

I am quite willing to adopt that.

"I have said that what I call the selfish interests of one Power ought not to be sought without regard to the interests of other Powers, and that you have no right to thrust down the throats of others what is purely selfish to yourself, where others had interests bound up with yours, to which you ought fairly to give effect."

I do not think any of my Colleagues will differ from that sentiment. What does the right hon. Gentleman say next, as to the point at which we have arrived, in a very remarkable passage?—

"We have now reached in the Eastern Question of to-day a stage at which we have to deal, not with the high honour of the Monarch, or the

valour of the soldiery, nobly rivalled by its patience and devotion, or the generous emotions of a great and single-minded people, but with the excited spirit of a military caste and with a diplomatic service essentially astute and much maligned indeed if it be remarkable for scrupulosity."

I think I may fairly close the book and say that the position to which we have come at the present moment is admittedly, and on the right hon. Gentleman's own showing, one of a very grave character; which requires that the Government of this country, with its enormous interests, should have the full support of this House. When you talk of European interests which others have, remember you have world-wide interests—interests in Asia, Africa, America, Australia, and all the islands of the sea—these interests are vulnerable as well as glorious to this country, and therefore it seems to me that we are bound to make due provision for the people who trust in us to protect their freedom and their liberties—and that they should believe that we have not only the wish to protect, but that we are determined, and that we have the power to protect them. And what the right hon. Gentleman calls prestige is a prestige which it is very desirable this country should possess. I do not care about the word; but the country in relation to Colonies, and in relation to foreign nations, should have the reputation of being at once able and willing to protect its own interests and defend its own subjects. In this instance the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) said, as I understood him, that the fact of Russia being engaged in this war entitled her to protect her rights and make peace alone with Turkey, without reference to European interest; and he gave the instance of France and Germany. We did not, he said, interfere between France and Germany with reference to the terms of peace; but he totally forgets that we are in relations with Russia by Treaties from which she cannot separate herself without the consent of the other Powers; therefore, she is bound to bring into Conference with the other Powers the subjects which are in dispute. That makes the whole difference. He is perfectly correct in saying that we did not interfere between France and Germany, but we have the right to interfere with reference to Russia. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the

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City of London (Mr. Goschen) stated the other evening—upon what authority I do not know—that if this Vote had been asked for to defend Constantinople it or far more would have been granted without hesitation and unanimously. That was a very bold statement, but it would have involved intervention in war, which we had previously avoided.

MR. GOSCHEN: I did not say that if it had been proposed it would have been voted. I spoke of the prospect of the occupation of Gallipoli for the protection of Constantinople, and said that in such a case you would probably get the Vote.

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: The right hon. Gentleman practically admits what I have said—if you had called on Parliament for a Vote to defend Gallipoli or Constantinople there would have been an unanimous vote of money for the purpose. But I am afraid what he said for his Party was emphatically what he called “bounce”—not a word in common use, but certainly a most emphatic word—what he said was “bounce” so far as regards those whom he professed to represent. [Mr. GOSCHEN: I spoke for myself.] I am now speaking of the right hon. Gentleman’s opinion only—it could not be a matter of fact. Then we have heard a good deal about the meetings which have been held. An hon. Gentleman spoke about the meeting at Guildhall being an organized gang, and of people who had been guilty of riotous proceedings in coming down to the House of Commons and waiting on the Postmaster General—those peacebreakers who had waited on him being the Lord Mayor and the Governor of the Bank of England. But are there no indications that the right hon. Gentleman opposite does not even represent his own Party? Look at the West Riding of Yorkshire—is there any name there more associated with Liberal politics than the name of Fitzwilliam? Where is Lord Fitzwilliam found on this occasion? He has spoken as if he felt it a deep shame to be associated with you on account of the course you have pursued in opposing this Vote. There was once a name in this House which was celebrated for rescuing Liberal Governments from difficulties. That name was Fortescue. Where is the name of Fortescue to-day? It is withdrawn from a Liberal Association because of the

adoption of a line of conduct of which he who bears it cannot approve. I now come to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe). He, too, has used some extraordinary language with respect to the course which has been taken by the Government—language which I should have thought scarcely becoming the seat of learning which he represents—a constituency which, it was said by my noble Friend at the head of the Government, he created on purpose for him, and one to which he should try to do honour. But the right hon. Gentleman, nevertheless, condescended to speak of the proposal of the Government as a dodge, and what was called “the confidence trick,” which, I understand, is a sort of trick resorted to by card players or sharpers. I am not conversant with such tricks, but I presume it applies to the Government. [Mr. Lowe: Showing money.] “Showing money,” he calls it—that is, I suppose, trying to palm off flash notes as real money, or pretending to have money when we really have not, in order to get someone to place money in our hands. But those gentlemen who get money in the way the right hon. Gentleman suggests are not sitting in public and do not spend it under the public eye when they have secured it. To use language which I have no doubt is familiar to him, they “bolt” with the money; but we are obliged to spend it in the face of those who gave it to us, and to be answerable for that expenditure. We are, therefore, in a very different category from those whom the right hon. Gentleman calls “dodgers.” He also talks of snobbishness and vulgarity, and I am sure I do not wish to impugn his great ability as a teacher of manners; but I may observe that such language seems to me to be better suited to the other side of the globe. Now, by some persons, the proposal before the House is called a sham and by others a war Vote. Allow me to tell them that it is neither one nor the other. It is possible that we may not spend it all; but I may, I think, venture to say that we shall spend some of it. [An hon. MEMBER: Some of it has been spent already.] We have not spent any of it, and whoever that interruption comes from seems to be taking rather a liberty after the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. We

have before us one great object—the object which we have had in view from the very beginning of these transactions. We have been thinking of British interests. To us there are no interests like them, and we have sought to obtain in South-eastern Europe a permanent and solid peace—a peace that will last—for there is no greater folly than to be a party to a patched-up arrangement that could not be durable. It may seem to some to be a small thing that an Empire should be broken up, and there are many persons I know who would care but little to see the Turkish Empire broken up. Everyone has a right to his own opinions on this subject; but the question is, whether a great uprooting of that character may not interfere with other Empires. It may weaken the strength of the greatest nations. It may work mischief to the Austrian Empire, to the Italian Kingdom, or even to the French Republic. You may wish that the Turkish Empire should crumble into dust, but you must not lose sight of the consequences which may follow its fall. You have before you a task so infinitely difficult that any impediments thrown in the way, by thwarting and baffling in the smallest degree those who are responsible for the conduct of its affairs, might produce results which would be felt throughout the country for centuries to come. I hope I may, without being deemed selfish, and with a view to the interests of the world, believe that the British Empire has a commission far beyond the conflicts of Party, and that the maintenance of its power and independence is a subject of so serious a character that no man, be his politics what they may, can be otherwise than appalled at the gravity of the issues before us. For my own part, I think it is better that we should look difficulties in the face at once than try to put them off. It may be that you grudge giving us these £6,000,000 now; but if you refuse them to us, perhaps you would have to spend £600,000,000 hereafter. Therefore it is that with a view to European concert, with a view to a settlement on a sound footing of these bases of peace, which, as they at present stand, are so vague and uncertain, we ask you to give us your confidence. That is surely no great demand to make upon you at such a moment. We have a right, I contend, after what has passed,

*Mr. Gathorne Hardy*

to ask you to have confidence in our future policy. It has been misrepresented, and we have had to bear the misrepresentation until Parliament met. Our conduct has been impugned and misrepresented in spite of all the documents which were before those from whom the misrepresentations have come; and who have, I presume, believed in those underground currents and those rumours of some mysterious communications between this country and Constantinople, of which the Government knew nothing. Thus to impugn the character of a British Government is to weaken its force and power, and you have no right to do so. To do so is unjust. You have a right to meet us in the fair field of debate and argument, but not to indulge in those surmises which are contrary, I will say, not only to the honour of a Government as a Government, but to those individuals who compose it. The right hon. Gentleman opposite referred to my noble Friend Lord Carnarvon, and no one has a higher opinion of the honour and character of Lord Carnarvon than I have. No one could regret more his secession from the Ministry. I felt the value of his friendship, as well as of his support, in public affairs; but when the acts of the Government are impugned and misrepresented from beginning to end, I would beg those who speak of Lord Carnarvon and eulogize his conduct in contradistinction to that of the other Members of the Government, to remember that he is responsible—and I am sure he would be the last to disavow the responsibility—for every word and every act of the Government as a Government until the occurrence of that solitary proceeding in respect to which he differed from his Colleagues and retired from Office. I know the noble Lord's high sense of honour; I know that whatever he may do in the future, he will never throw discredit upon the Government with which he was connected. We ask you, then, to treat us as an English Government. We have asked on our own responsibility for this money. We ask to have it speedily; we ask for it because we want it; yet you say you will not give it to us. You tell us that you are prepared to pass an empty Vote; but the right hon. Gentleman who proposes such a step must think we are but children in the school of politicians, when he asks us to accept

this paper Vote without anything to represent it at our backs. We ask for confidence in our truthfulness. We ask you for this confidence because you have a guarantee that we cannot fail you. That guarantee is the Parliament we have called together at the earliest moment, because we are not afraid to act in the light of day. We ask you for your confidence, because if you are not prepared to give it to us, it is time that we should give place to someone else. We do not wish to be crippled. We do not wish it to be thought that while guiding the destinies of this country we are not fit to be trusted with a sum of money like this with the definite object of being applied to our Army and Navy. We have no desire—who could desire?—to enter into a war. Is there a man in this House—nay, a man in the civilized world, almost—who could be insensible to the gravity of such a course? We have hitherto preserved peace; we mean to keep peace, and we believe we are going the right way to keep it when we ask you to assist amid the confusion and complications which we see around us. The nations of Europe are armed to the teeth. A single spark may kindle Europe into a flame which may involve every interest we hold dear to an extent of which we have no idea at this moment. It is because we feel all this, and because it is our anxiety and our intention, in the face of Parliament and the country, not only to protect British interests, but to do our part in the European concert for the benefit of subject-nations, for the benefit of ruling nations, and for the benefit of mankind, that we ask you, in spite of all the attempts at delay, to give us this Vote.

MR. PEASE said, he deeply regretted the tone of the right hon. Gentleman's speech, which he believed would be read in the country with great uneasiness. He did not think the right hon. Gentleman had given them any reason whatever for this Vote. He told them most emphatically that it was for keeping the peace; but yet, the articles of peace having been signed, the armistice agreed upon, and the advance of the Russians having subsided, instead of this debate being adjourned, the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War had made a speech which must misrepresent to the country the real objects of Her Majesty's

Government. He believed the Vote was entirely contrary to the policy of peace which Her Majesty's Government had hitherto so successfully pursued. The view of the matter in his part of the country, and by himself, was that it was putting money into the hands of the Government in order to help Turkey to get better terms. He contended it was contrary to international policy that we should arm a Government to go into a Conference of peace. The same course might be adopted by other Governments. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary (Mr. Assheton Cross) had spoken of there being a "lying spirit" abroad; but how had that "lying spirit" been produced? By the uncertainty of tone which every now and then cropped up in Ministerial journals and Ministerial speeches. Then, again, they had been told that there was a united Cabinet. So there might have been in a certain sense and up to a certain point; but when they came to the ultimate objects and ultimate aim of their policy on the Eastern Question they were not united, therefore it was not surprising that some doubt should exist in the minds of Liberals whether they ought to vote the money asked for. He thought that the moving of the Fleet up the Dardanelles was a great mistake. He believed hon. Gentlemen opposite had been educated by the Prime Minister, who was a man of steadfast purpose, and who seemed always determined to have his own way. He hoped that the House would watch the Government and see that they did not prevent the Christian subjects of Turkey obtaining their fair share of liberty. He maintained that the money was not necessary unless it was required for purely war purposes. He thought that the Vote of £2,000,000 during the Franco-German War was a great mistake, as it had led to a considerable addition to the Army, and an increase since that time of something like £12,000,000 to the expenses of the country. He contended that the asking for this Vote was a breach of the neutrality which the Government had hitherto pursued. He objected to the Vote because it must inevitably lead, as he had said, to the impression that its latent object was to obtain better terms for Turkey than she was likely to get if she were left to settle matters with Russia alone. The £6,000,000 that were asked for might



be spent in almost any manner, and it was unconstitutional for the House of Commons to vote money without having some control over its expenditure. Had Russia kept its pledges or had it not? It had kept every pledge that had been given by Prince Gortchakoff, through Count Schouvaloff, to Lord Derby, and in that fact we were much stronger and safer than with these £6,000,000, because the moment Russia broke one of the pledges, that moment the Government of St. Petersburg would have the public feeling of all England—aye, and of all Europe—against it. He was one of those who thought that money would be given ungrudgingly if the honour or the interest of the country were at stake; but it would be given very grudgingly now, because it was believed that neither the one nor the other was in question. There was hardly a man engaged in trade that he knew of that was not cutting down his expenditure, and the figures of whose balance-sheet were not less favourable than they were a year or two ago; there was widespread depression of trade, and surely this was a most unfit time for additional taxation. It was true that no new taxes were at present about to be laid on; but if not now, they would have to be paid at a future time. Not only so, but he ventured to say, notwithstanding what might be asserted at some public meetings to the contrary, that with the object for which this particular Vote was desired the people, as a whole, had no sympathy. Perhaps the most important question raised by the discussion was the position which Her Majesty's Government should occupy in the European Conference which would shortly assemble. Would the Government go into that Conference saying — "We have got a grant of £6,000,000, which was grudgingly given by Parliament, and which was not sympathized with by the country at large;" or would they enter the Conference able to declare— "We are the Constitutional Government of a great country, and we have a united and a free people at our back—a people who are not afraid of sacrifices, or of prompt action and strong action when necessary, a people who dislike paltry payments and paltry grants; but a people who are anxious, above all things, to secure to other nations the blessings of that liberty which they themselves enjoy?"

*Mr. Pease*

He trusted it would be in the latter spirit that Great Britain would take part in the Conference.

Mr. FORSYTH said, he would certainly vote for the Government proposal in case of a division being taken on it, but he would be glad if that course could be avoided. One reason why he should support the Vote of Credit was that the Government had told the House that they would not use it for warlike purposes nor for armed intervention; but merely desired that it should be carried, so that they might go into the Conference armed with the outward and visible sign of the confidence of the country. He (Mr. Forsyth) would support it as an outward and visible sign of his inward and spiritual faith that the Government would make use of it wisely and well. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had dwelt upon the necessity of our presenting a united front at the approaching Conference; but he doubted whether the result of a division would enable us to show such a front, because, although the Government proposal would undoubtedly be carried by a great majority, yet still there would be a large and a powerful minority opposed to it. He hoped that, in these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government would take into consideration the proposition of the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), even though not in the exact form or terms of that proposal. If the Vote were not withdrawn, it might be postponed, and the Amendment being withdrawn, a Vote of Confidence in Her Majesty's Government might be unanimously passed by both Houses. It was not necessary to ask hon. Members opposite to approve of the policy of Her Majesty's Government during the last three years; but it would be sufficient if they were to say that they trusted the honour and the interests of England to them in the approaching Conference, and would back them up with all England's strength in protecting them. Another reason why he should vote for the proposal was because he did not believe it would lay any burden upon the taxpayers, for he did not think that a single shilling of the money asked to be voted need be spent. There were only three of the terms of peace proposed by Russia to Turkey that would even indirectly affect the interests or the honour of this country, and they were

those which related to Constantinople, to the Straits, and to Bulgaria. The permanent occupation of Constantinople by Russia was entirely out of the question. As regarded the Straits, Russia did not even intend to raise the question in the shape of asking for the right of navigation through them exclusively for her own ships of war. The question of the opening of the Dardanelles might be put out of consideration, for he firmly believed that Russia would prefer the Straits to remain closed rather than that the Fleets of England, France, Italy, Austria, and Germany should have access to the waters of the Black Sea. There remained certainly one question in which he did think the interests of England were largely concerned, and that was the question of providing for the freedom and good government of the Christian Provinces of the Porte, and upon this point he trusted England would stand firm. Lord Carnarvon had published his speech on his late resignation in the form of a pamphlet, and in the preface to it he said—

"I have thought it right to avoid any reference, however indirect, to that largest question of all—which it is my unceasing hope this war will solve—the fuller liberty and the better government of the Christian subjects of the Porte."

He (Mr. Forsyth) fully agreed with Lord Carnarvon that this was the largest question, and he hoped the influence of England would be used in the Conference to rescue the Christian Provinces from the misrule of so many centuries, and place them upon a better basis. More glorious than a thousand victories would be a course of action which would bring about a result so glorious. His chief object, however, in rising was to express an earnest hope that by some means they might not have any division upon the Vote, and thus they might present a united front at the Conference.

Mr. MONK expressed his satisfaction at finding that the calm, temperate, and statesmanlike speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) had made at least one convert on the Ministerial side of the House. He believed the Government would have done wisely to accept his suggestion, as they might have done but for the pressure brought to bear upon them by their supporters in that House. He approached the consideration of the

Vote with misgiving and apprehension. The Government had never explained the Vote, while from their point of view on the Opposition side of the House it was inexplicable and uncalled for. The hon. Member for Cambridge University (Mr. Beresford Hope) had endeavoured unsuccessfully to justify the Vote on the ground that it was required to enable the Envoys to go to the coming Congress in Court dress, while the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) was rebuked for suggesting that the money would be spent in sending them with "shotted guns and revolvers." If it were not a war Vote, why was so large an Estimate for naval and military stores laid on the Table? It was idle to say that £6,000,000 were wanted in the interest of peace to enable England to present a brave and bold front at the Congress. Would that Congress meet before the middle of March? How, then, could the money be spent before the end of the financial year, when any surplus must be surrendered into the Treasury? Parliament was called together three weeks earlier than usual to be taken into the confidence of the Government; but up to the present time neither the House nor the country had any information as to what the policy of the Government was. Unless a real necessity for the Vote could be shown, the present time was ill-chosen for imposing fresh burdens upon the people, commercial distress being prevalent, and want and misery rife in the country. He hoped the Government would recall the Vote of £6,000,000 as they recalled the Fleet from the Dardanelles, and take up a position of observation, which would be intelligible to the House, and meet with the approval of the country. If it were the policy of the Government to aid Russia in effecting the complete liberation of the Christian populations in Turkey, he would give them his warmest support. But why, then, did the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer speak disparagingly of the reforms proposed by Russia for Bosnia, Herzegovina, and the Christian Provinces, and denounce them as "whether good or bad, being of a sweeping character?" Of course they were. If they were not so, they would not tend to a final settlement of the Eastern Question. If England went into the Congress determined to act with Russia,

those reforms would be carried out. If, however, the Party opposite continued to revile Russia and to carp at every act of her Government, they would make the name of England to be loathed by the Christian races in the East of Europe. He felt constrained to say that he distrusted the policy of the Government. It had broken down. They were disunited among themselves. They were discredited in the country. It had been urged by some of their supporters that something should be done for the honour of England, that England should go to war with Russia—why, he knew not—lest she should sink in the estimation of the world, and become a third or fourth-rate Power. ["No, no!"] He was glad to find that those sentiments did not meet with approval in the House. At the Conference held last year at Constantinople, England formulated certain moderate propositions; but though they were insisted on strongly by Lord Salisbury, our Ambassador (Mr. Layard) was informed from home that moral pressure only would be put upon Turkey to induce her to accept them. Did not that fact encourage resistance on the part of the Porte? Russia alone stood firm. Unfortunately Her Majesty's Government clung tenaciously to the vain hope of maintaining the independence and the integrity of the Ottoman Empire in preference to the policy of insisting upon the Porte recognizing the reasonable claims and the just rights of her subject-races. Too late they admitted that the independence and integrity of the falling Empire was a thing of the past. It had already become a dissolving view. Hon. Members disclaimed any wish to go to war. He gave them credit for sincerity in that wish, but by their acts and by their unreasoning jealousy of Russia they might easily drift into war. They professed to support the Vote with the view of protecting British interests. Did the House imagine that Members sitting on those—the Opposition—benches were not as watchful over British interests, and as jealous of British honour, as hon. Members opposite? Aye, even more so, for some of their British interests were purely imaginary—such, for instance, as those connected with the Euphrates Valley and the Persian Gulf. Much had been said as to the intentions of the Czar. For his part he respected the

solemn promises made by the Emperor, and regarded him as the champion of oppressed Christian races, and as the deliverer of long-suffering and down-trodden nationalities. Since Parliament had met there had been a series—he had almost said a comedy—of errors. Even Mr. Layard could not send home a message without a blunder, which cost the Cabinet one Colleague and almost lost them another. That was a message upon which hung the issues of peace or war. Then, too, the Prime Minister told the country that his Cabinet was a united one, while he had the resignations of two of his Colleagues in his pocket. In conclusion, he would ask whether Russia had broken any one of her promises to Lord Derby? Her present demands could not be called unreasonable. They were extremely moderate compared with those made by Germany upon France at the close of the Franco-Prussian War. The concessions demanded by Russia for the Christian races were no more than what every lover of freedom in the country and, he believed, a large majority in that House would desire to see granted. If he felt a regret, and he did feel such a regret, it was that Greece had by some occult influence, which time might explain, been kept in the background all last year, and consequently was now left out in the cold. He was convinced that the Eastern Question could never be finally settled until the extension of the limits of the Kingdom of Greece was taken into consideration. It was idle to think of ignoring Crete and the Islands of the Ægean Sea. They had from time to time during the last 20 years implored England to assist them in their desire to be joined to Greece, and it could scarcely be disputed that they must ultimately form part of the Hellenic Kingdom. He regretted that Greece had so long delayed the movement she made a few days since, as owing to her inaction the fulfilment of her hopes would probably be postponed for a time; but he firmly believed that the day was not far distant when the Greek Empire would once more be re-established upon the shores of the Bosphorus.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF observed that the right hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment before the House had had uphill work in advancing reasons in support of it. He felt he

did not represent the policy of a united Party, and did not go heart and soul with the Amendment himself. The right hon. Gentleman knew it was brought forward to redeem a pledge or menace made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), and which was contained in a letter written last year to the Baptist ministers of Worcestershire, and repeated this year in a letter to the electors of Greenwich, addressed to E. Davis, Esq. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe) seemed in their speeches to carry out the dictum of an hon. Gentleman who was known in that House as Single-speech Hamilton, and who said—"First ascertain your object, and then find out principles to support it." The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had gone on a fishing expedition in order to support his Amendment, and he could conceive the other right hon. Gentleman poring over these Papers as they came out piecemeal to find arguments based on something which had been omitted to be done, and might have been done. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had told them there was no analogy between the present Vote and that taken in reference to the Belgian Treaty; and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London said the difference in the two Votes was this—that, whereas the present Government said they would not spend the money, the late Government spent the money at once. As far as there could be analogy between the French and German War and the war now ended there was an analogy between the two Votes. At that time Belgium was under the united guarantee of Europe. So was Luxemburg; but the Government of England separated itself from the European concert, and made a Treaty with France and Germany to secure Belgium, and leaving Luxemburg out in the cold. Both the Treaty of 1870 and the despatch of Lord Derby in 1876 actually defined what were British interests, and the two were, *mutatis mutandis*, the same. Why was the Belgium Treaty of 1870 concluded? It was justified by the revelation of the Benedetti Treaty. Would the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Ox-

ford (Sir William Harcourt) say that if the Benedetti Treaty had been in existence, but not published, it would not have equally justified this demand of the late Government? The hon. and learned Member said there was a good deal of ambiguousness and reticence on the part of the Government; but in these cases he ought to know that ambiguousness was a virtue and silence a necessity. Indeed, there might be grave reasons justifying this Vote which the Government could not divulge, and patriotic reasons why the House should not demand further explanations. They all knew the tension of the diplomatic relations of Germany and France; they knew that Austria and Italy had both of them great interests involved, and it might well be that there was another Benedetti Treaty, involving the existence of both Holland and Belgium. Hon. Members opposite ought, if they objected to the Vote, to openly say they refused to accede to it, and not to find fault upon small, niggling issues, such as comparisons of dates and sham proposals, intended only to embarrass the Government at this critical moment of our national history. They were bound to take steps owing to the mysterious conduct of Russia. ["No!"] Was there no mystery in the conduct of Russia? Was there no mystery about the signing of the terms of peace? The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) had said that going into the Conference armed was a threat which should not be made use of. Might he ask, then, why, when Russia entered the last Conference with her Army mobilized, the right hon. Gentleman went to the meeting at St. James's Hall and advocated the cause of Russia and the policy of Mr. Canning—a policy which ended in the destruction of the Turkish Fleet and the opening of the Black Sea to Russia? If they were to go to war—and they would not go to war unless they were urged to it by the war Party below the Gangway opposite—they did not mean to go into it unprepared. What they wanted was means, not of going to war, but of being certain that, if war should be necessary, they should be able to lay their hands on sufficient funds without coming down again to that House to find their efforts fettered by the unpatriotic manoeuvres of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. The hon. Member for

the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) asked if the veracity of the Emperor of Russia were doubted? He would express no doubt of the veracity of any honest man, whether Emperor or gentleman; but, although the Emperor might not be deficient in veracity, the circumstances might be too strong for his pledges to be carried out. Lord Aberdeen, a statesman remarkable for the moderation of his language, in a despatch to Lord Heytesbury, written immediately after the Peace of Adrianople, said that, although the Czar had declared that, so far from desiring the overthrow of the Turkish Empire, he was anxious for its maintenance, the Treaty of Adrianople did not place the Porte in the position which might have been expected from those declarations. And it might be that the Czar now would not be able to restrain his generals and statesmen in their hour of exultation, and conditions might be exacted far beyond the moderation of previous declarations. In referring to the terms of peace he would refer only to those mentioned by the right hon. Member for Greenwich. The first was—

“Bulgaria, within the limits of the Bulgarian nationality not less than the limits of the Congress, to be an autonomous Tributary Principality, with a national Christian Government,” &c.

That seemed very simple at first sight, but what was a “national Christian Government?” Did it mean that it was to belong to the Orthodox Greek Church or the United Greek Church? He had had personal experience of both, and he knew that they hated each other with a holy hatred which far exceeded the love of woman. Then Roumania was to have her independence; but before the war Roumania had everything she could desire. She had her own Parliament, her own Prince, armies of her own, her agents at foreign Courts, and two or three years ago Her Majesty’s Ministers asserted her right to make commercial treaties on her own behalf and independently of her Suzerain. He admitted the gallantry of the Roumanians; but they certainly had no inducement to go into the war beyond a sporting desire to get something out of it. With regard to the independence of Servia, although some hon. Members opposite might think she had behaved in a very gallant way, he considered her

conduct had been utterly loathsome. Then there was the provision that there should be an ulterior understanding between Russia and the Porte as to the Straits. Everybody would admit that the geography of the Straits required that some restriction should be put upon their use, and even the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had laid down some rules for the navigation of the Straits. He would not go into that question further than to say that it was one for the European Powers to settle. He observed that, in the telegrams sent to the newspapers as to the terms of peace, the words with reference to the ulterior understanding being between Russia and the Porte remained the same as they were in the first instance, though the Russian Government had undertaken to alter the terms, and it appeared to him that the questions involved required a good deal of elucidation. The noble Lord at the head of the Opposition told them on the first night of the Session that the policy of the Government had been misunderstood and misinterpreted. He did not dispute that fact, but would ask by whom? It had been represented that the Government had encouraged Turkey. But when had they done so? The Government had held out no hope to Turkey, and the only hope held out to her was from the language of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, who had said that there was a war Party in the Cabinet. Though the Government had not encouraged Turkey, who had encouraged Russia? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich in 1876 never breathed a word in that House about the Bulgarian atrocities. There were debates in that House on the subject, but the right hon. Gentleman was not in his place. During those debates the House was informed that Mr. Baring had been sent to make special inquiries about the facts, and the right hon. Member for Bradford had approved the language held by Lord Derby, but the right hon. Gentleman was not in his place; nor did he begin the part of agitator until there was a vacancy in the representation of Buckinghamshire. That, however, was not the first time the right hon. Gentleman had acted, perhaps not intentionally, but practically, as the advocate of Russia against

*Sir H. Drummond Wolff*

British interests. He did so as soon as he had retired from the Cabinet at the time of the Crimean War. On the 25th of May, 1855, after Lord Russell's return from the Conference at Vienna, the right hon. Gentleman urged us to make peace with Russia on her own terms, and not to insist on limiting her power in the Black Sea or on the taking of Sebastopol. The name of Palmerston had been recently desecrated at an orgie at Oxford. The right hon. Gentleman should remember the rebuke he received in 1855 from that statesman—

“Sir,—I heard the speech of my right hon. Friend who spoke last night (Mr. Gladstone) with admiration, no doubt, but also with considerable pain; because it appeared to me, taking the whole of his speech, especially the concluding part, that his opinions were adverse to the war, were adverse to the expedition to the Crimea, were adverse to the terms of peace on which we proposed to conclude the war; and yet my right hon. Friend was a party to all those courses; and I regret that any circumstances should have occurred since he quitted the Government to have so entirely altered his opinion.”—[3 *Hansard*, cxxxviii. 1271.]

The right hon. Gentleman even panegyrized in that House the Russian soldiery. He told the House how 40,000 men voluntarily overtaxed themselves in a forced march, which cost them one fourth of their numbers, and he asked what must be the spirit of soldiers whose zeal and devotion to the Emperor so far outran the orders of their commanders? But this panegyric was passed while we were at war with Russia, whose soldiers had been charged with bayoneting our own on the battle-field. This was off the 3rd of August, 1855, when Mr. Layard made the following remarks, which probably contributed to the strong affection existing between the two:—

“But if there was any one thing which would make the prospect of peace more remote than ever, it was the course taken by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Oxford. Such a speech as the House had just heard from him was calculated to destroy almost every hope of peace. Although he (Mr. Gladstone) complained that he was unable to find various documents of the Russian Chancery in the English Press, he might find them printed in a paper which the right hon. Gentleman no doubt took in, *Le Nord*, published at Brussels, the Russian organ in Europe. If he and the other right hon. Gentleman near him read that paper, they might see there what was the effect of their speeches—that they were looked upon as the advocates of Russia in England. He did not wish to impute to them that they wished to play

into the hand of the enemy, or that they were traitors to their own country, but that such was the effect of their speeches could not be doubtful. Now, could any speech have been made more calculated to damage our cause, to render peace more difficult, and encourage Russia to persevere and to reject every reasonable proposition, than the speech of the right hon. Gentleman this evening? He (Mr. Layard) believed that no Russian could have made a speech more thoroughly calculated to have that effect, and nothing could raise the spirits of the Russian soldiers more than the eloquent, if not exaggerated, picture drawn by the right hon. Gentleman of their courage, endurance, and patriotism.”—[3 *Hansard*, cxxxix. 1832.]

The right hon. Gentleman was not content with doing all that, for in 1870 when Russia knew that she had a friend at Court, and repudiated the Black Sea Treaty, the right hon. Gentleman, before the Conference took place, came down and told the House—inaccurately as he afterwards acknowledged—that the British Government had never laid much stress upon the Russian power in the Black Sea even before Lord Granville took his place in the Conference, and before the Representative of our Ally—France—was able to join the Conference. At the St. James's Hall Conference, when Lord Salisbury had scoured Europe in the cause of peace, and when the Russian Government had striven to render peace impossible by the mobilization of her Army both on the European and Asiatic frontiers of Turkey, the right hon. Gentleman had advocated a return to the policy of Canning, which ended in the destruction of the Turkish Fleet, the opening of the Black Sea to Russia, and conquests in Armenia. Nor could we forget the pain and humiliation with which, last year, the right hon. Gentleman had referred to his favourite topic, the Bulgarian atrocities. Then he had practically said—“Though I may harrow the House and excite the country by my recital of these acts, yet if you on that side venture to contrast the atrocities of irregular soldiers and undisciplined levies with the disciplined, systematic, Governmental cruelties practised by the Russians on the Poles, then I will rake up every isolated act of severity practised by a small band of civilians and soldiers in India when aghast and indignant at the massacre of their fellow-countrymen. Nay more, I will ransack the grave of Sir James Brooke, and in honour of holy Russia cast dirt on

the grave of that heroic Englishman." Hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House were charged with being anxious for British interests only; if for "British" was read "Russian," that would represent the loadstone of the policy of the right hon. Member for Greenwich. For that he had been consistent through inconsistencies; for that he, the late and would-be Leader—*Maire du Palais*—of the Liberal Party, maintained the sternest and now the only despotism in Europe; for that he, a free trader, maintained the strictest system of protection; for that he, the disestablisher of Churches, maintained an ecclesiastical system, where Dissenters, male and female, were flogged by Cossack whips, and driven through half frozen rivers into the genial pale of an Eastern orthodoxy. But they on that side had a right to speak. They also were Representatives of the people, and they would inform those whom it might concern, that neither by audacity of statement, nor violence of language, nor by any other form of vehement articulation, would they be cowed, coerced, intimidated, or dragooned into a servile acquiescence or traitorous collusion with the dangerous ambitions of Russia. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, in one of the picnic orations, in which, during the Recess, he at a critical moment thought fit to add to the difficulties of the Government, dwelt with pleasure on the supposed divergences in the Government. He did not for a moment wish to intrude into the secrets of the Cabinet, but he thought he might say on behalf of hon. Gentlemen around him, that if there were divergences in the Government, there were no divergences in the Conservative Party; and if he might venture a word of advice to the Government, he would say—"Trust and believe in your majority, not on account of its numbers and discipline, for that would be an unworthy vaunt; but because it represents as clearly, as accurately, and as sharply as in 1874." If any demurred at this appreciation, he was willing to leave it to the verdict of time, and to that ordeal which on that side they did not fear. But he believed the great majority of the people and of the House were determined in one thing—that, notwithstanding the outcry of discontented and de-

*Sir H. Drummond Wolff*

spairing factions, notwithstanding the Radicalism of the future, notwithstanding even the exertions of that Birmingham 600, who last year organized in honour of the Member for Greenwich so gigantic a failure, they would not allow the credit and fortunes of the country to be staked on reckless Party manoeuvres, or sacrificed to the sleepless egotism of discharged and shipwrecked politicians.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, that the invective of the hon. Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) appeared a little artificial and exaggerated. He thought the hon. Member would have done much better if he had endeavoured to answer the statements and arguments, imitating the judicial calmness, gravity, and impartiality of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, and avoiding imputations of motives on a statesman whose reputation would always be identified with English statesmanship. He had come down to the House in the belief that the inexorable logic of facts had brought both sides nearer to an agreement than was possible some days or weeks ago. It appeared, however, from the reception given to the pacific offers of the right hon. Gentleman, that they were no nearer to a formal agreement than they were when this debate began. The Secretary for War did not seem to desire the union of the House so much as a great majority. He confessed he did not altogether regret the spirit in which the offer of the right hon. Member for Greenwich had been received; for he should have felt very considerable difficulty in according a Vote of Confidence to a Government for which he had expressed in the country a feeling of entire disapproval. Some misapprehensions had been removed by this debate as to the existence of a war Party in the House, and even, perhaps, in the Cabinet. He rejoiced to receive the assurance of everyone on the other side that they were still in favour of the strictest neutrality and absolutely opposed to war; but when he found the Home Secretary stigmatizing their misapprehensions in strong language he could not help thinking some injustice was done, and that those misapprehensions were more reasonable and natural than he seemed to suppose. The Secretary for War had in strong language reprobated the right

hon. Member for Greenwich because he had told the country the proceedings of the Government tended to war; but if there were misapprehensions abroad, they appeared to have been shared by Members of the Government itself, for Lord Carnarvon had distinctly stated with reference to a certain proceeding taken by the Cabinet that it seemed to be a step in the direction of war. The Home Secretary said these misapprehensions were due to a "lying spirit" in the country—surely a very uncharitable expression—but did the existence of such a spirit account for the existence of these misapprehensions in his own Cabinet, over whose deliberations, they knew, the spirit of truth always presided? The Government still pressed for this Vote. It appeared now less probable than ever that it would be spent. He quite understood that it was not what was called a general Vote of Confidence—he supposed it was only a Vote of conditional confidence in return for conditional neutrality. But he contended even if limited in that way, it could not be claimed from them as an act of patriotism if they had reason to disapprove the policy the Government were likely to pursue. Now that there had come a collapse of Ottoman Power, the Government had to substitute for their past policy as to Turkey another policy—namely, that of obtaining for Turkey the most favourable conditions of peace, and that policy was just as unpalatable to the Liberals as the previous policy of the Government. He did not believe it possible to obtain terms favourable to Turkey which would not be unfavourable to the Christian population. A peace which would still leave portions of the Christian population of Turkey subject to Turkish misrule, would be only a hollow truce, to be followed in time by another insurrection, which would be followed by intervention by a great Power with all its consequent risk and danger. He did not suppose Her Majesty's Government had been blind to these facts, but it appeared they had been unable to reconcile their desire to ameliorate the condition of the Christian subjects of the Porte with their deep-seated distrust of Russia. This country was entitled to be watchful of her interests, but he did not think she was entitled to put the worst possible interpre-

tation on the acts of Russia, of which she had not received a full explanation. That course did not tend to a peaceful solution of the question. Throughout the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary, and other Members of the Government, there ran one continual innuendo against the good faith of Russia. If they wanted to make a man a thief, the best way was to be continually suspecting his honesty. He thought there was great force in the inquiry the other night of the hon. Member for the Border Burghs (Mr. Trevelyan) when he asked—"Why did you ask for these assurances from Russia if you were absolutely determined not to believe any assurance she made?" There was absolute danger in that course. The Government had put on the conduct of the Russian Government and on the words of her diplomatists and the action of her Emperor the most offensive possible construction, and the result was great indignation on the part of the Russian people against this country. Could they be surprised that such conduct was resented by a people who, whatever might be thought of their rulers, had all the pride, as well as the tenacity and courage of a great Northern race? He had some letters from Moscow, in which it was said the very name of "Englishman" was loathed. Surely, hon. Gentlemen did not think that was desirable? The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary stated that the Emperor of Russia had said he would not occupy Constantinople except for strategic reasons; but, having looked through the Blue Books, he had been unable to find that the Emperor had used the words attributed to him. The Russians had stated from the first that a permanent occupation of Constantinople was outside their views, but the question of a temporary occupation was reserved. Our Government understood that position of Russia from the commencement, and allowed seven months to pass without objecting. Subsequently when the Russian Government stated that they would not proceed towards Gallipoli unless the Turkish troops concentrated there, Lord Derby wrote to the effect that he was glad to receive that assurance. If, therefore, there had been any want of frankness, it had not been on the part of the Russian Government. He was not



ashamed to admit that in his opinion British interests in the East of Europe included not merely the good government and the welfare of the Christian inhabitants of Turkey, but included the idea of more cordial and friendly relations between the two great countries of Russia and England. If this Eastern Question were once satisfactorily settled, he did not see any reason why England and Russia should be alienated from one another. So far as our interests in the Indian Empire were concerned, the responsibility we had in reference to India might be glorious, but it could not be profitable. It was not a responsibility that any other nation need covet. We might yet, he thought, look for co-operation from Russia instead of jealousy in carrying on a work which was the most onerous and responsible any nation ever undertook. The true interest of this country was to see that the States which took the place of the Turkish Empire should be as strong and independent as possible. The Duke of Wellington, writing in October, 1829, said—

“There is no doubt it would have been more fortunate and better for the world, if the Treaty of Peace had not been signed, and if the Turkish Empire had been dissolved. The natural course would have been for the Great Powers of Europe, in discussing the disposition to be made of the wreck of the Turkish Monarchy, to have included those important parts of it that the Emperor of Russia has taken to himself. It is difficult now to have such a discussion.”

He held there could now be nothing unpatriotic in holding the views held by the Duke of Wellington in 1829. He hoped that in the Conference which was shortly to take place the interests of Greece would be considered. On this point he went further than the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich; for he was anxious that the interests of the Kingdom of Greece should be considered, as well as the interests of the Grecian Provinces. He believed that the extension of the Grecian Empire would lead to the establishment of an independent State, or, at any rate, to a nucleus of resistance against Russia or any Power bent upon a policy of aggression and oppression. He wished he could have seen some chance of the Motion being withdrawn; for then they might have proceeded, with some hope of general agreement, to an entirely

*Mr. Chamberlain*

new chapter of the question, but that was now past. The House was asked to vote money which was to be borrowed but not spent, in order to defend interests which were not to be attacked. Such a Vote could do no good; it might possibly do a deal of harm.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, that the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Chamberlain) had spoken of the temporary occupation of Constantinople as if it were not objectionable, and had quoted an opinion of the late Duke of Wellington bearing on that subject. Now, if it were not presumptuous in him (Mr. Chaplin) to differ from so great an authority, he would say it was his firm conviction that the occupation of Constantinople by Russia, even if it were limited to a short time, would be not only a daring infringement of the conditions of our neutrality, but a menace and a blow to this country; and nowhere would it be more fatal to our interests and to our moral influence, than when the story was told in every town and every village, every mosque and every bazaar, throughout our vast dominions in India. Turning to the Vote before the House, he would take them back for a moment to the last Session. On the last occasion when he addressed them on that question last Session, the policy of England in relation to the present war had been fully stated by a Member of the Government sitting in that House. That policy, they were told, was a policy of conditional neutrality, and the conditions on which their neutrality would be observed, they were informed, had been declared by Her Majesty's Government, without losing a moment, on the outbreak of the war. Well, in common with the majority of that House, and also, as he believed, with the majority of the people of England, he was able heartily to endorse the policy then announced, because the duty of this country in that crisis seemed to him to be perfectly clear. That duty he held then, and held still, was that they should maintain a strict and even a severe neutrality between the two belligerents as long as the rights and the interests of this country would permit it; but if ever those rights and interests should be menaced or assailed, with all our force we should uphold them, and that Russia must not be allowed to set foot in Con-

stantinople and to become mistress in that part of the world as long as England had the means of preventing it. He had at the same time expressed his earnest hope that they would shortly receive the assurance of Her Majesty's Government that while the attitude of this country would be one of strict neutrality, our position would also be one of armed and complete preparation for any eventualities which might arise. Last Session reached its close, and, as far as they were aware, no further action was taken by the Government, and from that time to this a vast number of people throughout the country, of whom he was one, had been watching the conduct of the Government on that point with the utmost anxiety. He could state that it had been with no small sense of relief that they had heard that the Government had at last resolved on taking those measures of precaution which, so far from being unnecessary and uncalled for, as hon. Members opposite seemed to think, had, in the opinion of those on his side of the House, if anything, rather been delayed too long. They had learnt that day that an armistice had at length been concluded, and, as the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gladstone) had very properly stated, that a great change had occurred in the situation since the Amendment had been moved. He (Mr. Chaplin) would admit that there might be a change under some circumstances; but he was not prepared to admit that that change necessarily followed from anything they knew at present. They did not yet know what the terms of the armistice were. They had a right, therefore, to conclude that one of two things had happened—namely, that those terms either respected or infringed the conditions of our neutrality. If they respected those conditions, it was all very well and good, so far as those conditions alone were concerned; yet he could not admit even then that the immediate necessity for this Vote had passed away. Supposing that among the terms of the armistice there had been an entry or occupation of Constantinople by the armies of Russia, he asked what the position of this country would then have to be? In those circumstances were we to abandon or to maintain our conditions? The Government had over

and over again stated to the House—and they repeated it only last Thursday—that they were determined to adhere strictly to those conditions. What would hon. Gentlemen opposite say if the terms of the armistice in any degree infringed those conditions? He was surprised that the right hon. Member for Bradford—who spoke before the armistice had been concluded—had said so little on that point, on which he was bound to have expressed his opinion fully and frankly. The conditions which the Government had laid down for our neutrality were either right or wrong from the beginning. If he had thought they were wrong, the noble Lord opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) would doubtless have opposed them. But nothing of the kind occurred; and the first objection he had heard taken to them came that night from the right hon. Member for Greenwich, who had objected to conditions ensuring the perfect safety of Egypt and the Suez Canal. Would that right hon. Gentleman, therefore, have taken no steps, had he been Prime Minister, to secure our highway to India by the Suez Canal? The right hon. Gentleman was bound to give to the House a full explanation on the subject. He had stated that he thought Russia ought not to have been tied down to exclude Egypt from the scene of war, and, of course, the Suez Canal. [MR. GLADSTONE: I never said a word about the Suez Canal.] Perhaps not; but he (Mr. Chaplin) had understood the right hon. Gentleman to have mentioned Egypt, of which the Suez Canal was a part. If it was not, why, then, he did not know where it was. Now he wanted the House really to consider the position. That cruel and aggressive war, which had produced in its results so much misery and destruction, not only to the combatants themselves, but to thousands upon thousands of poor, helpless, suffering creatures, who had been driven from their homes and deprived of the means of supporting themselves, and who were dying by hundreds daily, if they were to believe the news from Constantinople—and, as a member of the committee which had been endeavouring to relieve that mass of want and wretchedness, he could state that the accounts which daily reached them were too harrowing to relate—that cruel

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and aggressive war, he said, had progressed with varying fortune, until now, when Russia was absolute mistress of the situation. There had been nothing for some time past to prevent her from obtaining, either by the dictation of her own terms of peace, or by some secret arrangement with Turkey, which was entirely played out, any position whatever, either in a military or political point of view, which might appear to be most desirable for herself, and which might give her the command of the Turkish capital and the control of the Straits of the Dardanelles. He did not suppose there were many persons in this country who held the opinion that the possession of Constantinople by Russia would not be a grave menace to England. The hon. Gentleman who had just addressed the House spoke of the miserable jealousy of Russia which existed in this country. He (Mr. Chaplin) did not wish to say anything to encourage, nor need, he believed, do so, any feeling of that kind. The hon. Gentleman, however, in speaking as he did, seemed altogether to ignore one view of the case. He did not positively charge Russia with having now any design upon Constantinople or the Straits; but then there were possible and very probable contingencies indeed which in the existing state of affairs ought not to be left out of sight. The present Vote had been defended, and could easily be defended, on the ground of the confidence which its passing would show was felt in the Government by the country; and there was, he contended, some reason why the Government should desire to have some "outward and visible sign" of that confidence, notwithstanding the amusing comments which had been made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) on the use of those words by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The House must not lose sight of the proceedings which had occurred throughout the country during the last six months. In referring to them, he (Mr. Chaplin) desired to guard himself against saying anything unduly offensive to any hon. Member of the House, but he could not altogether refrain from making some personal references. One man—and that a man who by his past career had justly earned a great position

in this country—one who had himself filled the highest offices in the State, and who had commanded the following of a large and powerful Party—a man who was at one time, he believed, adored by many and feared by some, but respected and esteemed by all—had, without a word of warning, cast all past traditions of statesmanship, as hitherto received in England, to the winds. Once a great and influential statesman, he was now a restless wanderer. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not wish to speak with disrespect; but that statesman had spent his time for the last 18 months in traversing the country, as he had stated at Oxford a few days ago, for the purpose of keeping up a public agitation with respect to the Eastern Question which he hoped would override the opinions of the British House of Commons. Dealing with the warm and impulsive nature of the English people, shocked as they had been by stories of atrocities—too horrible, he (Mr. Chaplin) admitted, in any case, but in this case generally one-sided—the right hon. Gentleman did succeed in creating a sensation, which was felt, he believed, more on the Continent than at any time in England; for no man could doubt that the European nations were at one period entirely misled as to the state of feeling in this country upon the question. It could not be otherwise, for, however much they might laugh at "those funny English," as they called them, no foreign statesman of distinction could have believed it possible that the right hon. Gentleman could have pursued the course he followed unless he had the overwhelming feeling of the country to support him. Well, he did not wonder, so far as the right hon. Gentleman was concerned, that he objected to the Vote; for it would not be regarded out of England so much as a Vote of Confidence in the Government as a direct Vote of Want of Confidence in the right hon. Gentleman himself. The country would decide that evening, or, perhaps, to-morrow, by the voice of the Imperial Parliament, between the right hon. Gentleman and the Prime Minister; and when that decision was taken, the right hon. Gentleman would, he thought, at last be convinced that the real feeling of the country was not on his side. He was curious, indeed, to know whether the right hon.

*Mr. Chaplin*

Gentleman ever could have believed he had the country at his back, and wondered whether he had any qualms of conscience on the point. A year ago he gave it as the excuse for his extraordinary proceedings, and in his speech that night he had again raised the question. Speaking at St. James's Hall, the right hon. Gentleman said—

"Unless we have a great justification for this meeting we all, in our several capacities, deserve to be censured, and no censure can be too severe for me."

And he went on then to give his justification, and said—

"We think the power and reputation of England with respect to this enormous question have been employed for a purpose and to an effect directly at variance with the convictions of the country."

It might be perfectly possible that the right hon. Gentleman was entirely right, and that all those hon. Members who sat on the Ministerial side of the House were entirely wrong; but, if so, what was to be said of those great spontaneous outbursts of feeling in all parts of the country—at Manchester, Sheffield, and in the City of London, presided over by the Lord Mayor—in support of the policy of the Prime Minister and the Government? For himself, he did not like to look at it; but if hon. Members looked for a moment at the reverse side of the picture, and if to be burnt in effigy at Manchester—the likeness being said to be extraordinary—and to have bills with regard to one posted all over the City at almost every turn was not to be taken as a sign of feeling on the part of the people, why, he had nothing more to say on the subject. He must leave the right hon. Gentleman to enjoy whatever consolation he was able to derive from the kind of support he had lately been receiving, and it was with no sense of triumph, but with genuine sorrow and regret, he found himself obliged to say that out of his own mouth the right hon. Gentleman stood convicted, and that upon his own showing no censure could be too severe for him. There was yet another ground, he thought, on which the Vote could be defended, though it might be considered ridiculous by some hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. They laughed when

it was stated that the Vote was demanded in order to strengthen the hands of the Government when they went into the Conference. But he should ask them to consider for a moment what sort of position England would occupy when she went into the Conference if, unlike Prussia, Austria, France, and all the rest of the Powers, who were armed to the teeth, she chose to enter into the Conference weak and unarmed? We had not more than 120,000 men, while Russia had 1,000,000, and would be mistress of the situation at Constantinople and that part of the world. Now, he would ask in all seriousness—and he could assure the House that he was giving expression to his deep and sincere convictions—were we to sit with our arms folded when that was the probable state of things which would confront us at the Conference? Was that the policy which hon. Gentlemen opposite recommended to the country? If so, the sooner their opinions went forth to the country the better. Then it might be said, as had been again stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich that evening, that so late as the 21st of December Turkey was seriously under the impression that England would at length come to her aid. Now, all he could say was, that if all the speeches which had been made, and all the despatches which had been written, were not sufficient to tell Turkey that the Government never intended to go to war, and were not sufficient to undeceive her, nothing that we could do would have that effect. And now, what was the most prominent fact in the situation? Why, that Turkey was destroyed—that she had ceased to exist, and that it was no longer a question between Russia and Turkey, but between Russia and Europe, and, foremost among the nations of Europe, between Russia and England. The position of things at the present moment was not unlike what it was before the Crimean War. Writing on the 6th of May, 1856, one of the men still living who were responsible for that war pointed out the future danger of an "encroachment upon and absorption of Turkey by Russia," adding that "such a danger to the peace, liberty, and privileges of all Europe we were bound to resist by every means in our power." Now, if that danger was great in May,

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1856, he asked the House if it was less in February, 1878? The question they were considering, in fact, was whether the liberties and independence of Europe were to be placed at the mercy of one great, cruel, and despotic Power, which was to bestride the Continent of Europe from the *Ægean Sea* to the Baltic? There were some people who could not be convinced; there were others who would not be convinced; and there were others, again, who could not afford to be convinced, because if they were, it would amount to their own complete self-condemnation; and in this last category, he feared, he must include the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. At Oxford the right hon. Gentleman, he observed, had made a speech containing a most vehement attack upon Lord Beaconsfield and the Tory Government. He could not compliment the right hon. Gentleman upon that part of his speech which referred to Lord Beaconsfield. It was certainly a very safe, but not, he thought, a very chivalrous proceeding; and he could not believe it would have been so readily undertaken if Lord Beaconsfield had still been Mr. Disraeli. At the same time, he doubted very much whether even Lord Beaconsfield himself could have administered a severer castigation than had been heard from his right hon. Friend (Mr. Hardy) that afternoon. He could sympathize entirely with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich in the unbounded astonishment which he expressed at Oxford at the discipline of the Tory Party and the want of discipline among his own Friends; but the reason of the difference was not far to seek. The Tory Party were united because they had had for many years, and still had, the great good fortune to have for their Leader one upon whose sagacity and judgment, upon whose genius and resources, upon whose knowledge of his countrymen, and upon whose courage and determination, an experience of 40 years taught them they could implicitly rely. They knew that he was not dismayed by a factious and unscrupulous Opposition in a moment which might be fraught with great national danger; they knew that he was not misled by a false and artificial agitation—how false and artificial was proved every day by the outburst of spontaneous feeling which occurred in every part of

England. They knew he was not misled by any agitation, even though it was headed by his bitterest foe. Lord Beaconsfield's Party recognized the difficulty with which he was surrounded now. He had their perfect sympathy in the responsibility which rested upon him—a responsibility which, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich himself would perhaps admit, was sufficiently grave at any time; but which had been aggravated a thousand-fold by the conduct, not of all, not even of many, but of some of his opponents. That conduct on the part of their opponents only added to the determination of Lord Beaconsfield's Followers to support and rally round their Chief upon the Eastern Question. ["Oh, oh!"] He quite understood that on the opposite side those feelings were not very well understood, and he could assure them that it was in this community of feeling and reciprocating sympathy that the secret which the right hon. Gentleman had never yet been able to discover was really to be found—namely, the true power of a Leader and the constant devotion and fidelity of a Party. The Liberals were said to be weak, disorganized, and disunited at the present moment. He thought he could tell them why. It was because within the last 12 or 15 years they had followed one who, with a powerful majority at his back, had twice succeeded in destroying and scattering the Party to the winds. Even now, when the right hon. Gentleman had very properly withdrawn from the position in which he was—well, a little less successful than Lord Beaconsfield—anything like a real organization was rendered impossible, because the Liberal Party were liable at any moment to the spasmodic assistance of the right hon. Gentleman, which upset all calculations, and would be intolerable to anyone less long-suffering than the noble Lord who had succeeded him. This was a perfectly fair and simple explanation of the fact which at Oxford so much perplexed the mind of the right hon. Gentleman. There was, however, something much more serious to consider to-night than the mere disagreement of Parties. What was the duty of England at the present moment? was the question which hon. Members must answer to themselves and to the country. They had been told that

*Mr. Chaplin*

a Conference must shortly be assembled to settle various European questions which had arisen out of the present war, and among them there were two of vital importance to this country—namely, those relating to the future of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. He sincerely trusted that the conditions of our neutrality would be strictly adhered to and respected by Russia; but if, unhappily, Russia, in the exultation of her victories, should treat them with disdain, or by any means before the assembling of the Conference should endeavour to become mistress of the situation in that part of the world, the duty of this country would be to show that she was willing, as undoubtedly she was able, with Allies, if possible, but without them if might be, to keep those questions open for decision by that European Conference, and when once that Conference had decided, to accept, within certain conditions, and to abide by that decision. As to what those limits were or ought to be, he would not venture to express an opinion, because they could only be settled by the most experienced statesmen of England and Europe. If, however, he was asked what he believed to be the duty of the House of Commons at this moment, he would state his opinion. He believed it might yet be the proud destiny of England to restore the blessings of lasting peace to an outraged and horror-stricken world, to enforce, it might be, moderation on the victor; to give consolation to the nation which in grief and sorrow was now overcome; and to remove at once and for ever the yoke of suffering from those who for centuries had undoubtedly been most cruelly oppressed. All this, and more than this, might yet be the destiny of England, if England were united and strong, and spoke with the strength of a united people. But, if we were divided in our councils, if, by disunion, we showed that we were weak, he dreaded that that might happen which happened once before, when England was divided. Into war we might be driven now by Russia, precisely as we drifted then. It was, therefore, the duty of the House of Commons to be united in their vote upon this question, and he would ask the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Forster) to re-consider his decision. He believed that all hon. Members cherished a most

fervent hope that peace would be permanently restored; and, when the object of all was the same, surely the minority might bow to the majority, as to how that common object could most successfully be accomplished. He besought hon. Members opposite not to be led to a decision which he believed they would before long repent, and which might do much to hinder and defeat the ultimate object they desired to attain. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, in the most solemn manner of which he was capable, not to press his Motion to a division. If this appeal were responded to, the fear he (Mr. Chaplin) had at present would leave him, and, in its place, would come a high and ardent hope that the Government—not the Whig Government, not the Tory Government, but the Government of England and the Queen would be able so manfully to grapple with their task that the good work would prosper in their hands, because they would be striving, in the highest and holiest cause, which must ever be the cause of England—namely, the attainment of a peace which should secure the liberties of nations, the independence of Europe, and the happiness of millions upon millions of mankind.

MR. CHILDERS: I must decline to follow the last speaker (Mr. Chaplin), either in vituperation of my opponents or in eulogy of my Leader. That part of the hon. Gentleman's speech was of a kind of which we have had some specimens before, and of which I think we have now had enough. But I must express my surprise that after the former wrestle between the hon. Gentleman and my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich, and after the severe throw which the hon. Gentleman then got, he should have ventured, even after my right hon. Friend's speech, to renew the attack this evening. I was also surprised at the two Secretaries of State indulging in personalities towards my right hon. Friend. There is an old saying that if you have a bad defence, the best way is to abuse plaintiff's attorney. The Parliamentary version appears to be that if you cannot meet an opponent's arguments here, your best plan is to attack what he says elsewhere; and so the speech at Oxford and my right hon. Friend's magazine articles

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formed the staple of these two speeches. But the Home Secretary went still further. What were his words the other night?

"He further said that we have spoken with two voices, and that we poured forth from the same fountain sweet waters and bitter waters. I grant at once that in our despatches there is bitter enough water for the Turkish Government. But I defy you to find one drop of sweet. Well, then, to proceed further, I ask, have we ever on the other hand deceived Russia? . . . I ask, also, whether we ever deceived the country? We told the country in the Queen's Most Gracious Speech that so long as the conditions of our neutrality were not violated, so long would that neutrality be adhered to. But, on the other hand, I say in the speeches which have been made throughout the country there has been a 'lying spirit' abroad, and in the Resolution before the House there is an evil spirit lurking, although at first sight somewhat difficult to discover."

Who can doubt that the right hon. Gentleman in that language referred to my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich? A "lying spirit," indeed! Such incautious language as this ought not to have come from a Colleague of those Ministers who, before Lord Carnarvon told the whole story in "another place," denied that there were any dissensions in the Cabinet. I pass on to the Secretary of State for War. The right hon. Gentleman made a charge against my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich, that he had been for half his life a Member of the Tory Party and of the Carlton Club. I have always understood that what takes place within the walls of our Clubs is not repeated outside, least of all in this House. If we are to retaliate, I should be tempted to allude to a Member sitting opposite who has spoken in this debate, and belongs to the same Whig Club as myself. But I trust we shall drop this unworthy line of argument. But the Secretary of State could find nothing to approve in what was proposed either outside or inside this House. My right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich concluded one of the most temperate and moderate speeches I ever heard with a proposal for a truce, based on a Vote of Confidence. This was not to the taste of the Secretary of State, who characteristically posed as a Minister of War denouncing an armistice. But this is not all. The Secretary of State for the Colonies (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach),

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whom I am glad to congratulate on his well-deserved promotion, and the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the other night referred to certain meetings and spoke with praise and satisfaction of the resolutions which had been passed at them. I have only heard of two of those meetings, to which this praise could apply. The first was at Sheffield, and there possibly they misunderstood, as many have misunderstood, the policy of the Government. The policy of Her Majesty's Government is more neutrality, but the good people of Sheffield supposed that it was a policy of more armour-plates. Then came the meeting in London. I am not aware whether hon. Gentlemen on the other side are acquainted with the circumstances of that meeting; but whether or not, I will state them. It was called for Thursday last, at 3 o'clock, at the Cannon Street Hotel, to protest against the Vote of £6,000,000. The invitation was by ticket, and of course only intended for those who desired to protest against the Vote. Now, what was done? Certain Gentlemen, whose names are well known in connection with the Tory Party in the metropolis, circulated that morning through the Post Office several thousand copies of a card which I hold in my hand. The card was as follows:—

"Vote of confidence. Supporters of the foreign policy of the Government who are desirous of supporting the honour and interests of this country at the present crisis are invited to attend the meeting at the City Terminus Hotel to-day not later than 2 o'clock."

The room had been engaged for 3 o'clock, but these people came at 2, and found that the persons by whom the room had been engaged had not arrived. They invaded the house, dispersed two meetings, one consisting of ladies who were hustled out of the room, broke the chairs and tables, and, having succeeded in wrecking a part of the hotel, walked off to the Guildhall, and there passed the resolution to Her Majesty's Government which had been referred to. Now, is that the way in which public meetings are to be conducted henceforth? What if a meeting to support the Government were broken up by a party of Liberals from the country getting early possession, wrecking the furniture, and smashing the windows? The hon. Member for the West

Riding (Mr. C. Beckett-Denison) was the other day most anxious that there should be no adjournment of the Motion of which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given Notice, on the ground that two days delay would afford time for noisy public meetings to be got up throughout the country; but I presume that the hon. Member has nothing but congratulations to offer to Her Majesty's Government now on the success of the great public meeting at the Guildhall. I turn, however, from these violent speeches and proceedings to the proposal before us. Nothing is more remarkable in connection with this Eastern Question than the extent to which history repeats itself. When Mr. Pitt was at the height of his power, after some years of war between the Empress Catherine and the Porte, that right hon. Gentleman, fearing that the arms of Russia would succeed more than had been expected, and it being supposed that the object of Russia was to get possession of Constantinople, proposed to the House to take measures to meet the emergency. Ooksakow and subsequently Ismaila had been captured by the Turks. I will read the words of the Message of the 25th March, 1791—

"His Majesty's endeavours to effect a pacification between Russia and the Porte having hitherto been unsuccessful, and the consequences which may arise from the further progress of the war being highly important to the interests of His Majesty and his allies, and to those of Europe in general, His Majesty judges it requisite, 'in order to add weight to his representations,' to make some further augmentation of his naval force, and His Majesty relies on the zeal and affection of the House of Commons that they will be ready to make good such additional expenses as may be incurred by these preparations for the purpose of supporting the interests of His Majesty's Kingdoms."

Upon that Message from the Crown there arose a series of debates, five in number, which are among the most important to be found in our Parliamentary history. Every movement on the part of the Opposition, however, was defeated by a large majority, generally of two to one, and what is known in history as the Russian armament took place. But, what was the result? Let me quote the impartial historian—

"But Pitt seems hardly to have acted with his usual prudence. A military menace to a great Power like Russia in the full career of conquest and with vast resources, was likely to irritate, but certain not to deter. A war undertaken without alliances, except the doubtful one

of Prussia, for an object which concerned all Europe, would have been at the best but an ill-omened enterprise. The Russian armament was, in fact, a mistake."

Mr. Pitt himself in the following Session came down to Parliament and stated that the armament against Russia had failed in a great degree, and that we had not obtained what we had intended to obtain; and the result was that Russia obtained all she wanted, including even Ooksakow, which had been the great object of Mr. Pitt's efforts. I might refer to other remarkable resemblances between 1791 and the present time—such as the resignation of one Minister and the contemplated resignation of another, the charge against Mr. Fox that he was the enemy of his country and the friend of Russia, and so forth. My object, however, is to point to the great distinction between the form of Mr. Pitt's proposals and that now adopted. What was the Vote that Mr. Pitt proposed on that occasion? In the previous year, 1790, when there had been a dispute with Spain in consequence of the seizure at Nootka Sound of vessels belonging to this country, a Vote of Credit of £1,000,000 was asked for by the Government in order to fit out an immediate expedition. Spain was compelled to give way. But on this occasion, in 1791, Mr. Pitt pursued a very different course. He declined to ask for a Vote of money, stating that it was right and proper to ask for such a Vote when we intended going to war, but that the Government had no right to ask for a Vote of money, but only for one of Confidence, when they were strengthening the Army and Navy with a view to negotiations. Mr. Pitt said that the House was not called upon to give its assent to any Supplies either for constructing armaments or carrying on a war. All they had to do was to wait until the Supply was asked, and then, if they thought it proper or necessary so to do, they might refuse it. These were not the words of a Minister with a mere casual majority at his back. Mr. Pitt had a majority of over 100 in the House, but he was not prepared to depart from the well-ascertained rule and practice of Parliament in relation to this particular subject. The same thing had occurred in 1718; indeed, Mr. Pitt referred to it. On that occasion the Quadruple Alliance

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against Spain under Cardinal Alberoni was formed by this country; but though the King's Message spoke of increased armaments to compel Spain to join the Alliance, yet as no declaration of war was contemplated, no money was asked for, and the House was advised simply to adopt an Address to the Crown in harmony with the Message. Many other precedents may be quoted in support of my contention that the Government now propose to take an unconstitutional course. In 1831, after the liberation of Belgium, the King of Holland denounced the armistice, and there was great fear of a general war with England and France on the one side and the three Northern Powers on the other. England and France, however, intervened without any formal declaration of war; Antwerp was taken, and Holland yielded. On that occasion did the Government come down and ask for a Vote of Credit? No, they distinctly declined to do so, being satisfied with the confidence of Parliament, and the additional supplies were afterwards voted. The case of 1840-41 was still more in point. The dispute between Turkey and Egypt, and the alliance between England and the three Northern Powers in favour of Turkey, all but brought us into war with France. It was averted by Lord Palmerston's courageous action; but in that instance did the Government of 1840 come down to the House and ask for a Vote of Credit? No, they followed the precedents of 1718, 1791, and 1831, and no Vote of money was asked for. The matter was fully debated in Parliament at the end of the financial year in 1841, and the additional Estimates were brought forward in the usual way. Lord John Russell, Sir Robert Peel, and, indeed, all the leading statesmen on both sides agreed that this was the right course—Lord John Russell pointing out that if the Government had asked for a Vote of Credit there would have been danger of increasing the exasperation which then existed in France. It was, however, urged by Colonel Sibthorp and Mr. Hume that the Government ought in the first instance to have done as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had done now—asked for a Vote of Credit, instead of going through the negotiations without one and coming for money afterwards. A division took place, and

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the Government were supported by the whole strength of the Opposition, except a few Members below the Gangway on both sides. I find that 8 Members voted in the minority, Mr. Hume and Colonel Sibthorp being the tellers, and the only Member of the minority now alive is Lord Beaconsfield. Is it impossible that some recollection of his defeat has led to the action of the Government on the present occasion? Such, Sir, are the precedents. I know of one in the opposite direction. The Vote of 1871 was a specific increase of the Army in view of a specific military object—the military defence of Belgium under Treaties with the two belligerents. The Abyssinian and Ashantee Votes were also for specific military operations. This is for a diplomatic demonstration, and is totally different. But what is its nature? It has been called a war Vote and a sham Vote, and hon. Gentlemen opposite have taunted those who said it was a war Vote with the opinion of those who said it was a sham Vote, and have taunted those who said it was a sham Vote with the opinion of those who said it was a war Vote. I venture to say it is both. It is a war Vote, for except during war it is impossible to spend a further £1,000,000 a-week on our military and naval establishments. On the other hand, although in reality a war Vote, in form it must be a sham Vote, as no one seriously contemplates spending the whole amount between this time and the 1st of April. Besides, is there any instance on record of a first Vote of Credit being asked for which was not to be met by increased taxation? There are cases, no doubt, in the middle of a war; but no modern instance, certainly, of a first Vote—no instance since our finances have been placed on a sound footing. This Vote has to be met by a loan, and hitherto it has been the absolute rule of Parliament and the Chancellor of the Exchequer to provide for such a Vote out of the taxes. Thus the last Vote of Credit granted by the House, that for the Ashantee War, was, in fact, a Supplementary Estimate, for in that case the money was not asked for until it had been spent; that of 1870, a genuine Vote of Credit, was to be expended out of the year's income, and was so expended. The Abyssinian Votes

of Credit, exceeding £8,000,000, were fully met by taxation; and, going back still further, the Votes for the Crimean War represented actual expenditure, which was partly met by taxation. If it be said that the Vote might be met by money in the Exchequer, I would ask what prospect is there of a surplus? We have been told that we are going to stop the Supplies. But that cry was tried in another country not many months ago. Yet perhaps it is the secret of the present proposal. It is just possible that the Vote has been brought forward that capital may be made out of it by this cry of "stopping the Supplies" going forth to the country. I am bound to say the last speech looked very like this. Let me ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer what sort of precedent this will form? Diplomatic negotiations are not the only difficulties Governments find in their way. They are always subject to being met with serious emergencies, and no doubt it might strengthen their hands to have a large amount of money at their disposal. What will be said hereafter about this Vote? It will be pointed to as a Vote of Confidence given to the Government to meet a particular emergency. It will establish a precedent for breaking into the rule that Estimates represent money requirements only, and as there may be great emergencies and small emergencies, why should there not be large money Votes of Confidence and small Votes? Or why should there not be a Vote of £10,000,000 to a Government with a majority of 100, and a Vote of £5,000,000 to a Government with a majority of 50? And so we shall have this system of voting sham Supplies used as a means of propping up a Government, so that they may use the money when they think fit without being exposed to the criticism of Parliament, as they would be if they asked for it in the usual way. ["Oh, oh!"] I do not say that recklessly; I am but quoting the words of the hon. Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), who said to-day—

"What we want is, if war should be necessary, to be able to carry it on without the necessity of coming down to this House to ask for money, subject to the criticism of the right hon. Member for Greenwich."

I leave that argument to the Chancellor

of the Exchequer. We have been asked to vote confidence in the foreign policy of the Government for the immediate future. But has their foreign policy in the immediate past been such that the House is bound to place this £6,000,000 at their disposal? The Home Secretary described that policy as consistent; but I hold, on the contrary, that it has been inconsistent, uncertain, feeble; and, what is more, that it has been provoking, and for that, more than any other reason, we are in danger of being led into some serious complication. In 1876, at first, the policy was the maintenance of the *status quo*; then it was the independence and territorial integrity of Turkey; and now it is absolute neutrality, except as to British interests, without regard to the fate of that country. But is the Government consistent even in its reasons for neutrality? What said, in November last, the Prime Minister at the Lord Mayor's banquet, in the presence of several Colleagues, and of the Turkish Ambassador alone among the Ambassadors of foreign Powers in London—

"There may have been many reasons for this policy. A principal one to which I will refer is this—it was not more for the benefit of England than for that of Turkey. The Government of Turkey have shown that vigour and resource which prove that they have a right to be recognized among the Powers of Europe. Whatever may be the fortune of war, the independence of Turkey is not doubted now."

What a satire on this speech is Lord Salisbury's language on the first night of the Session—

"Not one word about the independence and integrity of Turkey has crossed the lips of my noble Friend (Lord Beaconsfield) to-day."

Again, the uncertainty and feebleness of the policy of the Government is shown by their conduct with regard to the movements of the Fleet. We have it on authority which cannot be disputed that it was decided to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles, not only on the 23rd of January, but also on the 15th—two days before the meeting of Parliament. That fact has been stated by the late Secretary for the Colonies with Her Majesty's permission. I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer on what grounds he justifies the sending of the Fleet to

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the Dardanelles on the 15th of January, and why that order was cancelled? I wish also to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a similar question as to the sending of the Fleet to Gallipoli and the Dardanelles on the 23rd of January, when Lord Derby resigned, and only returned to the Cabinet when that order was revoked. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Fleet had been sent there for two reasons—because the Russians were advancing on Gallipoli; and, on the other hand, because there was great alarm at Constantinople; so that the Fleet was sent, primarily, to keep the waterway open, and also to protect life and property in Constantinople. The Secretary of State for the Home Department gave a different explanation. He said they sent the Fleet to protect our subjects in Constantinople, and that keeping the waterway open merely meant securing its safe return. Now, which is the real reason? There is another matter on which I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a question. A great deal has been said on the other side of the delays of the Russian Government in sending the bases of peace from St. Petersburg to the Grand Duke Nicholas near Adrianople; and my right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London has pointed out unanswerably that, as a matter of fact, the delay was that of Her Majesty's Government. That, however, is not the only case of grave delay. On the 15th of January the Government obtained from Russia this declaration—

"Russia undertakes not to direct military operations on Gallipoli unless the Turkish troops are concentrated there."

This was the key-note of the whole difficulty, and the assurance should have been immediately conveyed to Turkey. How was this, that Mr. Layard was only authorized to convey it to the Porte on the 1st February, 17 days later? If Her Majesty's Government, instead of waiting 17 days after they got the assurance from the Russian Government that they would not occupy Gallipoli unless Turkish troops were concentrated there, had informed the Porte at once of that decision of the Russian Government, the whole difficulty about sending the Fleet to the Dardanelles and the resignation of Lord Derby would have been avoided.

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I say also that your language has been provoking. I do not so much allude to the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as to that of the two Secretaries of State. In the course of his speech the Home Secretary made no less than four charges against Russia, and finally he turned round to the Opposition and said—"Is that all you have to say for your friends?"

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS:** When I made use of that expression, which I certainly did, and saw the interpretation—an erroneous one—which was put upon it by hon. Members of the Opposition side of the House, I instantly withdrew it. In fact, I expressed my regret at having used it.

**MR. CHILDERS:** I did not hear the withdrawal; but after the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman I sincerely apologize to him for referring to his words. One right hon. Gentleman said the Emperor of Russia would keep his promises, if circumstances would permit. Is that a fit expression to be used by a Cabinet Minister? You cannot more insult a man than by telling him he will keep his promises if circumstances will permit. Speaking again of the Russian Government and Russian diplomatists, the Home Secretary said they would show as much sincerity in the future as they had in the past. Is that also fit language to be used by a Queen's Minister? Nations are offended and alienated not so much by the studied phraseology of diplomatic documents, as by an inspired and partizan Press, and the restless rhetoric of political orators. If, however, we are to talk about broken promises, what about the scandalous employment of Shefket Pasha, or the delayed amnesty to the Bulgarians, in the teeth of the solemn promises of the Sultan given to the Queen? I pass, however, from these controversies to the real question before us to-night. We who sit on this side have no thought of displacing Her Majesty's Government. We could not if we would; we would not if we could. You hold the reins of power; you have a large majority at your back; you will have to be represented in the approaching Conference; and it is the business of the Opposition to do all they can to assist you, in order that you may speak the voice of England in a

proper and legitimate way—not by sham Votes, but by real support wherever your policy is such as can be approved. If that be so, let us consider for a few minutes what is the best plan to pursue. Well, the war is over; and at this moment a new volume in the history of Europe is opened. The day of Turkish sway in the south-east of Europe has gone; and it is gone, in our opinion—and I believe also in the opinion of hon. Gentlemen opposite—never to be restored. We might possibly have prolonged its existence—we might possibly have anticipated Russia, by another course of policy, if the Government had had the courage of the opinions which they formerly expressed. But I will not enlarge upon that. The time for it has passed. It seems to him that the decline of British influence in the settlement of this great question dates from that day in September, 1876, when Her Majesty's Government distinctly refused to co-operate with Russia and Austria in insisting that the Porte should comply with what was the desire of Europe in connection with the Servian War. Another opportunity which Her Majesty's Government appear to me to have missed was at the time of the Conference. If we had then insisted, in concert with the rest of Europe, upon the Turks accepting the conditions laid down by the Conference, I firmly believe that Turkey would have yielded. In fact, the language of the Turkish Minister on that point was perfectly clear.

"Turkey," said Safvet Pasha to Musurus Pasha, "could only oppose to the forces of the Powers the evidence of her regrets and the acts signed by themselves."

Again, when the war was on the verge of breaking out, I think that if, even on the brink of hostilities, we had sent the Fleet up, and England had stood between the living Russia and the dying Turkey, and had insisted upon the latter obeying the behests of Europe, and the former sheathing the sword, the war would have been avoided and Turkey would not now have been destroyed. But the Government declined to act, and, from that moment, the final crash became only a question of time. In the end of July last, the Government made another feeble effort. It is notorious that we had ascertained the Russian terms of peace, and

Mr. Layard was feebly asked to find out what Turkey would submit to. But the Porte refused to have anything to do with our mediation, and from that moment our influence disappeared. England had then only to wait for a new turn of the tide. It came, and the Ottoman Power disappeared. And what have we to do now? It appears to me that our duty in Congress is perfectly clear. Our first object should be to secure, beyond the possibility of interference, the freedom of our route to India. Our connection with India should be the paramount object of our policy, and, at the same time, to secure our predominance in the Mediterranean, and especially in its Eastern waters. In connection with the Dardanelles and Constantinople, we have no doubt interests to which it is necessary that Her Majesty's Government in Congress should have regard, and indeed pay the most careful attention. But it is not on the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus that our eyes should now be fixed. These will, and must be, secondary questions in the future, but the question, above all, to which our attention should be directed is our connection with India across Egypt by the Suez Canal and the line of Railway. Remember that from the present time Turkey, in whatever way she may be constituted, will be the vassal of Russia, and the Khedive is the vassal of Turkey. The Khedive is unfriendly to us at this moment, and tempted to be more so; and the Porte has never relinquished the absolute right of closing the Canal to our ships, if it thinks fit. No European or international compact secures us the use of the Canal for ships of war, and, compared with this, whether for military or commercial purposes, the Dardanelles are as nothing. Are we, then, to enter the Congress and discuss this question with a drawn sword? For my part, I prefer to increased armaments the possession of a clear and distinct policy; not an Austrian policy, nor a mere anti-Russian policy, but two definite objects—namely, the maintenance of our Indian connection, and the support of the down-trodden Christians of Turkey. I would say to Her Majesty's Government—"Discard at once your old traditions, and boldly face the inevitable change which has now come over the whole aspect of the

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Eastern Question." Remember how deeply you have irritated Russia. Do you think these paper armaments will diminish that irritation? You distrust her. So do I. Do not imagine that you have the monopoly of that distrust, or of the reprobation of Russian principles of Government. But I would remind hon. Gentlemen opposite of one important fact in history. Did we not all distrust France, and for long generations look upon her as our natural enemy? Yet the *entente cordiale* with France was the basis of our foreign policy for nearly 40 years after 1830. Let me also entreat Her Majesty's Government not to lean upon that broken reed,—Austria—for military purposes. It is very true that the bold initiative of Count Beust, and the cautious statesmanship of Count Andrassy, have, for a time, kept that heterogeneous Empire together; but be assured that, at the very first sign of war, Austria will have enough to do to take care of herself. The old maxim is in force at this moment—

"Bella gerenti alii tu felix Austria nube."

The Secretary for War has talked about mobilizing; and the hon. Gentleman who spoke last (Mr. Chaplin) thinks we are unarmed and weak. [Mr. CHAPLIN: I merely said we were weak as compared with other Powers.] The comparison ought to be not as to the numerical strength of the Army, but as to the Army and Navy taken together. England's real power is to be found in her Navy; and, as a matter of fact, we are expending upon our Army and Navy more than Austria, or than any other of the military Monarchies. The strength of British policy is not now to be found in an alliance with a great Military Power for warlike operations on land, but in the supremacy and efficiency of our Navy, which, as I have before contended, and as is now admitted, is as powerful as the Navies of the whole of Europe united—in non-intervention in the affairs of military Monarchies, and in encouraging and sympathizing with the efforts of oppressed peoples. This was the policy of Canning; this was the policy of Palmerston; but I do not see it in this mischievous and unstatesmanlike Vote of Credit. We may be defeated in our present protest; but I

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believe that the time will come, when hon. Gentlemen on the other side will bitterly regret that they listened to the cynical counsels of Berlin and the feeble promises of Vienna.

COLONEL STANLEY moved the adjournment of the debate.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am anxious to make an explanation for the purpose of removing a misunderstanding which might arise upon a point of no very great importance. I endeavoured to illustrate the impossibility of spending at more than a certain rate of expenditure by a reference to the first year of the Crimean War. What I said was, that in the first six months of the war the whole expenditure, with the exception of a few hundred thousand pounds, was paid out of the ordinary sources of revenue. I then said that for the year there was only an excess of some £6,000,000; but I do not think that remark with regard to the £6,000,000 was not accurate. I withdraw what I said about the 12 months.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I trust we shall be allowed to proceed with this debate to-morrow. There are several Notices of interest on the Paper, and I observe that the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins) has a Motion for a Commission of Inquiry into the existence of certain practices in the Church of England. I hope, however, that, considering the great interest and importance of this debate, he and the other Members who have Notices on the Paper, will refrain from proceeding with them to-morrow.

Motion agreed to.

Debate adjourned till To-morrow.

#### ECCLESIASTICAL BUILDINGS (FIRE INSURANCE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. LEIGHTON, Bill to provide for the Insurance against Fire of Buildings belonging to Ecclesiastical Benefices in England and Wales, ordered to be brought in by Mr. LEIGHTON, Mr. GOLDNEY, and Mr. WHITWELL. Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 99.]

#### COUNTY COURTS JURISDICTION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. NORWOOD, Bill to extend the Jurisdiction of County Courts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. NORWOOD, Mr. SAMPSON LLOYD, Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS, and Mr. WADDY.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 100.]

## COUNTY GOVERNMENT BILL (REPRESENTATION).

Return *ordered*, "showing, with respect to the Bill to amend the Law relating to the administration of County business, and to make further provision for County Government:—

"The number of Petty Sessional Divisions in each County:

"The number of Boroughs with a population of 20,000 and upwards, and having a separate Commission of the Peace but no Quarter Sessions in each County; and

"The number of Members to be returned for the several Petty Sessional Divisions and Boroughs in each County."—(*Mr. Selater Booth.*)

Return *presented* accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be *printed*. [No. 14.]

## UNIONS AND PETTY SESSIONAL DIVISIONS.

Returns *ordered*, "showing the number of Unions and Petty Sessional Divisions in each County in England and Wales, and, in the case of Unions, specifying the number wholly or partly comprised in each County:—

"And showing the names of the several Petty Sessional Divisions in each County."—(*Mr. Selater-Booth.*)

Returns *presented* accordingly; to lie upon the Table, and to be *printed*. [No. 16.]

## PRINTING.

Select Committee *appointed*, "to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the Printing executed by Order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for Printing, Returns and Papers presented in pursuance of Motions made by Members of this House:—*Mr. SPENCER WALPOLE, The O'CONNOR DON, Mr. STANSFELD, Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH, Mr. DODSON, Mr. MASSEY, Mr. WHITEREAD, Mr. MITCHELL HENRY, Mr. M'LAREN, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, and Colonel STANLEY*:—Three to be the quorum.—(*Colonel Stanley.*)

House adjourned at One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 5th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Entail Amendment (Scotland)\* (15); House Occupiers Disqualification Removal\* (17); Public Parks (Scotland)\* (18).

## PRIVATE BILLS.

Ordered, That no Bill originating in this House authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Inclosure Commissioners

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for England and Wales, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a first time after *Tuesday the 9th day of April* next:

That no Bill originating in this House confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a first time after *Tuesday the 9th day of April* next:

That no Bill brought from the House of Commons authorising any inclosure of lands under special report of the Inclosure Commissioners for England and Wales, or confirming any scheme of the Charity Commissioners for England and Wales, shall be read a second time after *Tuesday the 18th day of June* next:

That no Bill brought from the House of Commons confirming any provisional order or provisional certificate shall be read a second time after *Tuesday the 18th day of June* next:

That when a Bill shall have passed this House with amendments these orders shall not apply to any new Bill sent up from the House of Commons which the Chairman of Committees shall report to the House is substantially the same as the Bill so amended.

## INDIA (COOLIE EMIGRATION).

Copy of the despatch addressed by the Marquess of Salisbury to the Governor-General of India, dated 24th March, 1875, respecting Coolie Emigration from India to the British West India Colonies; together with copies of any subsequent despatches and correspondence on the same subject; with the reply of the Government of India, and any documents accompanying the same: Laid before the House (pursuant to address of the 20th of July, 1877), and ordered to lie on the Table.

## RAILWAYS CONSTRUCTION FACILITIES ACT, 1864, AND RAILWAYS (POWERS AND CONSTRUCTION) ACTS, 1864, AMENDMENT ACT, 1870.

Certificate of the Board of Trade authorising the Evesham, Redditch, and Stratford-upon-Avon Junction Railway Company to construct a deviation railway: Laid before the House (pursuant to Act), and ordered to lie on the Table.

## THE EASTERN QUESTION.

## OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF AIRLIE, in calling attention to the Correspondence respecting overtures for peace and the affairs of Turkey (Nos. 2. and 3., 1878), disclaimed any intention of making either a personal attack upon the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs or a Party one upon the Government. If he felt it his duty to attack the Government the noble Earl was the last Mem-

ber of it whose conduct he should think of impugning, inasmuch as he had exhibited a great amount of discretion in maintaining the neutrality of the country during a very critical period, and had rendered good service in throwing cold water over the too zealous friends of Turkey. A Party fight was a very good thing at the proper time; but he did not consider the moment when they were about to commence difficult negotiations by any means an appropriate period for attacking the Government. At the same time, he thought that in the Papers which had been presented to Parliament on the affairs of Turkey there were many things that called for explanation, if not for criticism. Referring to the two diplomatic Papers which were a subject of discussion in their Lordships' House on the previous evening—namely, the despatch of May 6, and the Memorandum of December 13, 1877—he expressed his opinion that in the latter Her Majesty's Government went further than they had gone in the former. In his despatch to Count Schouvaloff of the 6th of May—which had been designated the chart of the policy of the Government—the Secretary for Foreign Affairs said—

“The vast importance of Constantinople, whether in a military, a political, or a commercial point of view, is too well understood to require explanation. It is, therefore, scarcely necessary to point out that Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to witness with indifference the passing into other hands than those of its present possessors of a capital holding so peculiar a position.”

On May 18 Prince Gortchakoff replied in these terms—

“As far as concerns Constantinople, without being able to prejudice the course or issue of the war, the Imperial Cabinet repeats that the acquisition of that capital is excluded from the views of His Majesty the Emperor. They recognize that in any case the future of Constantinople is a question of common interest which cannot be settled otherwise than by a general understanding, and that if the possession of that city were to be put in question it could not be allowed to belong to any of the European Powers.”

So the matter rested for more than six months; but on December 13 the Foreign Secretary communicated to Count Schouvaloff a Memorandum, in which, after referring to the previous Correspondence

as to Constantinople, he went on to say—

“While appreciating the courteous and friendly character of this answer, Her Majesty's Government feel that it does not sufficiently meet the dangers against which they desire to guard. They are strongly of opinion—an opinion which the course of events tends still more to confirm—that the occupation of Constantinople by the Russian forces, even though it should be of a temporary character and for military purposes only, would be an event which it would be most advisable to avoid. They cannot conceal from themselves that if such an occupation appeared imminent public feeling in this country, founded on a just appreciation of the consequences to be apprehended, might call for measures of precaution on the part of Great Britain from which they have hitherto felt themselves justified in abstaining.”

After expressing an earnest hope that no attempt would be made to occupy Constantinople, he proceeded—

“In the contrary event Her Majesty's Government must hold themselves free to take whatever course may appear to them necessary for the protection of British interests.”

On the previous evening the noble Earl stated what appeared to him to be the objections to a temporary military occupation of Constantinople. What he (the Earl of Airlie) wished to point out was that there was a wide difference between the two despatches, though he was bound to admit that there was considerable force in the reasons which the Foreign Secretary assigned for the advance in the position assumed by the Government in December. The possession or occupation of Constantinople was an English interest, no doubt, but it was also a European one; and he hoped that whatever was done England would not act alone, but in concert with the other Powers. There was great danger, if we took separate action in all cases where English interests were concerned, the “intelligent foreigner” would leave us to get the chestnuts out of the fire, and take care not to blister his own fingers. The noble Earl the Prime Minister, on the first night of the Session, seemed to boast of the isolation of this country, and to think our position in that respect a satisfactory one; but a policy of isolation could not be rendered effective by a Vote of Credit which was first said to be required because an armistice was not signed, and then because it was signed. The next point to which he wished to direct attention was what appeared to

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him to have been the delay which had occurred in the communication by Her Majesty's Government to the Porte of the willingness of Russia to treat for peace. On the 29th of December the noble Earl received a communication to that effect; but it was not till the 4th of January—six days afterwards—that any communication was made on the subject either to the Porte or to St. Petersburg; and then some modification in the terms on which the armistice should be granted was proposed. It seemed to him that Her Majesty's Government had in this instance departed from the position of the friend of both parties, and to have taken a side, sat in judgment on the terms, and re-appeared as the friend of Turkey. This was not consistent with the position the Government occupied before, of merely transmitting the communications between the Porte and the Russian Government. With regard to the conditions of peace, the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby), on December 14, 1877, informed Mr. Layard that the Turkish Ambassador had read to him a telegram expressing the thanks of the Porte for the assurance that whenever negotiations were set on foot, Her Majesty's Government would do what lay in their power to obtain favourable terms for Turkey; but on the 25th of December the Earl of Derby, writing again to Mr. Layard, referred to that assurance in still stronger terms. He said that—

“On the 28th of July last Her Majesty's Government authorized you confidentially to sound the Sultan on the subject of possible terms of peace, and to state that, should His Majesty be disposed to open negotiations, he might rely upon the friendly offices of Her Majesty's Government, which would be exerted with a view to obtain for him the most favourable terms possible.”

This almost amounted to a pledge that Her Majesty's Government would use its office to render the conditions less favourable for the Christian Provinces. There was another point to which he wished to allude—namely, the state of Epirus. In the Reports of Consul Stuart it was stated that—

“The Christians here still suffer, and now in an increased degree, all the hardships set forth in the Consular Reports published in 1867 on the condition of the Christians in Turkey.”

As to inequality in the eye of the law, Consul Stuart stated—

“Notwithstanding the alleged reforms about which so much has been said and written, this inequality was never more strikingly and openly illustrated than it is at present in the daily practice of the so-called Courts of Justice. The rights of Christians when opposed to the claims of Mussulmans are, in contempt of law and equity, utterly ignored. This would seem to be the case chiefly in the matter of landed property, with regard to which an opinion widely prevails that a systematic policy is at work to withdraw the possession of it whenever an opportunity can be found from Christians and to vest it in the hands of Mussulmans.”

This was stated by Consul Stuart as to evidence—

“The old grievance about Christian evidence is still there. From the Mekhemé such evidence is excluded. In the other courts it is ostensibly received; but how is it treated when opposed to a Mussulman? The Christian witness is subjected to severe and harassing cross-examination, and if he makes the least slip he is rejected with contumely as false. On the other hand, the simple statement of the Mussulman is accepted without question or remark as true. Hence the equality of Christian and Mussulman evidence is a mere catchword and has never been anything else.”

It was further stated in the Report of the Consul that—

“Acts of violence towards Christians and of spoliation are not unfrequently heard of. Such acts would in other countries be set down simply as crimes and misdemeanours. Here they acquire another character. From the fact of being committed by Mussulmans on Christians they are almost connived at by the Government authorities, whereas the same authorities are but too quick in punishing with severity a Christian accused—I do not say convicted—of violence towards a Mussulman.”

As to taxation, Consul Stuart observed—

“In the matter of taxes the last farthing is wrung from the Christian; time and indulgence are granted to the Mussulman.”

Then as to the decline of population, the population of Epirus is estimated by Mr. Stuart to have declined from 350,000 in 1861 to 270,000 in 1873. “At the same time poverty and misery are frightfully on the increase.” As to the cause of this state of things, Consul Stuart said—

“But in point of fact this principle (of equality between Mussulmans and Christians) is utterly inadmissible under a Mussulman Government, because it is directly opposed to the precepts of the Koran. Whatever the Koran enjoins the Mussulman must, come of it what may, adhere to. And, though few Mussulmans can read the Koran, they are all taught that it is the charter of a religion which raises them



above all other men, while it holds out to them, if not in this life in the next, the boundless enjoyment of all that human flesh in its wildest imaginings can desire. Believing with fervid devotion in that extraordinary book, their habits of thought, feeling, reasoning, and action, their whole life—moral, social, and political—are moulded to its doctrines."

Consul Stuart then proceeded to point out how the Hatt Humayoun of 1856 had been made inoperative through the opposition of the Ulemas. The noble Earl the Foreign Secretary long ago expressed his opinion that, while the Mahomedan populations of the Provinces of Turkey were decreasing, the Christian populations of those Provinces were of importance, and that, as a matter of policy as well as humanity, we ought to conciliate the goodwill of the latter. Nothing now was heard of Epirus, Thessaly, or Crete; but though there appeared to have been a wide divergence between the opinion of the noble Earl and some of his Colleagues on the course which should be pursued in reference to the Eastern Question, he hoped the noble Earl would be able to carry into effect his good intentions with reference to the Greek Provinces, and that England would use her influence in favour of all the Christian subjects of Turkey.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, the criticisms of my noble Friend have been conveyed in such courteous language that I do not feel as if I have had a very difficult task imposed on me in giving the explanation he desires. I will not waste your Lordships' time with any general remarks, but go straight to the points to which he has referred. The first criticism of my noble Friend is that there is a discrepancy between the despatch of May last and the Memorandum placed in the hands of the Russian Ambassador in December last with reference to the occupation of Constantinople. Now, I deny that there is any discrepancy or divergence between those two documents. They relate, as my noble Friend will see on examining them, to entirely different questions. The despatch of May last states the grounds of English neutrality, and mentions as one of those acts which would cause us to depart from our neutrality the taking possession of Constantinople. The words were that we could not with indifference see it pass into other hands. In the Memorandum of December there was no question of the permanent acquisi-

tion of Constantinople, but there was a question of the temporary military occupation of that city. In the one case we were dealing with the results of the war; in the other we were dealing with what might be an operation of the war. Consequently, we treated them in a different manner. We have always said that we should consider the permanent acquisition of Constantinople by the Russians as a *casus belli*; but as to its temporary military occupation we have only warned Russia—no doubt in a very earnest manner—that such a step was one calculated to produce unfriendly relations, and likely to bring about complications and difficulties of various kinds. I do not think, for my own part, that it is very desirable, or even that it is possible, to preserve precise identity of expression in diplomatic correspondence extending over many months; and if we had put the case a little more strongly at one time than at another I should not think that was a matter which needed much apology. But, in point of fact, we have not done so, because, as I have already said, the two documents relate to quite different questions. Then my noble Friend goes on to say that he hopes we are not acting alone, and he adds a warning against England taking upon herself in an isolated manner a duty which devolves on the whole of Europe, and the performance of which should be shared by all the Powers. In that warning I entirely agree. I agree also in what my noble Friend has hinted—that some of those cities in foreign countries who taunt us with inaction, and talk about the decay of our influence, are prompted by a feeling natural to foreign Cabinets that we should undertake that which is quite as much the work of other people as ourselves. Whether we are isolated or not is a matter which the course of the Conference will show. For my part, I am tolerably confident that in the Conference we shall not occupy an isolated position. When my noble Friend refers to the speech of my noble Friend the First Lord of the Treasury and says that he rather boasted of our being isolated, I think my noble Friend (the Earl of Airlie) mistook for matter of fact what was meant in an ironical sense. What my noble Friend, I understand, did say was that, so far from our being isolated, he considered we exer-

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cised great influence in European councils. The next question which my noble Friend asks is why there was a delay of six days—from the 29th of December to the 4th of January—in communicating to the Porte the willingness of the Russian Government to treat? My Lords, that is a question easily answered. The matter in hand was not simply the transmission of a message from one Power to another. Our good offices were asked. We had uniformly expressed our readiness to offer them, and we had to consider whether, in transmitting the Message of the Russian Government, we should take upon ourselves the responsibility of transmitting it as it stood, accompanied or unaccompanied by the advice that Turkey should accept it, whether we should press upon the Russian Government to modify its terms in any respect before we presented them to the Porte. That was a matter of so much importance and difficulty that I did not feel myself justified in acting without the sanction of my Colleagues. I had to wait for a Cabinet Council to be summoned, and it being Christmas week some delay occurred. But, as my noble Friend will see, that delay was of no practical importance whatever, because when we did make our communication, and the Porte, in consequence, communicated to its commanders in the field the intention of the Russian Government, it was found that the Russian commanders had received no corresponding instructions, the orders to them having been sent by messengers instead of by telegraph. As a fact, the Turkish commanders received the information considerably earlier than the Russian commanders; and, therefore, no inconvenience arose from the short delay on our part, reasonable and necessary as it was. If the Turkish Government had had this communication six days earlier, the only difference would have been that they would have been six days longer in waiting for a similar communication from the Russian Government. My Lords, my noble Friend comments on a sort of pledge, as he says, which we gave to obtain the most favourable terms possible for Turkey. I am not sure that I understand my noble Friend rightly, but he seemed to find fault with that, and draw a distinction between the most favourable terms for the

Sultan and the most favourable terms for the Turkish Empire. I do not know whether my noble Friend is aware, but I think your Lordships are aware, that in diplomatic language the one phrase is absolutely identical with the other. Whether we speak of the Government of a country or of the Sovereign of a country, we mean exactly the same thing; and it would be straining the construction of our language to say that the most favourable terms for the Sultan would necessarily be the most unfavourable terms for the Turkish population at large. I will put an imaginary case. Suppose we had been successful in mediation—supposing Russia had demanded an enormous war indemnity, and that we had succeeded in reducing it one half; does my noble Friend mean to say that would have been against the interests of the subjects of the Sultan? I apprehend that in such a case the exercise of our influence would have been as much for the benefit of the subjects of the Sultan as for the Sultan himself. So, again, if the terms of peace demanded of Turkey involved a cession of territory, and we succeeded in obtaining a modification of those terms, should we not have done quite as much for the Turkish people as for the Sovereign? It is idle to speak as if the interests of the Sultan and those of his subjects were always and necessarily opposed. There is only one other point to which my noble Friend alluded. He called attention to the state of things in Epirus and Thessaly, and he spoke of the different manner in which those Greek Provinces are proposed to be dealt with in the Russian plan, as compared with the Slav Provinces. I am sure your Lordships will understand me when I say that I do not think the time has come to discuss a scheme which is not before us in all its details, and which must be a subject of the most careful examination before it can be discussed with advantage. I agree with my noble Friend when he says that one Christian Province of Turkey is entitled to the same privileges as another; but how far that abstract principle is capable of being applied is a question to be regulated, not by general theory or speculation, but by the circumstances of the case when we come to deal with it practically hereafter. I shall not trouble your

Lordships with any further explanation to-night; because I think those which I have referred to are the only points to which my noble Friend's observations were directed.

#### THE ISLAND OF CRETE.

##### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD COLCHESTER rose to ask the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If any official information has reached him of the vote of the Cretan Assembly annexing the island of Crete to the Kingdom of Greece; and if Greece can accept such annexation without the consent of the Great Powers of Europe? The noble Lord said, that after the insurrection of 1867 a certain degree of autonomy had been given to Crete; that the population of Crete was four-fifths Christian and one-fifth Mussulman. The complaint of the Christian population, as contained in the representation of the Deputies to be found among the Eastern Papers published two years back, was that they had not the complete preponderance in the representation that their numbers might have given them; but he did not consider that they had made out a serious case against the Constitution. At any rate, they had appeared unwilling to risk the loss of whatever privileges this Constitution gave them by being merged in that granted to the whole Empire. If it were to pass out of Turkish hands, he agreed with those who would desire to see it in English hands. Ten years ago the noble Duke opposite (the Duke of Argyll) said that till Greece was better governed it was preposterous for her to annex fresh territory, and though Greece might have advanced since then, he doubted its fitness to deal with the difficulties which would be caused by the diverse character of the Turkish and Greek population of Candia. At the same time, he felt that the great concessions to be made to the Slav population, which in the case of Bulgaria went far beyond the administrative autonomy discussed at the Conference, the effect would be to cause a perpetual irritation on the part of the Hellenic subject-races tending to the disturbance of tranquillity elsewhere.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, before the noble Earl the Foreign Secre-

tary answers the Question, perhaps I may be allowed to say one word in reference to the course which I took in 1867 with regard to Crete. I have no wish to ask any inconvenient Questions just now in regard to the terms which the noble Earl may think fit to support in the settlement of peace at the approaching Conference. But it did appear to me 10 years ago, looking into the documents which I had then before me, that Crete had a very special claim upon this country and the other Great Powers of Europe. To-day I have again looked into the circumstances of the case. I have examined the Protocol which was signed by the Great Powers on the 20th of February, 1830; and the peculiarity of the case is this—that the inhabitants of Crete had at that time made a successful insurrection against the Turkish Government in the Island; and that insurrection was so far successful that at that date the Earl of Aberdeen, who was Foreign Minister, admitted that the insurgents were in complete possession of the whole of the Island excepting a small portion at one point of it, which was still held by the Turkish garrison. It was under those circumstances that the Great Powers of Europe determined that the Island should not be annexed to the Kingdom of Greece, and that was one of the great causes which led to the resignation of Prince Leopold. The Great Powers determined that the Island which had successfully overthrown the Turkish Government should be replaced under that Government, and at the same time they drew up the Protocol of February, 1830, stating that they considered themselves more or less bound to exercise a Protectorate over the people of Candia with reference to the immediate consequences of the insurrection. Subsequently a more general paragraph appeared in the Protocol, implying that the Powers were to look after the future condition of the people under the Turkish Government. Under these circumstances, I confess that 10 years ago I did feel that when an insurrection had again broken out the Powers of Europe were bound, at the very least, to interfere and prevent that war being carried on in a ferocious and barbarous manner. I only wish to say further that though the condition of the people

of Crete may, in consequence of the last insurrection, be considerably improved, I believe that there was an agreement or sort of constitution given to Crete, yet the Papers which have been presented by my noble Friend (the Earl of Derby) to the House show that the Cretans still have great complaints to make against the Turks in regard to the manner in which that agreement has been carried into effect. I can only say that, if the Cretans have to a great extent succeeded in asserting their independence, I think it will be the bounden duty of the Powers of Europe to secure to them for the future their independence.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, in answer to the Question of my noble Friend behind me (Lord Colchester), I have to say that I have looked through the Reports recently received by the Government on the state of affairs in Crete, and that I do not find any information about the vote to which he referred as annexing the Island to Greece. I do not think that anything of that kind has taken place. What probably has taken place, and which has led to the Question of my noble Friend, is that some such vote has been passed by a revolutionary committee—of which there are more than one in the Island of Crete. The present state of the Island is, I believe, such that there is considerable excitement and discontent among the Christian population—but there has been, as far as I am aware, no violence or any armed and organized insurrection. With regard to the question as to whether Greece can accept the annexation without the consent of the Great Powers, I have no doubt as to the answer which should be given according to International Law. The Turkish Empire is guaranteed by the Great Powers, and the Greek State is a protected State; and I apprehend, therefore, that no transfer of territory from one to the other in a valid manner can take place without the sanction of the guaranteeing Powers on the one hand, and the protecting Powers on the other. In reply to my noble Friend the noble Duke (the Duke of Argyll), I beg to say that I have great respect for his opinions; but, if he will allow me to use a diplomatic phrase, I will take the matter to which he has called attention *ad referendum*.

# ENTAIL AMENDMENT (SCOTLAND) BILL [H.L.]

A Bill to further amend the Law of Entail in Scotland—Was presented by The Duke of ARGYLL; read 1<sup>a</sup>. (No. 15.)

House adjourned at a quarter past Six o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 5th February, 1878.*

MINUTES;—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Lieutenant Colonel Henry Edward Stirling Home Drummond Moray, for Perth County.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

### DUBLIN SOUTHERN DISTRICT TRAMWAYS BILL (by Order.)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. RAIKES: I do not rise for the purpose of opposing the second reading of this Bill, or with any wish to delay its progress; but as it is the first Bill of the Session which has reached the stage of a second reading, by which provision is proposed to be made for the construction of tramways to be worked by steam or mechanical power, I think this is a good opportunity to indicate to the House the course which, after consultation with the authorities chiefly interested in the matter, I would venture to recommend in regard to these Bills. The House will remember that in the course of last Session several Tramway Bills were introduced, and some Provisional Orders were applied for, authorizing the use of steam or mechanical power upon tramways. The whole of those Bills were suspended until the question of the use of steam or mechanical power on tramways could be investigated by a Select Committee. The Select Committee sat for some time, and was presided over by my hon. Friend the

Member for Stafford (Mr. Salt), who took a great deal of interest in the subject. It had also the assistance of several hon. Members who were thoroughly conversant with the use of steam in such cases, and the Committee after hearing evidence presented a Report. That Report has not yet been considered by the House; but I may say that it was generally in favour of licensing the use of steam or mechanical power on tramways, but under certain safeguards to be supplemented by a very full and complete authority to be given to the Board of Trade to govern and control the use of these locomotives. It was too late I think in the Session when the Report of the Select Committee was presented for the Bill which the Board of Trade brought in to license experiments to be carried through; and those clauses in the Tramway Bills by which steam power was sought not being able to arrive at maturity in the course of that Session, were therefore dropped. We have this year again a considerable number of Tramway Bills before the House, and I believe there are also a great number of applications to the Board of Trade for Provisional Orders in the same direction, and it is for the House to consider what is the wisest course to take in regard to them. The course which I shall venture to ask the House to adopt will be in order to preserve something like uniformity of procedure. I would suggest that all these Bills should be referred to the same Committee, and that it should be a hybrid Committee, appointed partly by the House, and partly by the Committee of Selection. I would further suggest that the House should give them power to hear evidence which in many cases might be excluded by the ordinary rules of the House from the consideration of Private Bill Committees. The form of the Resolution which I propose to move is based upon a precedent, as a similar course was taken some years ago, and the words of the Resolution are so drawn as to secure that opponents might be heard before the Committee, who would otherwise be shut out under the rules which fix the *locus standi* of petitioners against a Bill. It is of great importance that I should attempt for a moment to point out three questions, to which I hope the attention of the Committee, if the House consents to appoint

it, will be directed. I assume that as far as we have hitherto gone in our legislation, we have not had expressly under the consideration of this House the possible use of steam upon street tramways, and if the use of steam is to be allowed hereafter, it will be necessary probably for the Board of Trade to consider the subject, and state what regulations it may be desirable to enforce. There is one point which I think will at once occur to any hon. Member who is at all conversant with the mode in which the Private Business of the House is conducted. Under the Rules which have already been laid down in the case of ordinary tramways to be worked by animal power, the railway companies have been precluded from being heard in opposition on any ground of possible competition. I think that upon the whole this Rule has worked very fairly. But I think the House will see that the case will be very different if you are to have a tramway, which may be worked by steam running alongside a railway. I may point to a particular case, which I am told actually exists in South Wales, where the Great Western line runs for four miles alongside the high road, upon which high road there are at the present time tramways. Unquestionably, if Parliament is to license the use of steam on these tramways, you will have two parallel lines, almost on the same principle, running for a length of four miles, only that the tramway company will have had nothing to pay for acquiring the use of the ground. It seems to me, that under such circumstances it would be a matter deeply to be regretted if the railway company were not entitled to be heard as opponents of such a scheme. Then there is another matter which is of much importance, and which relates to the use of steam, or to the roads on which the use of steam is to be allowed. The use of steam or mechanical power, as far as we can judge from the evidence given before the Select Committee last year, has only up to the present time been tested abroad on very wide roads, and in many cases on roads very much less frequented than the streets of even our country towns. I think it would be very desirable that the Committee should consider whether it is not, in the first instance, at all events, imperative to fix a decided limit as to

the width of the road on which steam power is to be used. Then there is another question, also, which is of great public interest. It relates to the contribution which is to be made by tramway companies towards the support and maintenance of the road on which steam power is to be allowed. At the present time, I believe, they pay for the maintenance and repair of that portion of the road which is covered by the rails and also of that portion which is between the rails; but I think it is a great and serious question if you agree to put upon the roads a new description of carriage which is perhaps to compete with the local railways, whether the persons who obtain such a privilege should not be required to pay for the whole of the maintenance and repair of the roads over which the steam carriages are to run; and whether they should not pay something in the shape of rent for the use of the roads. I hope I have now said enough on these three points to show the importance, in a public point of view, of carefully considering the whole of the subject; and I trust the House will agree with me that the case is one which requires to be dealt with by a Committee of exceptional strength. I have no wish, at the present moment, to offer any objection to the progress of the Bill; but after it has been read a second time, I shall move the Resolution which I have placed upon the Paper for consideration to-day. I may, however, say, before I sit down, that I believe the Board of Trade intends to deal with the cases where applications have been made for the use of steam power on tramways under Provisional Orders, in a manner as closely analogous as they can to that which is adopted by this House in regard to the Private Bills. I believe that the Board of Trade, before dealing with the applications made to them for Provisional Orders, propose to await the decision of the Committee appointed by this House, and there will be every desire on the part of the Government to assimilate their course of procedure to that which shall be laid down by this House. Perhaps these observations rather belong to the Resolution of which I have given Notice, but I have thought that it would be more convenient to the House that they should know what they were doing before they consented to read any of these Steam Tramway Bills a

second time. This being the first Bill that has come before the House this Session, I have felt it my duty to make these observations.

**MR. PEASE:** I think the House must have listened to the statement of my hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees with considerable interest. If my attention had been called to this particular Bill, I should certainly have placed upon the Paper a Notice against the second reading of it. The question of the introduction of steam power on tramways at all is to me a very grave question indeed, and although it has no doubt been investigated by a Select Committee of this House, it is one which seems to me to involve a considerable amount of principle. Whether we will sanction broadly the principle that locomotive engines are to run on the highways of the country is a principle which deserves, at any rate, a discussion in this House. The view which I entertain upon the question of these tramways is that we have already gone to the furthest possible extent. While it is a question, certainly, of public interest as to how the public can be best served in regard to the use of the streets, there can be no doubt that in many of the narrow streets of our large towns and especially of this metropolis these tramways do interfere very prejudicially with the ordinary traffic. Not only do they interfere with and become a bar to the ordinary traffic, but they are also the cause of extreme danger. I believe that the number of the public who have already been killed or injured by them has been very considerable. I have been at some pains to collect from time to time statistics upon this matter and they certainly afford a strong additional reason why the House should pause before it grants the use of steam power in the public streets of very crowded neighbourhoods. My hon. Friend the Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means has properly stated that in his judgment the question where they are to run, if they are to run at all, would be very much guided by the width of the street or the width of the road along which it was proposed to take them. There can be no doubt that that will be a very important consideration; but my main object in rising was to call the attention of the House to another question—namely, how far we can, having

due regard to the public safety, permit these steam engines to make use of the ordinary roads. We must bear in mind, in estimating the probable damage that may be done, that persons in charge of mechanical appliances are very often impatient of control, and I very much fear that if we place the control of the traffic of the streets at the mercy of men in charge of locomotive engines of considerable power, the public will ultimately suffer. These men will not consent to give way, but reckless of consequences will hold the road, to the great detriment of every other description of traffic. The question is one well worth the consideration of the House. It involves very important matters of public convenience, and I thank my hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees for having called the attention of the House to the subject at so early a period of the Session.

**MR. E. JENKINS:** I do not rise for the purpose of opposing the Motion for the second reading of this Bill, although I certainly think that some of the grounds which have been advanced by the Chairman of Committees are not grounds on which this House would be disposed to assent to his Resolution. I rise rather for the purpose of putting a Question to the hon. Gentleman, and it is this—I understood him to say that the object to be gained by appointing this Special Committee was, that in cases in which tramways intended to compete with railway companies, the railway companies should have provided for them an easy mode—or rather that there should be provided a method of enabling them to come in and oppose a Tramway Bill which, as I understood, under the present Rules and Orders of the House, they are now unable to do. I have only to say that I shall protest very strongly against any proposal to give any facilities whatever to the railway companies to come in and oppose these Tramway Bills. The mere fact that steam is proposed to be used for tramways instead of horses, simply for the purpose of saving the horses and not for the purpose of adding anything to the speed at which the cars are driven upon the tramways, does not appear to me to be a sufficient reason for allowing a powerful railway company to come in and oppose these Tramway Bills. I hope, therefore, that as far as this par-

ticular point is concerned, there will be some means provided by the House of preventing any additional facilities being given to the railway companies to oppose Bills which propose to authorize the use upon tramways of small donkey-engines, simply because such tramway lines happen to run for some distance parallel with a line of railway. Before I sit down, I wish to point out—I think I may mention it now, but if I am out of Order, I will reserve what I say until the Motion of the Chairman of Committees comes regularly before the House—I wish to point out that one Bill which has been read a second time this afternoon—the Dundee Street Tramways Bill—is a Bill which contains matters such as those which have been referred to by the hon. Gentleman; and it proposes, I believe, among other things, to sanction the use of steam or mechanical power upon certain turnpike roads. The Chairman of Committees will see that difficulties may arise in regard to that Bill, seeing that it deals with other matters besides tramways.

**MR. CHARLES LEWIS:** I do not think that the objections which are now so frequently taken in reference to tramways arise, as many persons say they do, from an instinctive antipathy to new modes of travelling. But I do think that the question of the extent to which tramways are to be allowed to take up the ordinary public traffic along the high roads is a question of the greatest importance to all our towns. Many hon. Members in this House will understand, as I do myself, what the tramway system is in New York. You have only to go into some of the narrowest streets of New York and you will find the whole of the traffic given up to the tramway system. I do not in the least degree deny that under proper regulations and proper conditions the tramway system is at the same time a wonderfully good investment and very advantageous to the interests of the public. But we must not be prepared to surrender the whole of our rights in this matter. Those who live in London certainly know this, that their coach builders' bills are very different now from what they used to be, or what they ought to be. Since the inauguration of the present tramway system horses have been lamed, human life sacrificed, limbs broken, and property destroyed, and all because it is

said to be necessary to extend facilities for public travel. Now, I like cheap travelling as much as my neighbours, and I like to be able to get from one part of London to another as quickly and as cheaply as possible; but I protest against the unthinking way in which so many Boards in the metropolis have dealt with this question of tramways, as if life and limb and property were nothing in comparison with better facilities for travelling and communication.

**MR. SULLIVAN:** I must respectfully ask the Chairman of Committees not to allow any Committee to be appointed by this House which is likely to put itself in antagonism with the tramways system. We are only, I think, at the beginning of reaping the benefits of a system between steam railways and nothing at all. The tramways are the middle course between the rapid speed of the large railways and the slow coaches with which we have put up so long. I never knew a man who was able to keep a brougham who was not against tramways, and I never knew people who could not afford to keep a brougham who were not in favour of tramways, and the question is now being fought very much between the brougham party and the no-brougham party. No doubt there are narrow streets in London, and proper care should be taken that the ordinary traffic in such streets should not be interfered with. But I assert that we are only at present at the commencement of a great and useful movement which, with proper precautions, will be of immense advantage to the public. I therefore hope that no antagonism will be invited by giving undue facilities to opposition.

**MR. DILLWYN:** I do not wish to say anything against the second reading of this Bill, but I must say that, on behalf of the public, I receive with pleasure the proposal which the Chairman of Committees is about to make. I am acquainted with a case in which there is a tramway running alongside of the high road. The company have, I believe, under the powers of their Act, power to use a locomotive, and they have given an assurance that there shall be no nuisance, no smoke, and no fire. But what is the practical result? Why, that some persons do not dare to drive along the road on which these locomotives are

used. The locomotives make a very great noise, the lights are flaring out, and I know many persons, especially if they happen to be driving young horses, who would go miles out of their way rather than make use of this road. I am sincerely glad that the Chairman of Committees proposes to appoint this Committee, and I hope that when it is appointed the attention of the Committee will be specially directed to the powers which tramway companies are now seeking—of using locomotives along the high roads and streets. I believe that if this is to be generally allowed many roads will become almost impassable at night, and transit in some parts of large towns will be seriously impeded. I hope the Chairman of Committees will continue to give his best attention to the subject, and, so far as I am personally concerned, I will give him the best assistance in my power.

**MR. M'LAREN:** While I entirely approve of all that has been said by the Chairman of Committees, I wish to express a hope that his attention will be directed to one particular matter—namely, the different gradients of the streets in different towns, and that no general law will be laid down that locomotives may be used in all towns under certain circumstances. I think, further, that the use of locomotives on tramways should not be allowed where the authorities of the town in which it is proposed to use them are opposed to it. To whatever powers Parliament may be pleased to give, in my opinion, it should superadd this condition, that it should always be understood that the authorities were agreeable to the use of mechanical power.

**MR. HERMON,** who was almost inaudible in the Gallery, was understood to refer to the remarks of the hon. and learned Member for Louth (Mr. Sullivan), and to say that it was not entirely a brougham question, but rather a shopkeeper's question, and that the laying down of tramways should not be sanctioned in narrow streets with a considerable amount of traffic, when the approach of carriages to the shops would thereby be interfered with.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed.*



## TRAMWAY BILLS.

MR. RAIKES: The House has kindly listened to the observations which I have already made upon the general question, and I do not, therefore, wish to inflict upon them any further discussion of the Motion I am about to make. I may, however, be permitted to say in regard to the observations which fell from the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. Jenkins), that the point to which he has called my attention I have already had under consideration. It is one of some interest and importance, and if the hon. Member will consult with me before the Bill to which he refers comes on, I will endeavour to see what can be done to meet his objections. I hope myself that we may get these Steam Tramway Bills put properly forward, so that they may all be disposed of this Session, and in regard to the Committee which I propose to appoint, every effort will be made to induce those who understand the question to serve upon it. I beg now to move—

“That every Opposed Tramway Bill of the present Session, whereby it is proposed to authorize the use of steam or other mechanical power, be referred to a Select Committee of Nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House and Four by the Committee of Selection; and that such of the Petitioners against the Bills as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel or Agents, as shall have presented their Petitions in accordance with the Standing Orders, be heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bills against such Petitions:

“That Five be the quorum of the Committee.”

*Motion agreed to.*

## QUESTIONS.

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## GREENWICH OUT-PENSIONERS.

## QUESTION.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is a fact that in 1865 the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty issued an Order that Greenwich out-pensioners should, on reaching fifty-five years of age, receive 5*d.* per day from the Hospital Fund in addition to their ordinary pension, and 4*d.* per day more at seventy; whether it is true that this age-pension was refused to men residing in the Colonies; whether subsequently,

in answer to a Petition (December 9th 1875) praying for a redress of this grievance attaching to Colonists, the Admiralty did in fact admit the justice of the demand by admitting the Colonists to equal participation in the age-pension, but dating only from April 1st, 1876; whether an appeal, dated October 10th, 1876, has not been addressed to the Admiralty by the pensioners residing in Australia, praying that the arrears (1865 to 1876) may be paid to them; and whether he can hold out any hope that the men's appeal may be granted?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, it is the fact that an Order in Council, dated September 9, 1865, gave a discretionary power to the Admiralty to award age-pensions, as stated in the Question, out of the funds of Greenwich Hospital to naval pensioners, and 3,000 were granted in the first year, including all men in England above the age of 62; 1,000 more were given in the next year, which took in all men in England above 60. Another 1,000 in the following year took in all men in England above 55; and finally, in 1869, all men of 55 were included, and 7,500 men are now receiving age-pensions. In 1866 the Admiralty determined to exclude all men in Government employ and men residing out of the United Kingdom. In 1876 the Board decided to cancel the Order of 1866 and to award these age-pensions to all men eligible for them, whether in Government employ or residing in the Colonies, from the 1st April, 1876, only. This has entailed an increased expenditure of £3,000 a-year. An appeal for arrears was received and refused, as stated in the Question. I do not imagine that any hope can be held out that the appeal will be granted, as the amount is very large and the accounts are closed every year.

EDUCATION (SCOTLAND) ACT—  
SCHOOL SITES.—QUESTION.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Lord Advocate, Whether he is aware that in numerous cases in Scotland (forty it is said) School Boards are obstructed in carrying out the Education Act by the refusal of landlords to grant sites for school buildings; and, whether he intends to bring in a Bill this Session dealing with such cases?

**THE LORD ADVOCATE:** Sir, I have no information with regard to the refusal of school sites in Scotland, beyond the general statement contained in the Question of the hon. Member. Upon receiving Notice of that Question, I made application to the Education Department, and I am informed that they have not yet received any communications which, in their opinion, would render it necessary to deal legislatively with this question. I cannot say that it is my intention to bring in a Bill, but if the hon. Member will communicate to me such details as he can give, I shall be glad to make inquiries, and if necessary to deal with the question.

**PRISONS ACT, 1877—THE RULES AND REGULATIONS.—QUESTION.**

**MR. O'CONNOR POWER** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, under section 51 of the Prisons Act passed last Session, he has "settled and approved" the rules and regulations for the management of prisons, and when, in accordance with the same section of the Act, they will be laid before Parliament; and, whether he has made, or intends to make, any special rules for the better treatment of persons imprisoned for political offences?

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS:** Sir, the Rules will soon be ready, but they have not yet been finally settled and approved. They will be laid on the Table within the time prescribed by the Act—that is to say, in about a fortnight. With regard to the latter part of the Question, all I can do—and all that the Statute requires me to do—is to make special rules for the class of persons named in it—namely, first-class misdemeanants, and they will be found amongst the other Rules.

**PRISONS (IRELAND) ACT—THE RULES AND REGULATIONS.—QUESTION.**

**MR. O'CONNOR POWER** asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, Whether, under section 56 of the Prisons (Ireland) Act, passed last Session, the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council have "settled and approved" the rules and regulations for the management of Prisons in Ireland, and when, in accord-

ance with the same section of the Act, they will be laid before Parliament; and, whether the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council have made, or intend to make any special rules for the better treatment of persons imprisoned for political offences?

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH:** Sir, the Rules and Regulations under the Prisons Act to which the hon. Member refers have not yet been finally approved by the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council for Ireland. It has been considered proper that they should be framed as far as possible in accordance with the Rules for England, and therefore some further delay must take place; but the Irish Government will endeavour to lay them on the Table as soon as possible after they have been approved. The provisions of the Act in respect to persons imprisoned for sedition or seditious libel will be, of course, considered; but, with that exception, I do not think the Act contemplates any particular action with reference to persons imprisoned for political offences.

**TURKEY—CRETE.—QUESTION.**

**SIR CHARLES W. DILKE** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with reference to his statement that there could hardly be said to be an insurrection existing in Crete, Whether he will lay upon the Table two Despatches dated January 3rd 1878, addressed by the Cretan Insurrectionary General Assembly to the Consuls of the Powers, and already published in the German newspapers?

**MR. BOURKE,** in reply, said, he had received only one despatch on the subject, and that he had no objection to its production.

**POST OFFICE—APPOINTMENT OF OFFICIALS.—QUESTION.**

**MR. P. A. TAYLOR** asked the Postmaster General, Whether he has been able during the Recess (in accordance with the intimation he was kind enough to give last Session) to consider some plan for the appointment of post office officials which should be free from all suspicion of political bias?

**LORD JOHN MANNERS,** in reply, said, he had been in communication during the Recess with the Secretary to

the Treasury on the subject, and the result was, that they had arrived at the conclusion that it would not be for the public advantage to deprive Members of Parliament of the right of recommending to the smaller appointments in the Post Office. With a view, however, to obviating the suspicion of political bias to which the hon. Gentleman referred, the following addition has been made to the notice of vacancy sent to Members:—

“These nominations will be submitted to the approval of the Postmaster General, who has the right of cancelling any nomination if the character of the nominee is not satisfactory, or if his residence is inconveniently situated, and if such appointment will not be to the interest of the public service.”

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE WAR—LAWS OF NEUTRALITY.—QUESTION.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government and Her Majesty's Ambassador and Consuls having jurisdiction in Turkey, took any steps to compel British subjects to observe the laws of neutrality; and, whether British subjects will be allowed to carry war into Greece or into Crete?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, no Reports have been received at the Foreign Office with regard to any proceedings in the Consular Courts in Turkey respecting the breach of neutrality laws as affecting British subjects. In reply to the second part of the hon. Member's Question, I have to state that the same rule which applies elsewhere will apply to the case of Greece and Crete.

#### THE LATE SERGEANT M'CARTHY—THE INQUIRY.—QUESTION.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER: Sir, I have a Question on the Paper respecting the inquiry against the prison officials with regard to the charge into the death of the late Sergeant M'Carthy; but I have just received a letter that this inquiry has been made. I wish to ask, Whether, if it has been made, the evidence which was taken was given on oath, as the evidence at the inquest was given? The Question I gave Notice of read as follows:—

*Lord John Manners*

“To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether, having regard to the fact that the evidence given against the prison officials at the inquest in the case of the late Sergeant M'Carthy, was taken publicly and on oath he will order the inquiry in the prison to be conducted publicly and on oath in like manner; and, whether facilities will be given to enable the next of kin of the deceased and Members of this House to attend?”

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, I have no power to direct a man to be examined on oath, nor have the magistrates power to administer an oath, unless direct authority to do so is given them by express Statute. With regard to the holding of the inquiry, I stated the last time I was asked about it that I had transmitted the depositions to Sir James Ingham and left the matter entirely with him. I have not seen or communicated with that gentleman since, except with regard to the medical man. I was not aware, nor do I know now, that the inquiry has been concluded. I have left the matter entirely in his hands, and I have no doubt he will hear any evidence that may be tendered to him, and pay attention to any application made by the hon. Gentleman, or anyone else who wishes to communicate with him. I may add that on seeing the Question on the Paper this morning, I forwarded it to Sir James Ingham with a copy of the answer I proposed to make to it.

#### EGYPT—CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN FRANCE AND ENGLAND.—QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether there can be laid before the House, without detriment to the public service, Papers relating to the communications which have recently passed between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of France in relation to Egypt?

MR. BOURKE: No, Sir; not with regard to the interests of the public service.

#### METROPOLIS—THE ALBERT-TERRACE (HYDE PARK) IMPROVEMENT BILL.

##### QUESTION.

SIR HENRY JAMES asked the First Commissioner of Works, If his attention has been called to a Private Bill called “The Albert-Terrace (Hyde Park) Im-

provement Bill," under which "the promoter" seeks to take compulsorily the property of several persons and also to construct a road (over which he may build) into Hyde Park; and, whether he, as representing the Crown, approves of the construction of such road?

MR. GERARD NOEL, in reply, said, that his attention had been called to the Bill, and the Government did not approve of the construction of the proposed road into Hyde Park.

SIR HENRY JAMES gave Notice that if the Government did not oppose the Bill, as he hoped they would, he should call attention at the proper time to what he considered an abuse of the procedure of this House.

#### INDIA — THE NATIVE POLICE OF BENGAL.—QUESTION.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to a Resolution moved by the present Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, the Honourable Ashley Eden, relating to the Bengal Police Report for 1877, which described the system of police and preventive imprisonment established by order of Sir Richard Temple, the then Lieutenant Governor, in November, 1875, as "an uncontrolled and fearful engine of oppression," by which "a vast amount of bitter wrong and oppression has been inflicted upon the people," and whose "result has been more demoralising to the lower classes than even the continuance of serious crime could be;" whether the present Lieutenant Governor of Bengal has not stated that, "looking at the vast number of false cases established over Bengal," and "from an examination of some cases which have come before him," he has reason to fear "that very many of the persons convicted were really innocent;" and, whether, if this be so, the Governor General, Lord Lytton, has taken any measures to supervise such an abuse of power?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in reply, said, he had read a resolution moved by the present Lieutenant Governor of Bengal animadverting in strong terms, not on anything which Sir Richard Temple had done, but on the misconduct of a large section of the Native police of Bengal. This was not the first occasion

upon which their conduct had been unfavourably noticed, for last year Sir Richard Temple commented upon the lamentable amount of suffering and wrong which had been caused by them, in reference to the number of arrests made on insufficient evidence. The pith of the resolution was to the effect that a lamentable amount of suffering and wrong had been caused by the vast number of false charges instituted all over Bengal, and that Mr. Eden was determined that this fearful oppression should not be left uncontrolled in the hands of the police, but should be used only under the most effectual safeguards. The administration of the police force in Bengal was primarily in the hands of the Government there, and no doubt Mr. Eden would take measures which would prevent the repetition of the acts of oppression to which the hon. Member had directed attention.

#### TURKEY—RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN BULGARIA.—QUESTION.

MR. HOLT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to a statement that there are sundry Protestant churches in Bulgaria which have enjoyed a fair amount of religious liberty under the government of the Porte, but have been at various times persecuted by the authorities of the Greek Church with considerable severity; that before the War began some Protestants were threatened with increased sufferings on the arrival of the Russian Army in their country, and that a fresh persecution has recently commenced; also that the cruel oppression exercised in Bulgaria at the present time by the authorities of the Greek Church is as great as that experienced in England before the Reformation; and, whether this statement be substantially true; and, if so, whether the Government will endeavour to secure in any arrangement which shall have the sanction of the Powers of Europe sufficient provision for religious freedom in Bulgaria?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Speaker, I understand that Her Majesty's Government have not received any very recent information respecting the statements to which my hon. Friend refers, statements which

appear to be derived from the letter of a Bulgarian pastor now in England, and which has been very widely circulated. If my hon. Friend would look at Blue Book No. 1 on Turkey he will there find, at pages 120, 392, 456, and other places, that Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople has repeatedly exerted his influence on behalf of Protestant Dissenters; and Her Majesty's Government will not fail to use their endeavours, when the occasion arises, to secure for them and the other inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire such guarantees for their religious freedom as may be obtained.

#### IRELAND—THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY FUND.—QUESTION.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland, If he would state the amount to credit of the "Constabulary Force Fund" for each of the last five years; how that fund is raised, and to what purposes it is allocated; and, if the average annual receipts exceed the average annual payments, whether any steps will be taken to equalize them; and, whether the late Assistant Inspector General Brownrigg received any money from this fund in addition to his pension of £930 a-year?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH: Sir, the amount to the credit of this fund at each of the periods referred to in the Question of the hon. Member ending 31st March each year was, in round numbers, as follows:—1873, £43,500; 1874, £49,200; 1875, £54,300; 1876, £62,000; 1877, £68,500. The amount is raised by a deduction from the pay of the officers and men, and from the payments of such superannuated members of the Force as continue to subscribe under 29 & 30 *Vict. c. 103*, for the benefit of their families; from fines imposed upon members of the Force by the Inspector General and the county Inspectors; from gratuities awarded to members of the Force by magistrates; and lastly, from interest on the portion of the fund which is invested. The fund is spent in the following way:—In rewards to meritorious members of the Force, in relief of their widows and orphans, and also in the payment of a certain percentage by way of recouping the expenses of the officers and men of the Force on retirement. Attempts have been

made to equalize the annual receipts and expenditure—first, by reducing the payment from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 per cent; and, secondly, by increasing the payments to the men from 6 to 8 per cent; and adding to the payments to the widows and orphans. If this fund, in spite of this, continues to increase, it will have to be considered whether the payments should be still further increased or the subscriptions reduced. The late Assistant Inspector General Brownrigg received the payment from this fund to which he is entitled by his rank and service. He has subscribed to it through the whole term of his service, and I may add that the pension on which he retired was that to which he was legally entitled.

#### CRIMINAL LAW—ASSAULTS UPON THE POLICE IN MERIONETHSHIRE.

##### QUESTION.

SIR WILLIAM BAGGE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been drawn to the deficiency of the Police Force in Merionethshire, and to the assaults to which they have been subjected by the miners in the districts of Abergynoldwyn and Festiniog?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: Sir, my attention has been called to the fact of the assaults, and in consequence I communicated with the chief constable of the county, who informs me that more constables have been sent there to prevent the continuance of the disturbances.

#### THE BURIALS QUESTION.

##### RESOLUTION. QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES FORSTER asked the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire, Whether he intends to proceed with his Resolution in regard to the Burials Question which stands on the Paper for Friday next?

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN, in reply, said, that that would depend on the course of the debate in which they were now engaged. If the debate should be prolonged till Thursday, he should not feel justified in asking the House immediately after the close, or perhaps in the midst of a debate of such importance to consider a question which, though comparatively tame, still excited great

interest in the country. If, therefore, this debate were prolonged beyond that evening, he would not bring forward his Resolution.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE WAR—  
BLOCKADE IN THE BLACK SEA.  
QUESTION.

In reply to Sir CHARLES W. DILKE,

MR. BOURKE said, that the Government would feel it their duty to use their influence to prevent ships leaving Black Sea ports for England from being stopped at the Bosphorus during the Armistice.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE—  
THE DEBATE OF FRIDAY.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I beg, most humbly and diffidently, the indulgence of the House while I very briefly allude to a personal matter. Last night the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Gathorne Hardy) made an imputation against me of so serious a nature, and couched in such very emphatic terms, that I cannot with honour allow it to pass unnoticed; and I am sure the House sufficiently regards the honour of its Members to give me its attention for a very few minutes. The right hon. Gentleman used these words—

“Let the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs dare to say in his place in this House that the noble Earl at the head of the Government is desirous of plunging this country into war. Let the hon. Gentleman prove this statement, or let it go into some category which it is not Parliamentary to name.”

Now, Sir, like other hon. Members in this House, I made to my constituents, and to my constituents only, during the Recess an address which provoked a certain amount of comment and observation; and, therefore, I thought it right as early as possible in this great debate, which was virtually the first opportunity in the Session, to address the House on the Eastern Question. In my speech on Friday last I distinctly took up the challenge dropped by my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary, that I should speak in the House as I had spoken in the country. My main argument, almost from first to last, referred to the warlike utterances, as I maintained them in this House to be, of the Prime

Minister during the progress of this Eastern Question; and, as hon. Gentlemen who heard me can say, I, not once, but over and over again, stated the substance of the sentence which the right hon. Gentleman dared me to repeat in this House. I am anxious not to detain the House an undue length of time, so I will read one sentence, and one only, from my speech on Friday—

“The Prime Minister declared that the independence and integrity of Turkey must be maintained, and he on the same occasion spoke of England's readiness to fight one, two, or three campaigns; and everyone knows what such words, spoken in such a collocation, by a man in that position of responsibility, must undoubtedly mean.”

Now, Sir, that is a repetition, in the very strongest language that Parliamentary forms could admit of, of the sentence which the right hon. Gentleman dared me to repeat in this House. I then referred to the speeches of the Prime Minister at Aylesbury, and to the speech at Guildhall in November last, and I adduced at great length, and with the best logic I was enabled to command, the deduction that his policy was a warlike policy. I think the right hon. Gentleman should have answered those arguments in his speech; but I do not think that he should have ignored that speech, and then, on the ground of its non-existence, have brought a charge against the courage and sincerity of a brother Member—a brother Member whom hon. Gentlemen opposite, I am proud to believe, after 12 years' experience, do not for a moment—[*Cheers from the Ministerial Benches*—]do not for a moment believe to be a coward. I was unable to answer that grave charge in the course of the debate for the very reason that I had actually made a speech here of the same nature as that which I was challenged to repeat in the House. That speech is within the recollection of the House. If the right hon. Gentleman was not in the House at the time, he will find, on referring to his Colleagues, that my speech fairly answered the description which I have given of it. If he was in the House I am quite sure he will, on reflection, see that the sentence he used last night was not a fair weapon in Parliamentary warfare.

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: Sir, I did hear the speech of the hon. Member

for the Border Boroughs (Mr. Trevelyan), and I certainly did not understand the hon. Member to repeat the statement which he had made at Selkirk—namely, that the Prime Minister desired, and had never concealed his desire, to plunge this country into war. If the hon. Member meant to say in his speech in this House what he said at Selkirk, I have nothing to withdraw in the terms I applied to him.

Mr. PERCY WYNDHAM: I am quite certain my hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs—["Order, order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: There is no question before the House. The hon. Member for the Border Boroughs has made a personal explanation, and the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War has replied. There is now no question before the House.

Mr. PERCY WYNDHAM: Sir, I shall conclude with a Motion. If the hon. Member intended to use the same language with exactly the same meaning, when he criticized the conduct of a Minister as he did when he addressed his constituents in the country, he for some reason or other failed in that endeavour. I perfectly remember the speech at Selkirk. It made such an impression on me that I kept a copy of the paper in which it was reported, without any idea that it would come before the House; but when I understood that the hon. Member was about to bring it before the House, I told him that I should feel it my duty to read another extract from the same speech, which, with the permission of the House, I will now do. This is what the hon. Member said with regard to the conduct and object of Ministers in their policy with Russia—

"Her Majesty's Ministers are simulating dread of Russian access to the Mediterranean as a pretext for increasing the number of naval appointments open to the dunces who are sons of Ministers and their constituents."

Mr. TREVELYAN: What is the newspaper?

Mr. PERCY WYNDHAM: A newspaper published amongst your own constituency. I got it at Carlisle.

Colonel MURE: I regret, Sir, that this painful episode—

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member for West Cumberland did not conclude with a Motion.

*Mr. Gathorne Hardy*

Mr. PERCY WYNDHAM: I am prepared to withdraw it. ["No, no!"]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(Mr. Percy Wyndham.)

Colonel MURE said, he did not think that painful episode could be allowed to remain where it was. The question at issue between his hon. Friend (Mr. Trevelyan) and the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gathorne Hardy) was, not whether the expressions used by the hon. Member in the House were the same as those he had used outside, but whether the circumstance of his not repeating those expressions in that House justified his original statement being relegated to a category which they could all understand. Now, he could not believe that the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War really intended to impute to the hon. Member that it was from motives of cowardice and fear he did not repeat certain expressions he had used. It was due to the honour of that House and of the Secretary for War, as well as due to the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs, that the Secretary for War should state that he had no intention to impute such a disgraceful motive to the hon. Member.

Mr. MARK STEWART said, the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs (Mr. Trevelyan) produced very great consternation in Scotland, and many people believed and hoped it was delivered on the spur of the moment without the usual forethought which characterized his hon. Friend's words in the House. If his hon. Friend had spoken in that House the other night, in moving the adjournment of the debate, in the way he had done to his constituents, he should have been prepared to answer the speech which his hon. Friend made at Selkirk. That speech contained many strong statements besides those which had been read to the House, and he (Mr. Stewart) held in his hand a copy of *The Scotsman*, which he was ready to produce, containing those statements. He wished to say this because he felt that some notice ought to be taken of the strong remarks made by his hon. Friend against the Conservative Party. It was not fair for hon. Gentlemen to go down to their constituencies and there state matters which

they were ashamed or afraid to bring forward here. In saying this he did not wish to produce any further amount of irritation, and he was quite sure the House would be satisfied with what had taken place.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, I would venture to appeal to the House whether it is really advantageous, or even desirable or seemly, that a discussion of this kind should be allowed to continue. As I understand the matter, my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for War had no intention whatever of imputing anything whatever contrary to the personal honour of my hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs. It was not his intention to do so. If my hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs says it was his intention to repeat in this House, though in somewhat different language, what he said to his constituents, of course there can be no question of his right to do that. But the remark of my right hon. Friend remains the same—namely, that the observation made at Selkirk, whether it was repeated in this House or not, was one that my hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs was bound either to prove, or that must be dismissed in the manner in which my right hon. Friend dismissed it. All I think it is necessary to say is, that there is no intention to impute anything against the personal honour of the hon. Member, or as to his character, in regards to his daring to repeat in this House what he had said elsewhere, and I hope the House will not consider it necessary to proceed with this question, which would lead to inconvenience.

**MR. TREVELYAN:** My right hon. Friend always tries to put the pleasantest face upon anything disagreeable, and I quite recognize the spirit in which he has spoken; but the matter remains thus—The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War places me in a certain category—which I will not soil my mouth by explaining to the House—unless I can prove a certain statement. I proved that statement on Friday last according to Parliamentary fashion; in a manner that is, at any rate, believed by many Members on these benches. It is a political difference. It is not a personal one. The right hon. Gentleman refuses to retract his attack on my personal honour. I leave the country, which has now learnt

the matter in discussion, to judge between him and me.

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** Sir, I hope the House will be disposed to take the advice which has been given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that this matter should not be pursued further. The right hon. Gentleman has stated, and I think the assurance ought to be satisfactory to my hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs (Mr. Trevelyan), that the Secretary for War made no imputation on his personal honour. As the right hon. Gentleman has sat still and not qualified the statement made in his name by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I think my hon. Friend may accept that statement. At the same time, I sincerely regret that the Secretary of State for War did not himself rise and make the statement, instead of leaving his right hon. Friend to make it for him. I cannot help thinking it is an inconvenient course for the right hon. Gentleman to take, if whenever some statement which is not proved to his satisfaction is made, it should be described by him in the strong terms he used last night, and which he has repeated this evening. My hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs did endeavour, though imperfectly, perhaps, to prove the statement which he made at Selkirk, and which he says he repeated here. That statement may not have been satisfactory to the right hon. Gentleman opposite; but if, whenever we think our opponents are somewhat deficient in logic or in power of statement, we are to qualify their statements in the way in which the Secretary of State for War has done, it seems to me that our debates will assume a character which will not be an improvement to the reputation of this House.

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY:** There appears to me to be two questions before the House. One has reference to the courage of the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs in not stating in this House what he stated elsewhere. I certainly did not understand him to repeat here the statement he made elsewhere; but he says he did so, and that being the case I accept that statement. Therefore, I assume that he stated here what he stated at Selkirk. What was it? It was this, and he stated it as a fact—That there was a criminal and wicked desire on the part of the Prime



Minister. I am bound to defend the Prime Minister, not only as my Chief but as a personal friend. The hon. Member charges him deliberately, in the strongest language, in a sentence which concludes, as far as I remember, with these terms,—"that the noble Lord has never concealed his desire to plunge this country into war." If that be the state of my noble Friend's mind, I say it is a criminal state of mind. It is one which is of itself a disgrace. The statement which was made is a statement of fact, and if the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs thinks proper to persist in that statement, I must say again that I have nothing to qualify in the language I used.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that if the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs had been guilty of saying outside the House what he was not prepared to say in it, right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite had been guilty of the same offence. The Secretary of State for War, entertaining the opinions he did respecting the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs, would doubtless have expressed them in much stronger language if he had spoken them outside the House, and had not been fenced round by Parliamentary forms. The House should remember that the speeches of hon. Members outside were of a very different nature to the speeches of the same hon. Members inside the House; and he could be corroborated by hon. Members on the Government benches. He had often felt it his duty, and it would, no doubt, be so again, to make statements outside in very different language from that which he would use in the House. When making observations to ordinary people outside the House he used considerable latitude; but inside that Assembly he had to couch his language in consonance with peculiar forms, and follow arguments at a distance, in conformity with Parliamentary usages. In the same way, many hon. Members might be brought to task in the House for using outside the House language most gross and calumnious, and contrary to the commonest principles of public decency. Unless some hon. Members opposite were seriously misrepresented, they had outside the House described other hon. Members as persons whom they should not like to meet on a dark night, and as persons to whom the provisions of the Cattle Plague Prevention Act ought to

be applied, and who ought to be slaughtered at the port of disembarkation. He believed that on a former occasion a hon. and gallant Member referred to another hon. Member in peculiarly gross terms. [*Cries of "Order!"*]

MR. SPEAKER intimated that the hon. Member was wandering from the question.

MR. O'DONNELL said, he would admit he had made a slip; but the fact was the hon. and gallant Member to whom he referred used peculiar and unusual terms—the result being a message of a kind better known in the time of our grandfathers than at the present day. He maintained the right hon. Gentleman ought not to stand up in the House and impugn, or seem to impugn, in such a very unsatisfactory manner the personal honour and veracity of hon. Members of that House, merely because those hon. Members had made speeches in the country in somewhat different terms to those which they were prepared to substantiate on the floor of the House.

MR. WHITBREAD said, he had listened to the discussion with pain, and he thought the House had had a very good example of the extreme inconvenience to which these desultory conversations led. The charge made last night by the Secretary for War amounted to this—that he challenged the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs to repeat in the House, where it could be answered, the language he had used elsewhere. He (Mr. Whitbread) wanted the House to bear in mind that his hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs had repeated in that House the arguments which he used outside. [*"No, no!"*] Yes, his hon. Friend had done so, and had given to the House the grounds upon which he rested his charge. It was, he would submit to the right hon. Gentleman, a matter of opinion whether the charge made by the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs was justified on the grounds upon which he rested it or not. He submitted to the House that it was possible his hon. Friend might honestly have arrived at the conclusion that the charge was justified on those grounds. Of course the right hon. Gentleman and others thought it was not; but he submitted, in the interests of free discussion, that when an hon. Member stated to the House the grounds on which he formed his opinion—which appeared to

many of them to have some show of reason—"Oh, oh!"—he did not commit himself to the full extent of the words; but, at all events, if he stated the grounds which led him honestly to the opinion he expressed, it was perfectly intolerable that he should be taunted with "not daring"—words they seldom heard in that House, but which were the very ones that were used—to repeat his expressions. And when, after 24 hours' consideration, his hon. Friend, feeling personally hurt, feeling that his character as a man of honour had been assailed, made his explanation and offered the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of saying he was not attacking his honour, see how it was met! Then he had another graceful opportunity given him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and what did he do then? He added to his words, and said it was a criminal state of mind. He made use of a word which he (Mr. Whitbread) was on the point of asking the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair whether it was Parliamentary.

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY:** I said that the hon. Member imputed to my noble Friend a criminal state of mind.

**MR. WHITBREAD:** If I misunderstood the right hon. Gentleman, I extremely regret it. Was the word "disgraceful" attached to Lord Beaconsfield?

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY:** I said the charge which the hon. Member made was one which would show a criminal state of mind in my noble Friend, and one which was disgraceful.

**MR. WHITBREAD** said, he would only add that, during the time the Chancellor of the Exchequer seemed to him to be trying to afford the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of taking off some of the personal sting of the charge, the right hon. Gentleman sat there, and neither by word nor gesture did he show that he was disposed to do so. [*Cries of "Divide!"*]

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS** appealed to the House not to divide. The whole question had been discussed, and were it not for the mistake made by the hon. Gentleman who had last spoken as to what fell from his right hon. Friend, the subject would have been closed.

**MR. RYLANDS** said, the Home Secretary seemed to have overlooked the fact that the Secretary of State for War

in his last speech repeated the charge over again that his hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs (Mr. Trevelyan) had made a statement out of the House which he repeated in a similar form in the House, and that the statement was false and could not be proved.

**SIR WILFRID LAWSON:** Sir, no one below the Gangway, or anywhere else, wishes to delay the Business of this evening; but I do think this has been a very painful scene, and I regret it as much as anyone. I think it may be settled even yet. I do not think the Secretary for War really does wish to impute any improper conduct to the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs. The charge, as far as I understand it, was that the hon. Member would not repeat in this House what he said out-of-doors. Putting aside whether what he said was right or wrong—and it may have been a very imprudent speech—I do think that if the right hon. Gentleman would really say he does not impute anything dishonourable or dishonest or untruthful in the hon. Member's conduct, I think we should all be satisfied. Otherwise, if the charge is persisted in, there are some of us who, in vindication of my hon. Friend, will feel bound to vote for the Adjournment, which, by-the-bye, was moved from the other side.

**MR. BROMLEY - DAVENPORT:** Sir, in order, as has been suggested, to settle the matter, I would suggest that the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs should withdraw the statement of which the Secretary for War complained. [*Cries of "No!" and "Divide!"*]

**MR. MITCHELL HENRY:** I should like to know what we are going to divide about. The real issue is not whether the House should adjourn, but whether the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs is or is not a liar and a coward. That, in its naked simplicity, is the question on which we are asked to divide. I intend to give my vote in his favour; but it is not a decent issue to put before the House of Commons. I am an Irish Member, and you attribute to Irish Members many things they do not deserve. One thing shall never be attributed to me, and that is that I have not done my best to maintain the honour of Gentlemen and

of the House of Commons. I maintain that this is not a decent issue to put before the House, and I hope the question will not be put.

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: I must appeal to the House to allow me to say one or two words, although I have already spoken on the subject. You, Mr. Speaker, heard what I said last night. I was not called to Order, and I was not aware, therefore, that I had said anything that was un-Parliamentary. There is nothing which this House has any right to condemn in what I said, because I sedulously avoided saying anything coming within the category of un-Parliamentary language. If the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs says that in his speech in this House, he repeated what he meant to say at Selkirk, and that it was in the form of argument and not the assertion of fact, that is a totally different thing. If the hon. Member is prepared to state that what he said in this House was founded upon arguments which he had made in his own mind, and which he was entitled to believe, that is one thing. But if he states it as a fact, imputing such conduct to my noble Friend, I cannot retract the saying that I cannot characterize it except in too strong terms to be Parliamentary. But if the hon. Member only means to say that which he said in this House, and to which I listened without taking exception, then I am in a totally different position, and if he will so qualify those words he used at Selkirk, then I shall be perfectly happy to withdraw my expression.

MR. TREVELYAN: Sir, I have not mentioned hitherto the deep pain which it would give me, if such a breach, as must exist between me and the right hon. Gentleman if the words were not withdrawn, were to take place. The last appeal which he has made to me I will answer in this way, by saying that both at Selkirk and in this House my meaning was that the deduction I drew from the Prime Minister's utterance was that he was in favour of a warlike policy. It is unnecessary for me to say that my right hon. Friend is much better acquainted with the Prime Minister than I am, and I can quite understand his having the very strongest feelings as opposed to me. But that opinion with regard to the policy of the Prime Mini-

ster is precisely what I stated at Selkirk, and what I repeated in this House. If my right hon. Friend will withdraw the second of his imputations, as he has withdrawn the first, I shall never have felt more relief and satisfaction.

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: I am really ashamed to trespass upon the House so much, but I only wish to explain the position in which I stand. The hon. Member, as I understand him, now says that what he said in this House—which never assumed the language he used at Selkirk—was only an argument as to the opinions of my noble Friend. That being so, it is a totally different thing from stating as a fact that my noble Friend the Prime Minister had never concealed certain opinions, and if he never concealed them they must have been opinions which he openly expressed. But, on the contrary, my noble Friend's own opinions were exactly the other way, and therefore to say that my noble Friend had never concealed his desire for war was to say that he had stated that which was not true, and that he was in a state of mind that was most unbecoming to himself and prejudicial to the country. I understand my hon. Friend to say now that he was only deducing an argument from the speeches of my noble Friend. That deduction was that my noble Friend was in favour of war, and therefore I have only to say that I shall argue against it, but shall not condemn it by any epithet.

MR. TREVELYAN: It is unnecessary for me to say that after what my right hon. Friend has said I am fully satisfied.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

#### PERTH COUNTY ELECTION.

Notice taken that Lieutenant Colonel Henry Edward Stirling Home Drummond Moray, returned as Member for the County of Perth, in the room of Sir William Stirling Maxwell, baronet, deceased, was, by a clerical error, described in the Return as Henry Edward Stirling Home Drummond, instead of Henry Edward Stirling Home Drummond Moray; and the Earl of Yarmouth, Member for South Warwickshire, having stated, upon his own knowledge, that the names of the Member for the County of Perth were Henry Edward Stirling Home Drummond Moray:—

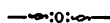
*Mr. Mitchell Henry*

*Ordered*, That the Clerk of the Crown do attend this House forthwith, with the last Return for the County of Perth, and amend the same, by inserting, after the word "Drummond," the word "Moray :"—

And the Clerk of the Crown attended, and amended the said Return accordingly.

Whereupon New Member *sworn*,—Lieutenant Colonel Henry Edward Home Drummond Moray, for Perth County.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.



### SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

#### THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

#### ADJOURNED DEBATE. [FOURTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [31st January], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (for Committee of Supply).

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, having been informed in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech that the conditions on which Her Majesty's neutrality is founded had not been infringed by either belligerent engaged in the war in the East of Europe, and having since received no information sufficient to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, sees no reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies,"—*(Mr. William Edward Forster,)*

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed*.

COLONEL STANLEY said, that, after the exciting scene which the House had just witnessed, he must feel as if he were acting in the character of an intruder, being the person by whom the attention of the House was to be called to the debate which was still going on. He could assure the House that it was with very serious feelings of diffidence that he ventured into a debate of that importance, to place his opinions before the House. He did not intend to address himself to the questions of policy, except so far as he was compelled to advert to

them in the course of his remarks. Those questions had already been dealt with by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen; but it seemed to him, in the first instance, that there were several points on which, unintentionally no doubt, some misrepresentations had been made, and as to which statements had been made in the House which were calculated to mislead, both as to the object and prospective use of the Vote. Now, whatever doubt he might have had otherwise, he would confess that he never felt so confident of the position in which the Government stood as he did on that occasion, and when he found after all that the most earnest hands and eloquent tongues in the House had been able to urge against the Vote, that the position of the Government was so little affected, and their arguments so little disturbed. He would briefly say that the arguments which right hon. Gentlemen opposite had used had divided themselves mainly into four heads. It had been said that the Vote was unprecedented; it had been called "unreal" and a "sham;" it had been said that it could not be expected; and, finally—and he thought with the least justification of all—it had been said that it was a menace to the peace of Europe. Perhaps he might be allowed, in the first instance, to endeavour, however inferior he felt to such antagonists, to correct some mistakes committed by the two right hon. Gentlemen who occupied the attention of the House during the greater portion of last night. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), who spoke last, and to whose words, as at all times, the House gave complete attention, unfortunately spoke at an hour of the night which was unfavourable to the giving of a full report of his observations in the ordinary sources of information; and therefore, if he (Colonel Stanley) misquoted the right hon. Gentleman's words, he trusted the right hon. Gentleman would not impute it to any intentional want of courtesy. First, with regard to this Vote being unprecedented, the right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his speech, took them back to historic—he had almost said to prehistoric—times. The right hon. Gentleman appealed to the course taken in 1718. He (Colonel Stanley) had not had time, even if he were of opinion that such researches were profitable, to

[*Fourth Night.*]

investigate all the authorities cited by the right hon. Gentleman; but he had looked at one or two of them, and was not drawn by that investigation to entirely the same conclusions as the right hon. Gentleman. As he understood the drift of the right hon. Gentleman's argument, it was that there was little or no precedent for these Votes of Credit, except when war was apprehended. With regard to the question of preparation for war, he (Colonel Stanley) would cite one instance. The right hon. Gentleman referred to language used by Mr. Pitt with reference to Spain in 1790; but he (Colonel Stanley) did not find in the report of Mr. Pitt's speech the same inference as that which the right hon. Gentleman sought to establish.

**MR. CHILDERS:** In that case a Vote of Credit was taken, and I expressly cited it as showing the distinction made between that Vote and the Vote in 1791, which was not a money Vote.

**COLONEL STANLEY** said, that what happened was this—Mr. Pitt, in moving for the Vote, said that—

“There were two views in the contemplation of the Government, the one being a hope, which he believed was not altogether irrational, that the matter in dispute between us and Spain might be accommodated without going to the extremity of war, and the other was that war might be unavoidable.”

Therefore, he might maintain that the Vote of Credit was laid before the House when the absolute necessity of a war was not fully before the country. He did not wish to follow the right hon. Gentleman into his historical recollections; but one thing did astonish him—that, in the researches of the right hon. Gentleman, there was an obvious gap or hiatus which one could not account for; and, just as by the erratic motions of certain heavenly bodies astronomers were led to look for the disturbing cause, so he could not understand why 1870 was passed over, and he was thus brought to inquire into the reason for the omission.

**MR. CHILDERS:** I spoke at an hour when the ordinary channels of information as to what takes place in Parliament are closed, and this may explain why the hon. and gallant Gentleman is not aware of what I said; but I explained that there were three clear distinctions between the Vote of 1870 and this Vote, and I stated what they were.

*Colonel Stanley*

**COLONEL STANLEY** said, he took a note of all the right hon. Gentleman's points, and followed him carefully through his speech, and, although there were one or two allusions to the Vote of 1870, he certainly did not find this explanation of different reasons. Still, of course, he accepted the right hon. Gentleman's disclaimer. He thought the right hon. Gentleman's references to the forms of the Vote were somewhat incomplete; because he omitted that of 1870, and one attached some importance to that, because that Vote was obtained by the Government of which he was a Member, and was especially noticeable by the contrast which he and other right hon. Gentlemen on the front Opposition bench had tried to draw between that Vote and this. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) said that it was unheard of to lay a charge on the people without proof that there was full justification for such a measure. He fully agreed with that, and that it rested on them to show that the Vote was required, and he thought the country would accept the proof that was at their disposal, and could be given. The right hon. Gentleman next said that they had no right to ask for money except in time of war; but, turning to the precedent of 1870, they found themselves driven on the horns of a dilemma. Surely the House, at the instigation of the Liberal Government, voted that money on that occasion under a total misapprehension, or else we were not aware at that time that we were in a state of peace. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had commented strongly on the conduct of the Government in asking for a Vote without explaining the purposes to which it was to be devoted. Yet that same right hon. Gentleman, when he asked for a Vote of Credit in 1870, acknowledged it was not possible for him to divulge the reasons which impelled him to the necessity of demanding that Vote; and, as a matter of fact, it was not explained till six days afterwards in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. The Government were challenged to show what the purposes of the present Vote might be, and especially to show how they proposed to provide for it, the right hon. Member for Greenwich being particularly severe in what he said as to the taxation which would be necessary

to meet the possible operation of that Vote of Credit. Were they, then, to understand, with the vast financial knowledge of that right hon. Gentleman and with the distinct explanation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the present Vote was essentially a Vote of Credit; and that, although it might be granted, it was possible that none of it, and probably scarcely any of it, would be spent—were they to understand that they ought towards the end of the financial year to have imposed additional taxation, a thing inconvenient in itself, likely to cause considerable disturbance in the operations of the public service, and also to provoke premature and informal discussions on the financial arrangements of the ensuing year. What would be the position of a Chancellor of the Exchequer who, having levied additional taxation in such circumstances in the last six weeks of the year, found, after all, that the money he had thus raised was not required? It had been asked why they could take so large a Vote as £6,000,000 when they had so short a time in which to expend it. Now, with regard to any of those Votes in Supply, there was formerly no obligation on the part of the Executive to surrender them, and they were, like all other Votes at an early date in our financial history, available for an unlimited period. Limitations were subsequently introduced, and Army and Navy grants were confined to the financial year. But Votes of Credit escaped from that rule up to a recent date. In regard to the Vote of Credit for the Ashantee War, the Auditor General reported that inconvenience would necessarily have ensued to the public account from the impossibility of adjusting finally or with complete accuracy the regular Estimates of the year, while the Vote of Credit was still partially open. And there was the further objection that advantage might be taken by an unscrupulous Department to swell a Vote in the Estimates by some portion of a Vote of Credit. He would not have alluded to that last consideration but for the fact that recently questions had been put from the other side of the House which went to the whole root of that matter, and which had the appearance of implying that the Government, having overstepped their regular Estimates, were going to supplement them out of the

proposed Vote of Credit. He entered his distinct protest against any such principle as that. We prided ourselves upon the greater degree of financial accuracy that was obtained year by year; and he believed that the opinion he held that supplemental expenses should in all cases be dealt with by means of Supplemental Estimates, had the approval even of the right hon. Gentleman. Her Majesty's Government had been called to account for having limited the operation of this Vote to the 31st of March. But did the House see the position in which Her Majesty's Government had placed themselves by putting that limit upon its operation? In taking that course they were doing what every Government should be glad to do with regard to financial matters—namely, increasing the control of the House of Commons. Therefore, if it were to be said that it was a mistake to put this limit upon the operation of the Vote, it should be clearly understood if that limit were extended that it was not the Government that asked for power to do so, but the House that conferred the power. The right hon. Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe) drew a most touching picture of the position in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would find himself when the clock struck 12 on the night of the 31st of March, with all his glories run away, and with his money bags collapsed. He, however, ventured to hope that should it be the duty of the Government to apply to the House for an extension of the operation of the Vote to the next financial year, they would meet with the response which the British House of Commons always gave to those Ministers who succeeded in justifying their demands. He relied with much confidence on that patriotism both of the House and of the country, which the right hon. Member for the University of London had gone out of his way to disclaim. He would now proceed to cite authorities in support of his statement. He might, perhaps, be excused by hon. Members for looking up to the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) as a great authority in financial matters. Well, the right hon. Gentleman in the debate on the Abyssinian Vote of Credit on the 26th of November, 1867, said—

"When there arises an occasion for a great deviation from the usual state of things, and when, under some decision at which the Government has arrived, it becomes necessary to apply a large portion of the Supplies voted for the ordinary peace establishments for a warlike purpose, it becomes then the duty of the Government to submit the matter to Parliament, and ask for Supplies for the purposes of war, quite irrespective of the question whether their legal power to draw upon the Exchequer does or does not exist."—[3 *Hansard*, cxc. 301-2.]

On the present occasion, Her Majesty's Government did consider that such an increase was necessary; and, acting upon what they believed to be a Constitutional principle, they had applied to the House of Commons for this Vote. Both the right hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) and the right hon. Member for Greenwich had argued in favour of waiting until the actual necessity arose before proposing such a Vote. They both said that if Her Majesty's Government had waited until an expedition was ready to start the House of Commons would have voted the money without scruple. But what would have been the position of the Government in that case? Owing to the Forms of that House and owing to the very natural interest which hon. Members took in financial discussions, it was most important to consider how our financial machinery would act when we came to act beyond this country. No Vote in Supply could be used unless Ways and Means were granted, not by a Vote of that House, but by Act of Parliament. The result was that had it been necessary to send out an expedition at the date when Notice of this Motion was given by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the earliest date at which a Ways and Means Bill could have received the Royal Assent, assuming that the Standing Orders of both Houses were not suspended, was Monday, the 11th of February. No doubt, in grave circumstances, Her Majesty's Government might take upon themselves the responsibility of action without waiting for such an Act to be passed, trusting that an act of indemnity would be passed or that some other Parliamentary relief would be afforded them; but it certainly was not the wish of Her Majesty's Government that in the present circumstances they should be forced to take upon themselves such a responsibility as that. It was objected, moreover, that the terms of this Vote of

Credit were vague and indefinite. On this point, however, he might cite an authority whom hon. Members opposite would doubtless recognize as having considerable weight. It was said by Mr. Sidney Herbert, on the occasion of the Vote of Credit for the China War, moved July 12, 1860—

"I will not weary the Committee by citing precedents, but I have carefully examined the precedents of the votes for the China wars—that is, the first and second expeditions—of the votes for the Caffre wars and the Crimean War, and in every case I find a lump sum presented to the House and voted as a Vote of Credit, without details. The reason is obvious. You cannot foresee in a particular war what the expenditure will be. . . . If I were to depart from the precedent of putting the Estimate in a lump sum, I should depart from it for the purpose of laying before the House an Estimate which would be illusory and one which would deceive the House as to the sums which they were voting. What is the use of laying items before the House? Obviously that the House may exercise its discretion and accept them or not—that they may put their finger on an item and say this is too much."—[3 *Hansard*, clix. 1816-6.]

The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had described the Vote as one of confidence, but he did not use the phrase in the conventional sense in which it was understood in that Assembly; he used it rather in the literal sense of the word. On this point, therefore, it was his duty to cite an authority. The right hon. Gentleman, from whom he had been quoting, said—

"I may really say that the very term 'Vote of Credit' shows what is intended. It is not an Estimate—not sums of money approved by the House of Commons—but a Vote given in confidence to the Government that they will spend it for purposes which are requisite to the best of their ability."—[*Ibid.* 1816.]

These were not the words of a man speaking without a full knowledge of the responsibilities of office, or of one whose words would not be listened to with respect and attention by hon. Members on the other side of the House. They were the words of one who was in the front of various wars, and who was as conversant with matters of the kind as any Member of that House—they were the words of Mr. Sidney Herbert. Last evening the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich complained that the asking for this Vote had not been preceded by a Royal Message. He did not think this was a matter of great im-

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portance; but, as a matter of fact, Her Majesty's Government had in this respect followed the precedent set by the right hon. Gentleman himself in 1870. The right hon. Gentleman, in his speech last evening, said he was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1854, and from the time war was declared control over the public expenditure did not diminish; it was extinct. Further, the right hon. Gentleman said the Government was asking for £6,000,000 with less than two months to expend it for the augmentation of the military and naval establishments of the country, no portion of it having as yet been expended. The right hon. Gentleman further said that the money could not possibly be spent in the time; there were no contrivances known in the regular order of business by means of which the money could be expended before the 31st of March. The right hon. Gentleman then proceeded to argue from the experience of the Crimean War. He hoped he should be acquitted of saying anything intended to give pain to the right hon. Gentleman or any hon. Members opposite when he reminded the House that, with the experience of the Crimean War before their eyes, the country had never since ventured to shrink from any necessary expenditure. The Vote now asked was for a purpose which had unhappily been rendered necessary—namely, that of placing our naval and military forces in a state of efficiency. Therefore he joined issue with the right hon. Gentleman and said that the Crimean War, so far from forming a precedent on the present occasion, was, if a precedent at all, one to be honoured rather in the breach than in the observance. Those hon. and gallant Members who had had personal experience of that unhappy war—and there were some of them in the House—well knew whether the provision made for the forces engaged in that war was or was not sufficient and efficient. If they answered that question in the negative, they, at any rate, would not object to such an expenditure as would be necessary, under somewhat similar circumstances, properly to equip and provision a force that might be sent to any part of the world. Then, again, he was amazed to hear the right hon. Gentleman, when speaking of our military and naval forces from a financial point of view, instituting a comparison between

the forces of this country and those of Austria and Italy. In England we had adhered to the old system, under which a contract with a soldier was a contract of service, and the soldier was paid just as any other servant would be; while in the countries he had named any number of men might be called into the service by a mere stroke of the pen, and when the necessity for their service ceased the authorities could dismiss them to their homes. He did not enter upon the question of whether the English system was or was not the best; but, at any rate, it existed, and carried with it an expense which was unknown in foreign countries. Therefore, the comparison could be of no practical value. Her Majesty's Government had been blamed for not asking for men as well as money. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had told the House that the money was not to be used unless it became necessary to use it; but it would be treating hon. Members as children to disguise from them the fact that the money was required for the purchase of stores, equipment, and other things that would be necessary in the event of a possible war. So far as men were concerned, they had not been asked for, because at the present time—thanks partly to the Party now in opposition and to a former Conservative Government—the country possessed a sufficient army of reserves, who could be brought to the colours at a very short notice. It would be an undue disturbance of labour, and would cause an unnecessary expense to the country, to call up those reserves at once; it was sufficient for their purpose to know that they existed and could be called out at any moment. Speaking on this question of asking for men, let them remember what occurred in 1870, when there was a possibility of our having to go to war with either Germany or France in defence of the neutrality of Belgium. At that time France had 336,000 men and Germany 519,000; but Her Majesty's Government only asked for £2,000,000 and 20,000 men. These men were not required, as it turned out, but they were raised, and consisted mainly of men bought back after having been discharged, and many of them had proved to be very bad bargains ever since. If it had been necessary to proceed in 1870, the whole 20,000 men and more must have been sent to the front,



and this would have involved calling up the Militia for the garrisons; which in itself would have involved the obtaining Parliamentary consent within 10 days. He thought he was justified in saying that the word "sham" was, at any rate, as applicable to the Vote of 1870 as it could possibly be to the one now asked for. That was a word which, however unpalatable, was not of his coinage, and he frankly made a present of it to hon. Gentlemen opposite. The country did not, and the Government did not, wish to be involved in war; what they did wish was that they should be able to act, and to act promptly, up to our engagements, and so as to assure other countries acting with us that we had the ability as well as the will to keep good faith. Now in the case of a small force everything depended upon preparation and readiness, and therefore he could not too much emphasize the necessity that they should be prepared and ready. He did not disguise from the House that he meant preparation for possible war. They did not, however, intend to spend the money for which they asked unless they were forced to do so. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and other right hon. Gentlemen had asked what the money was wanted for, and, as he had already said, the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) had pledged his great financial reputation to the impossibility of their being able to spend the money, if they were granted it, before the end of the financial year. He would show one or two grounds for stating that the estimate of the right hon. Gentleman was not well founded. This country had the great advantage—one which could not be overrated—of being defended by the sea, surrounded as it was by that "silver streak" which had become classical. But the fact placed them at a great disadvantage so far as the conduct of operations out of the country was concerned. They could not arrange, as other countries could, to send their forces by certain trains and lines, and subject to no disturbance from embarkation and disembarkation. Everything that was required, men and materials must be taken to ports and there embarked on transports, to be carried subject to the vicissitudes of wind and weather, and

afterwards disembarked and forwarded with that system of arrangement without which it would become practically useless. These were among the causes which made it necessary to be ready beforehand. They should remember that transport vessels were not to be had for nothing, and he had no doubt some hon. Gentlemen who heard him would echo the sentiment when he said that shipping would have to be paid for at considerable rates. Then, again, they could not transport horses long distances, but would have to purchase them elsewhere. But, it was said, even with these expenses, they could not make up the sum they asked for. Let them bear in mind that they were dealing with armaments compared with which the armaments of former days were as nothing; and further, as he had shown, that they must be subject to considerable difficulty from their system of recruiting. He would take a case quite removed from the range of dispute. Lord Cardwell, when he was Secretary for War, prepared an apparently moderate scheme of localization—a scheme the dimensions of which might grow; and it was his (Colonel Stanley's) duty when at the War Office to inquire as to the expense of carrying out that scheme—which was, he might say, the first step this country had taken to be prepared beforehand—a scheme which would work automatically, so to say, to fill up the blanks caused by war. He would ask the House to take the figures on his responsibility; but he found that the cost for six months of raising the force which Lord Cardwell contemplated in his scheme, together with first-class stores and other necessary matters for a longer period, would be no less than £12,500,000. That scheme was modest compared with the scale on which Continental Powers made their military arrangements. It was all very well to refer to the halcyon days to which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) alluded, when the expenditure for the Army and Navy was about half its present amount. It was no more use going back 20 years in such a matter than it would be to go back to the days when clothing consisted of a coat of blue paint and arms of a stone tomahawk. They must take what was actually before them, and be prepared and able to move quickly. It was for that reason he had ventured to show

that acting as they believed they were right in doing, and in a Constitutional manner, should the occasion arise delays would inevitably be interposed, which might not only detract from the success of our arms, but cause the loss of valuable lives, and gaps in family circles which could never be filled up. So far he had dealt with the strictly financial question; he would now say a few words in reference to the general subject, especially in reference to the point whether the Motion was or was not a menace. In doing so, he would venture to follow the example which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, with peculiar good taste, had set, and not go back too much upon the past. He would deal rather with that which was prospective and practically useful. Now, the despatch of his noble Relative of the 6th of May, indicating the policy of Her Majesty's Government, had been so frequently quoted that he need not refer to it in detail. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary repeated, emphasized, and adhered to that declaration in the debate which subsequently took place, and the House affirmed completely their belief in that policy. He did not wish to use hard words, but various attempts had been made—he did not say whether on this side or on that—by misrepresentation to drive the Government in one direction from the line of policy laid down. He might call as witness the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham himself—and his words would linger long in the memory of the House—who had borne testimony that the Government had been successful in preserving peace. Then they had the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary reminding them that neither belligerent had complained that the attitude of neutrality had been departed from, and therefore he had a right to maintain that it had not been broken. He wished to refer briefly to what the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dumfries (Mr. Ernest Noel), and, in perhaps a less marked manner, the right hon. Member for Birmingham, had said with regard to the wish, or the supposed wish, of the Conservative side of the House to use influence or force in keeping down the Christian race in the East. Now, he distinctly said, and he knew it was

the feeling of many Members on both sides, that however much they might respect the bravery of the Turk, they certainly had no sympathy with his rule. [*Cheers.*] He did not wish to use one word that would be misrepresented as going one atom beyond its legitimate meaning. He quite understood—at least he thought he did—some portion of that cheer, and he distinctly wished to say to those Gentlemen who wished to impute to the Conservative Party that they had sympathy with oppression or wrong, they had only to look at the consistent representations which, at the instance of his noble Relative, acting on behalf of the Government, had been made, to see that there was no foundation for the charge. If he wished to go back further and argue, he might point out that it was in 1867, when his noble Relative was at the Foreign Office, that assurances of further concessions were made to Servia—concessions which established more completely her position—if he might use the term—of tributary independence. How those efforts had been rewarded was a matter of history, but he did not wish to go into considerations which might, after all, involve only side issues. They had to bear in mind not only that which they wished to see, but they must look to the circumstances of the case, and see how their wishes might be ultimately accomplished. They often found aspirations unfulfilled and hopes disappointed. He recollected on one occasion the right hon. Member for Greenwich making a most eloquent speech upon the Roumanian question, and he laid no slight stress on Roumania as a State which would be an effective barrier against encroachment. He only referred to that, and to what had occurred since, as showing that hopes might be disappointed. In the speech made by the right hon. Gentleman on the previous day in that most eloquent passage, in which he spoke of the blessings of liberty, the right hon. Gentleman seemed to forget a point which was not immaterial. He dealt with his idea of liberty as if it were something that could be imposed upon a nation from the outside. In our Northern States, at least, he knew this had not been so. Liberty might be a plant of slow growth, but it was a plant which, to be hardy and vigorous, must spring spontaneously from the soil; but if they placed this exotic in an uncon-

genial soil, and under circumstances not suited to it, they might peril its very existence—it would wither, perish, and decay. He did not understand it to be the wish of that House that one denomination or that one ruling power should be replaced by another. They did not wish to supplant the harsh dominion of the Turk by the possibly equally harsh dominion of the Slav. They wished to consider how the interests of these various races and nationalities might be best met; and how, having regard both to their own interests and the interests that surrounded them, they could best give them that liberty which this country valued as so priceless a treasure. It was not desirable in the interest of Europe, that any State, whether tributary or autonomous, should be placed in such a position as to render it likely to be on its own account or on that of others the disturber of the peace of Europe. The Government wished that the settlement should be well grounded and sincere; they wished to guard beforehand as wise men should guard against the possibility of the fomentation of discontent, either by those within or by those without the country, which might lead to any danger of the disturbance of peace. With those objects in view, as his noble Friend Lord Beaconsfield had said, it was well that the Vote of England should not be counted but weighed; and although they were as unwilling as anyone could be to throw the weight of the sword into the scale, they did not think they would act justifiably by themselves, the country, or the world, if they entered into the Councils of Europe inadequately prepared. They had been taunted with their isolation; but he did not believe the time had yet come when this country, if it saw the path of duty before it, would be deterred from pursuing that path by taunts of isolation. He denied that there were sufficient grounds for those taunts; but if hon. Gentlemen opposite endeavoured to describe the position of this country from their own internal consciousness, he thought the picture they drew was one which Gentlemen on that (the Ministerial) side of the House might decline to recognize. The hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had drawn a sad picture of the commercial depression unfortunately existing in this and in other countries—of coal mines scarcely working, and of iron

works which were still, and the various commercial centres lapsing into a state of depression which had scarcely ever been felt before; but for that very reason it was desirable that the peace should be a lasting one. He had heard—and the occasion on which he heard the saying had graven it into his heart—that “if work was worth doing at all it was worth doing well.” The Government did not wish either to be isolated or to unnecessarily hold themselves committed to the action of other Powers; but they could not shut their eyes to their own interests, and they must watch that as other nations were watching their interests. The American Emerson, speaking about an Englishman as being one who did not care to fight for an idea or for glory, said—“But touch an Englishman’s house or his cow, and he will fight to the day of judgment.” He did not wish by this to be interpreted as holding language of a warlike character. The policy of the Government was affirmed last year; the question was tried then, and it was not now raised, although the Government were open to any challenge; they had nothing to be ashamed of, and nothing to disavow. Although the policy was not challenged, hon. Gentlemen, however much they might endeavour to gloss it over, were practically trying to hamper the action of the Executive, and to that extent they were interfering with the power of the responsible Government for carrying out the policy which the House had affirmed. If he were sitting on the opposite side of the House, he should feel that he was in a position of having to face the alternative of defeat or surrender, and therefore he could easily understand how the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) had come forward under the circumstances to suggest what the one had called a proposal, and the other had described as an armistice. But, as in some other cases to which he need not refer, if they had no better bases of peace upon which to establish an armistice, however well the proposition might sound at first, the Government was bound to tell them that the terms were so uncertain, and had been so variously defined, that they must be excused if they declined to entertain them. It might be a hard case for hon. Gentlemen opposite, but they must excuse the Government for

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not consenting to save their susceptibilities at the expense of abstaining from the performance of their duty, and challenging the vote of the House. The responsibility for division in the House did not rest with them. When he heard of those searchings of heart and the running to and fro on the face of the earth which were said to have disturbed the rest of the blessed Sabbath, he could not help imagining that the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) must have bitterly thought of the lines—

“Parties are much like fish, ’tis said;  
The tail directs them, not the head.”

If he had spoken more strongly or less advisedly than he should have done, he asked the indulgence of the House. To recapitulate, their policy had been defined, their neutrality had been complete, their attitude had been firm, and; he thought he might venture to say, that he had proved their course had not been unprecedented. They could not accept the terms offered by the other side, because they had a duty to fulfil. It might be easy here and there to find discrepancies in dates, to say that this or that question, communication, or despatch had not been fully answered, or not answered without delay, or, perhaps, without proper consideration; but these were small matters, which were capable of explanation. On the main points they were quite clear, and they were not to be led away by any side issues. They knew, or rather they believed and thought that they knew, that there was outside this House a strong common sense in the country by which all such small matters were swept away. People outside looked to actions and not to words, except so far as words supported those actions; and, therefore, the Government might feel perfectly safe as to the decision of the country in regard to the question of neutrality. He would not refer, as he might with just pride, to the demonstrations at Manchester, Sheffield, Wakefield, and other places in support of the Government, except to say that the country had looked to the policy of the Government, had approved it, and, he believed, would support it. They were taking a course adverse to the right hon. Gentleman opposite in discharge of what they believed to be their duty. The country

recognized, as the right hon. Member for Birmingham did, that they were striving after peace, and that only a strong necessity could oblige them to depart from an attitude of observation. If they did so it would be only in discharge of obligations which could not be neglected. They had endeavoured so far to do their duty, and the country had recognized the fact. To that duty they adhered, and by the country they were content to be judged.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he was not astonished at the considerable difference of opinion between the hon. and gallant Member and the right hon. Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers) on the subject of precedents; it was due to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman had been inaccurately reported, and had been made to say exactly the opposite of what he had said. He was the better able to confirm that from the fact of his having listened attentively to his right hon. Friend's speech, and from his having recently, for literary purposes, referred to the precedents of 1718, 1791, and 1792, by which his right hon. Friend had shown that no Vote of Credit had ever been asked for except on clear proof of necessity owing to impending hostilities. In the case of the Nootka Sound dispute there was an apprehension of immediate hostilities. He did not, however, think that the precedents about financial details were the most important points at issue at present. There were wider and broader issues, both of which had been alluded to with such taste and vigour by his hon. and gallant Friend towards the conclusion of his remarks. There was a remarkable contrast between the speech they had just heard and those of the hon. Baronet the Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) last evening, when the denunciations of the hon. Baronet would have gratified the schoolmistress in Dickens's novel who was so anxious to have heard Cicero's onslaught on Cataline. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire talked of the Vote about to be given as the Vote of a united Parliament; but the House of Commons taken by itself was not the Parliament, and the impression itself was merely one of those magnificent and high-sounding phrases in which the hon. Member indulged when

[Fourth Night.]

denouncing the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone). He was reminded by the hon. Member for Christchurch of certain streams of which it was said when people drank they were at once affected in various extraordinary and disagreeable ways, pouring forth incoherent language and purchasing the cheap reputation of being prophets. There was in the district represented by that hon. Member the celebrated Boscombe Spa, which chemical analysis showed to contain a great deal of gas, and no doubt the hon. Member had been imbibing pretty freely of its waters before he came down to that House and gave off the sulphuretted hydrogen which he had been previously absorbing. The hon. Member had uttered one remarkable sentence in the course of his speech, and that was when he said that if other hon. Members had had his experience and knowledge of the orthodox Greek Church they would not go on in the way they were doing. Now, it would interest the House to know a little more on that subject, and perhaps, on some future occasion, he would give the House some further information as to the period of his life when he was a member of the Greek Church. The hon. Member told them a long story about a despatch of Lord Aberdeen to Lord Heytesbury in favour of making an alliance in order to preserve the independence and integrity of Turkey; but what was the use of going back on those topics? No doubt there were great statesmen who once thought that the integrity of that Empire should be maintained; but, on the other hand, there were equally great statesmen—such as Lord Goderich and Lord Holland—who said even many years ago that it was useless to conceal from themselves the fact that the day was rapidly approaching when the Ottoman Empire must fall to the ground. He believed the frequent allusions by hon. Gentlemen opposite to the speeches of statesmen who at various times had proclaimed themselves in favour of the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire as indicating the spirit in which we ought now to act had encouraged Turkey in this most unfortunate struggle. The hon. Member for Christchurch turned round and charged the Opposition with having encouraged the Russians in their aggressions. He did not think that a

fair accusation. They were not defenders of the Russians. They only asked that justice should be done to them. Whatever crimes they might have committed, and they were many, they had been the means of carrying out what they believed to be a noble work in defence of the rights of the Christian subjects of the Porte. So far did they defend them and no further. But his more immediate object in rising was not to touch upon these points, but to offer some observations upon a side of the question which had hardly yet been sufficiently noticed in the course of the debate. The right hon. Member for Greenwich had made a proposition with the view of rendering it possible that the debate should not end in a fierce Party division; but, owing to the character of the reply of the Secretary for War, that portion of his observations had been lost sight of; they had now gone back to the old lines of debate, and were discussing the conduct of Russia and Turkey. The appeal of the right hon. Member for Greenwich was dignified and almost touching—that they should consider whether some means might not yet be found by which the House of Commons should not offer to the people of England and the nations of Europe the spectacle of indecent quarrels and dissensions at a crisis of public affairs. It was a melancholy thing that at a grave moment like the present the House, instead of being unanimous, was engaged in dissensions and recriminations. He frankly confessed that when the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) first placed his Amendment on the Paper, he was not an enthusiastic admirer of its terms. It seemed to him open to this condemnation—that in all probability before they arrived at a division the Amendment, to a certain extent, would have become superannuated. One of two things was almost certain to happen before the division was reached—either Russia would enter Constantinople by force, or the preliminaries of peace would be signed. One of these had happened; the preliminaries of peace had been signed, and the House was now discussing matters which were not in existence when the Amendment was proposed. The objections to the proposal of the Government had been classed under three heads. There was the objection to the Vote as a war Vote; there was

the objection to the Vote on the score of economy; and there was the objection on what might be called the confidence issue raised by the Government. The dangers of immediate war could not any longer be stated with any great force in that House. Peace had been signed, a Conference was about to be held. No doubt a war might arise out of the Conference; but still there were just and reasonable hopes that war would not arise. He thought most of the arguments on the score of economy were well founded. At a moment of this kind, however, whatever the precedents might be, there would be a very great tendency to meet the Government in a fair, just, and even generous spirit. The question of economy would not, therefore, be likely to be very seriously discussed. The Government, he thought, in bringing forward the Vote, had, however, seized upon an unfortunate moment to use the word "confidence;" and his noble Friend below him at once naturally attached to its use the meaning which it usually bore in discussions in that House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had afterwards explained that he did not use the term confidence in the sense in which it was ordinarily accepted by the House, but in the sense of a Vote of Confidence to an English Government in the eyes of Europe. In that appeal the right hon. Gentleman was abundantly justified; and he believed there was a desire on the part of the Opposition to meet the Government, as far as they could, halfway. But the Government, in speaking of confidence in relation to their position in the face of Europe, forced those who sat on the Opposition benches to consider their past conduct in the face of England on the Eastern Question. He and those who held similar opinions would, he contended, be justified in going even farther back than the last three or four months and raking up the various mistakes which they had committed during the whole progress of the negotiations with respect to the Eastern Question. All those issues were forced upon them when the Government asked them to pass a Vote of Confidence in its policy. The question, therefore, arose whether, not being anxious for a mere Party triumph, and being animated precisely by the same wishes for the welfare of the country which inspired hon. Gentlemen opposite, they could not, while

not in the least afraid to place on record their own convictions, be they supported by never so small a minority, find a *via media*, by means of which, setting the interests of the country above faction and Party, they would give the Government a strength infinitely greater than they would receive from carrying the present Vote. He had been reading on Saturday a great number of foreign newspapers, and he found that, although they differed widely in political principle, they were all unanimous in looking upon the attitude of the English House of Commons and the English people fighting among themselves at a moment so solemn as not only extraordinary, but undignified. When foreigners, who in this matter were not perhaps such bad judges, pointed out to us that our attitude was not that of the English people in past times, their opinion was surely entitled to some consideration, and was enough to make the Government pause before they caused a large minority of the House to pass under the Caudine forks to secure a Party triumph. It was not, he might add, only in Europe that the present was a solemn moment. There was a war going on in Africa which would, he dared say, consume the entire £6,000,000 asked for, while on our North-western Frontier in India clouds were fast gathering. Indian finance, too, was in such a condition that a Select Committee of that House had once more to be appointed to inquire into it. There was a grave political crisis in one of our Australian Colonies. At home there was commercial distress and the complaints of the working classes. Knowing all that, and the great anxiety which gathered round the approaching Congress, was the present, he would ask, a fitting time for domestic quarrels? Certainly not, and he believed there were many hon. Members on both sides of the House who would be glad to find the *via media* of which he spoke. If hon. Gentlemen opposite did not like to accept the proposal of his right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich because of the agitation in which he had been engaged, then might not some other statesman be found who would come forward with an analogous proposition? As to his right hon. Friend, his own position in that House did not entitle him to offer a word of comment on the course which he had thought

it his duty to pursue. The taunts to which he had been subjected would, he felt sure, pass by him as the idle wind, and what he had done he felt satisfied had been done from the highest and purest motives. The same might, he believed, be said of another statesman whose name had also been dragged in the mud. He meant Lord Beaconsfield. This was not the moment for fierce partizans to attack the greatest names in the country. For, however amusing it might be for spectators to see Englishmen tearing one another to pieces in that House and elsewhere, the sight was not a pleasant one to true patriots. These mutual recriminations were miserable things, and it should be our object, not to follow the example of the Greeks of Byzantium, who, when the armies of the Turk were streaming over the walls, were themselves found engaged in theological wrangles; but rather to imitate the example of our ancestors, who, when the Spanish Fleets and Armies were approaching our shores, although they were divided by personal hate and religious discord, sunk their differences and brought a common allegiance to the foot of a patriot Queen. The differences between the two Parties were not now so great as those which then divided men into two hostile camps; and, such being the case, he thought it would be well for them to drop all recriminations, forgetting their quarrels, and, as his right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich had suggested, join in presenting an Address to Her Majesty, assuring her that at the present critical juncture she had a united Parliament and a united people.

Mr. GOLDNEY acknowledged the kind and conciliatory spirit of the observations of his noble Friend the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), and he thanked him for them. He admitted that a great change had taken place since this Vote was asked for, and he hoped the Opposition would yet allow the Government to take the money without dividing the House. In his opinion the Vote was not unprecedented, as had been alleged, and in support of that view he would refer to some observations of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone), in introducing the Budget of 1854, on the eve of the Crimean War. The right hon. Gentleman then asked for a Special

Vote, on the ground, as he then expressed it, that it was desirable to vote a sum of money as a Vote of Confidence in the Government, in order that foreign countries should see from the readiness with which the House of Commons granted the Vote that there was a promptitude and an earnestness on the part of the nation. That application was not described as flunkeyism, vulgarity, or a desire to show ourselves to foreign nations; but it was asked for, and given, as an expression of the confidence of the nation in the Government. It seemed to him that Ministers were now acting on the same principle as that which under similar circumstances commended itself to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. With regard to the entry of the British Fleet into the Dardanelles, he said he did not think there need be any apprehension that when this country took part in the approaching Conference it would be thrown in our teeth that England had infringed the Treaty of 1856. In this debate it had been assumed that the Christians in Turkey were most cruelly oppressed; but, however much men's feelings might be excited, he thought it only fair to say that he disbelieved much of what had been asserted on this subject. The late Sir Robert Peel remarked that if Russia had gone forward with the idea of protecting the Christian populations, interference on her part had invariably resulted in annexation of territory. At the time of the Treaty of Paris it was stipulated that Russia should give up the protectorate of the Christians in Turkey, and all the Great Powers expressed their accord with the sentiments which were then uttered. During the vacation he had had an opportunity of visiting Constantinople and making himself acquainted with the sentiments of a very large portion of the Christians, Jews, and others who were not Mussulmans. He also had opportunities of meeting Christians who resided in the interior. There were, he found, complaints from the extremities of the country, but few or none from other parts. He was exceedingly vexed to find that, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), read out to the House the bases of peace, he did not allude to the absence of all provision for giving protection while those bases

of peace were being carried into effect to the distressed women and children of the Mussulman population. Those women and children were crowding into the Turkish capital; and one would have thought that they would not have been overlooked by the protectors of civil and religious liberty. What was the position in which we stood with reference to the proposed Vote? The Government had said there must be a very trying time if we were going to regulate the conditions on which the remaining portions of Turkey should be governed. We had to provide, in the first place, against a state of anarchy arising in Constantinople and its immediate surroundings. Although the bases of peace recognized some provision as to the suzerainship of the Sultan, yet he would have to rely more and more upon the Great Powers to maintain him in his position. In the circumstances, therefore, would it not be wrong if the Government did not ask for some support and aid previous to taking measures of that kind? He maintained that the present case was identical with what occurred in 1854. There might exist State reasons which rendered it undesirable for the Government to announce the purposes for which they wanted this money. At a crisis like this, when the eyes of Europe were upon us, we ought to sink those minor differences which divided us. It was not so much a question of money as being able to uphold the real interests of the country. Our trade in the Black Sea alone amounted to about £4,000,000 annually, and that was surely a question for consideration. The great complaint which was made by Turkey was that the constant interference of other nations in her concerns never allowed her to govern as she desired; and she claimed to have greater freedom of religion, greater freedom of education, and greater freedom for the acquisition of land than existed in any other country in Europe. He had found places in which the Turks had parted with their properties to Christians, not, perhaps, to the extent of a vilayet, but of what would be considered a large tract in this country, and where they had allowed even their mosques to pass into the hands of the Christians. The great difficulty of Turkey was that she had parted with her power to Consuls under what were called "concessions."

Under the Consular Courts foreigners at Constantinople claimed almost total exemption from all taxation. The European Powers had so bound down Turkey, that they did not allow her to have even her own Post Office. The Great Powers had so impeded her that she had been paralyzed, and from the paralysis of the centre it had been rendered almost impossible for the Government of the Porte to extend their operations to the extremity of the Empire. He hoped we should enable our Government to enter upon this Conference in such a manner that we might be not only able to protect our own interests, but to procure for Turkey such a settlement as might last for many years. The Government were determined to do the best they could, and confidence should be awarded to them.

MR NORWOOD said, it was not his intention to go over the ground traversed by previous speakers, or to dwell in detail on the various incidents which had marked the progress of the Eastern Question. The retrospect would be in many respects painful and unsatisfactory, and he should therefore draw attention not to the past but to the actual position of affairs at the present moment. It was not any part of his duty to apologize for or to eulogize the conduct of the Government. He could not give an unqualified support to their conduct within the past few months. In some respects it had been irresolute when it should have been determined, weak when it should have been strong, and occasionally rash when it ought to have been calm and dignified. He thought the utterances of the Prime Minister within the past 12 months had not been judicious or calculated to place us on the most friendly footing with other countries of Europe. But having said this much, he must be just, and he would at once say that he entirely approved of that policy of conditional neutrality which they enunciated in May last, and which, in his opinion, they had faithfully carried out, thereby keeping this country free from any participation in the war. They had had unusual difficulties to contend with. They had to maintain the interests and the dignity of this country in the face of what he believed to have been a preconcerted action between the three Great Empires of the North, and that at a time when we were deprived



of the aid of our natural Allies in the Eastern Question—the French, who were only recovering from the effects of a great disaster, and whose attention was naturally concentrated on their own home and domestic affairs. He had not deemed it his duty to take any part in the agitation which had been going on, and which, he confessed, he thought had been too much resorted to of late, and which had added to the difficulties of the Government abroad by giving them difficulties at home. Those difficulties had been increased by the action of injudicious friends and by the violent partizans of Turkey; while, on the other hand, they had met with unflinching opposition on the part of able opponents. In his opinion, any attempt to prejudice the Government in the eyes of the country at a juncture like the present ought not to be encouraged. There appeared to him to be a great popular error throughout the country with regard to the intentions of the Government, and he attributed that error to the efforts made by certain associations to direct public opinion in a particular direction. He found, for example, that the resolutions adopted at the various meetings to which he referred even within the last week called on the Government to maintain its neutrality and not go to war for Turkey. The question of neutrality was a thing of the past. Turkey was lying at the feet of Russia. It had been maintained, and the natural consequence was that considerable blame therefore attached to those who kept people in the impression that there was danger of their being dragged into war to restore the *status quo*. It was scarcely fair to constantly taunt Her Majesty's Government with this in the face of repeated statements to the contrary, made not by one, but by every Member of the Government who had expressed himself upon the subject. These repeated denials ought to be sufficient to satisfy the country that the accusations levelled against the Government were destitute of foundation in fact. The duty of the Government in connection with the proposed Conference would be a very important and a very difficult one. The neutrality of the Danube was a question in which England had the greatest possible interest, for not only did this country derive from that quarter a large proportion of our foreign supply of

grain, but our tonnage was very largely employed in the conveyance of that valuable freight. The question of the limits to be assigned to the new Principality of Bulgaria was of the highest interest and of the greatest difficulty, and he could imagine no question of more importance to this country than the passage of the Dardanelles. If we were to permit Russia or any other Power to have exclusive rights to the passage of war vessels through those Straits, that state of things would be fraught with peril to important branches of our trade; and Her Majesty's Government would be justified in taking almost any step to prevent the exercise of such exclusive rights. If a judicious arrangement could be made for enabling war vessels of all the Powers to pass through the Dardanelles, he saw no objection to it; but it would be necessary to establish a new coaling station and additional cruisers to protect our commerce, and that would swell the Navy Estimates by £200,000 or £300,000 a year. These important interests were of greater moment than the Suez Canal. When the question of the purchase of that Canal was brought forward, he expressed the opinion that its value to this country had been exaggerated. It was possible with a few hundred weights of dynamite to make the Canal impassable for ships, and that it would take weeks before the mischief could be repaired. Our commerce and reinforcements for the East would in time of war be sent round the Cape, and no Power or combination of Powers could ever prevent us from taking that route. The difference in time between that and the Canal passage was not so serious as many hon. Gentlemen imagined; for ships were delayed in going through the Canal, on entering it, upon the way through, and when they reached the other side. Vessels navigating the Canal must have a comparatively small draft of water, which necessarily limited the size and consequent speed combined with carrying power. The development of scientific improvements in machinery of ocean-going steamers might yet produce vessels which could make the voyage round the Cape to Calcutta and China in less time than ships now took in passing by way of the Suez Canal. With regard to the Vote, he could not approve the manner in which it had been brought

forward. He did not think the time had been well selected. He could easily have understood the Government saying last Autumn—"We shall not meet for some months. Circumstances are of such a character that some great change may suddenly occur;" or even if the Vote had been asked at the commencement of the Session it would not have been so objectionable in some respects as it appeared at present. But whether it was judicious or not, there the Vote was, and the House had to deal with it. With reference to the Amendment, it was very cleverly drawn, but he could not disguise from himself it amounted to a complete denial of the Vote. He would like to ask the right hon Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) what good purpose he expected to derive from his proposal. If the right hon. Gentleman could show him that there was a probability of his Amendment being carried, and that the reins of Government at this crisis would be transferred from the hands of the Earl of Beaconsfield into those of Earl Granville, his Party instincts might at once have led him to follow the right hon. Gentleman into the Lobby, and place Gentlemen opposite in a minority. But what were the facts? No doubt there would be a considerable majority in favour of the Government when the division on this Vote took place. What, then, was the outcome of the Amendment, but to disparage and discredit Her Majesty's Government in the face of Europe at a period when they were about to enter upon a most arduous task. More than once he had followed his Leaders when he had not altogether agreed with them, and he believed that was the experience of many hon. Gentlemen; but this was an occasion upon which he could not pass on the responsibility which rested upon him, and also, he believed, upon every individual Member of the House, even to a political Leader whom he so highly respected—as he did the noble Marquess the Member for the Radnor Boroughs (the Marquess of Hartington). This was a question they must answer for themselves; and for himself, though not agreeing with much that the Government had done, though he thought the Vote was injudicious, he could not, he dared not, support the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. When

he made that declaration, he would not have it supposed that his constituency or himself had the slightest wish for war. Perhaps no constituency more urgently desired peace, and especially peace with Russia; for their trade and other connections were most intimate with that country, so much so that they would be disposed to submit to almost any sacrifice in order to ensure a continuation of friendly relations with Russia. What they wanted was peace that would be solid and lasting, and would provide the necessary protection to the Christian populations of Turkey; but, above all, a peace which would be in accordance with the general interests of Europe, of commerce, and of Great Britain. In the ordinary course of events the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition would be at the head not only of his Party, but the Government of this country; and he would ask the noble Marquess whether he would endorse the course of proceeding adopted by right hon. and hon. Gentlemen on that side, which would present an awkward precedent, and be a painful embarrassment to him at some future time; for he too, might then have Colleagues crochety and difficult to manage; he, too, might have a hostile Opposition to contend against; and he, too, might have to come down to the House and ask for its confidence and support under trying circumstances. It was to be hoped that at the last moment the noble Marquess would abstain from committing himself so far as going to a division in support of the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Bradford. The time had arrived when independent Members should have an opportunity of giving their individual opinions. Too often on these occasions they witnessed a mere duel between right hon. Gentlemen on one front bench and right hon. Gentlemen on the other front bench. There were interests much larger than those represented by the occupants of the front bench; and he, for one, felt it to be his duty to stand in his place and express his regret that his Party had determined to go to a division upon this Vote. In his opinion, the proper course would be to exercise to the full their Constitutional duty of criticism and interrogation with a view of obtaining before the face of the country an elucidation of the intentions of the Government;

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and seeing that the Government must carry the Vote by a large majority, they should then hold them responsible for the manner in which they had spent the money to the last farthing.

Mr. BIRLEY said, he was pleased to gather from the tone of the speeches they had heard that evening that the two sides of the House were approaching nearer and nearer to that unity of sentiment which he could not doubt the Leaders on both sides desired should be arrived at. No voice had been raised in that House in favour of war. They were all sincerely desirous of peace, and at last hon. Members opposite were beginning to believe in the declarations of Her Majesty's Ministers on that subject. On one point he was glad to think they were all agreed. They heard nothing now of the "gospel of selfishness;" but were all desirous that British interests should be protected. The hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood) had spoken of the difficulties which Her Majesty's Government had had to encounter, and of the labour they had endured, and had also opened up the question as to the interests of British commerce; and it was an important one. He (Mr. Birley) was well aware that the mercantile and manufacturing interests of the country were largely bound up with the Levant and with the States in the East. They all knew that not only was Russia a highly "protective" Power, but that she enforced the doctrines of protection upon all the States over which she had any influence. Another point on which they were agreed was their distrust—he would not say their jealousy—of Russian policy. On that subject there was, he believed, little difference of sentiment in the House or in the country. He hoped they were also approaching an understanding in reference to the Vote before the House. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) admitted that resolutions had been passed at many public meetings in favour of the policy of Her Majesty's Government; but he said he had not heard of one in favour of the Vote of Credit. Well, a meeting had been held at the Pomona Gardens, at Manchester, attended, as he had reason to assert—for the numbers had been carefully computed—by over 29,000 persons, at which a resolution had been carried unanimously in favour of the proposed Vote

of Credit. An opposing meeting had also been held in Manchester; but it was attended by a very limited number of persons. For more than one reason he hoped the Vote would be granted. It was in accordance with the precedents of 1718 and 1791, and it must be clear that it was necessary to take precautions before the Conference. With respect to the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, that the Amendment and Motion should be withdrawn, and an Address of both Houses to the Crown carried expressive of confidence in the Government, he feared that such a proposition would not be agreed to, notwithstanding their growing approach to a united sentiment. The junior Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) expressed the mind of other hon. Members when he said last night he would hesitate to follow the right hon. Gentleman into the Lobby on such a Motion. He hoped, therefore, the Government would persevere with their proposal, and he had no doubt the House would sanction it.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that the hon. Member who had just sat down had quoted a phrase which he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had used in the previous year. He assured the hon. Member that he never would have applied the phrase "gospel of selfishness," which had also been quoted by the hon. and gallant Member who had spoken from the Conservative front bench, to such speeches as they had heard that night. The speech, for instance, of the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Stanley) had contained a most eloquent passage with regard to the claims of the subject-population, and he was happy to be able to state that that passage had been cheered by the Home Secretary. He thought that there was a growing agreement as regarded the present and the future between the two sides of the House, and it was for that reason that he regretted that the present unhappy Vote had been proposed. If it had not been for the Vote, England would have gone into the Conference, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said, not, indeed, with an united Cabinet, but with an united nation. When he referred for one moment to the "united Cabinet," he must be allowed to point out, in respect to a phrase of which they had heard a great deal—namely, "condi-

*Mr. Norwood*

tional neutrality"—that Lord Derby's was the real conditional neutrality. Lord Derby was in favour of this Vote, provided that no use was ever to be made of it at any time. He did not agree in the attacks which had been made upon those Members of the Government who had seats in the House of Commons, in which it was alleged that they were indifferent to the sufferings of the subject-populations; and he believed that the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary held strongly the conviction—as strongly as any who sat upon the Opposition side of the House—that the condition of those peoples called for remedy and redress. When, however, he made this statement, he could not but go on to add that he had been sorry to note the words which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his opening statement, had used with regard to Greece. He would read the most amazing passages to the House. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said—

"Whenever we are authorized to produce the Papers relating to Turkey and Greece . . . it will be found that all we have done has been to endeavour, as far as possible, to reconcile the comparatively slight differences which have from time to time arisen between those Powers. . . . We have never put pressure upon Greece to induce her to change her policy; we have endeavoured, only, to play a friendly part by smoothing down the slight differences that have from time to time arisen between Greece and Turkey."

That was a most marvellous, extraordinary, and amazing statement. "Slight differences!" Why, the noble Lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs had distinctly admitted in "another place" that the statements of the Greeks with regard to the atrocities which had been committed upon their people in Thessaly and Epirus were quite true. Did the Chancellor of the Exchequer know, or did he not know, that massacres had been taking place ever since September last; that not only irregular troops, but even convicts, had been let loose in thousands on those unfortunate Provinces in October last; that a Greek Consulate had been sacked; that shameful outrages had been perpetrated on women? The right hon. Gentleman declared that the Government had not put any pressure upon Greece; but had not Her Majesty's Government forwarded to Greece, without remonstrance or remark, a despatch in

which the Porte threatened the bombardment of Athens in case Greece should decline to disown or to change her temperate policy. Such a Government as that of England—England, the creator and historic friend of Greece—England the great Naval Power—could not silently forward that despatch without by this very act putting great pressure upon Greece. Let them compare with this action thus taken towards Greece the manner in which Government had acted with regard to Egypt. They had allowed the Khedive, without remonstrance, to supply men and money to the Turks. Not only was there no remonstrance, but our Government had even forced Russia to declare that she would leave Egypt outside the scope of her military operations. Egypt was to send men and money to Turkey, and yet to remain outside the war; but Greece, if she only indirectly aided Russia, was to have her capital bombarded. The right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach)—he did not know whether to call him Colonial Secretary or Chief Secretary for Ireland, for he had answered Questions that evening in both capacities—had said that the real question before the House was, "Have you confidence in us or have you not." Now confidence as regarded the future must be based, to some extent, upon confidence as regarded the past. As regarded the future, however, he sincerely wished that we might have gone to the Conference united, instead of making our appearance there after a division in the House of Commons, in which three-fifths of the House would have voted one way, and nearly two-fifths would have voted the other, thus leaving it to be supposed abroad that we were divided, not only on the question of this wretched Vote, but also as to the principles that should guide us in the present crisis. Let him declare that in spite of the division which would be taken, there was no division upon the most important point, for hon. Members on his side of the House did not yield to those who might sit opposite in respect for British interests, or in regard for the honour and dignity of England. For his part, he differed from his hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs (Mr. Trevelyan), and fully believed also in the ability of England to maintain her position before the world; and he

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felt sorry with regard to that demand for credit, lest it should be thought that England needed to borrow £6,000,000 for six weeks in order to keep her place in Europe. There was, however, a difference between the sides. It was impossible to pretend that as regarded the past the Liberals could feel satisfied with the policy of the Government. He agreed—and it was a singular agreement—with the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Bentinck), that the Government could have prevented the war. The policy of the Government in the past had left them face to face with a betrayed Turkey and an irritated Russia. Not only could they have prevented the war, but they had been, without wishing it, the cause of the continuance of the resistance of the Turks after the fall of Plevna, and the Turks had, in consequence, to thank them for the state in which they found themselves at the present time. Turkey in Europe had become a geographical expression, and Turkey in Asia was in a state of anarchy. They had had in Turkey a *protégé* whom they had proved unable to protect, and who now justly blamed them for its downfall. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) had shown that the Government had been the cause of the loss of 11 days to Turkey at the period during which the Russian army was advancing with the most rapid strides. When there had been in England the change from Old Style to New, the people had gone about the country with banners, on which were inscribed the words—“Give us back our 11 days.” With more truth the Turkish Government might have said to the English that they had robbed them of 11 days. With regard to the past, one of the most indefensible acts that the Government had committed had been their sending orders to the Fleet to enter the forbidden waters without the knowledge of Parliament; for by summoning Parliament to meet at an unusual time, they had given a tacit pledge that they would take no such important step as this without the knowledge or consent of Parliament. At the same time, whatever might have been their feeling as to the vacillation which had marked the policy of our Government in the past, it was clear from a comparison between the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and of

the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, that but for the proposal of the present Vote, the House of Commons would have been united, and that the country would have been united, with the exception of a few pro-Turkish fanatics—like the promoters of a certain demonstration in Trafalgar Square, and a few pro-Russian fanatics, like the hon. Baronet the Member for Caithness (Sir Tollemache Sinclair). The country was against the present Vote. The hon. Member for Manchester, who had just addressed the House, and the hon. and gallant Member who had spoken at an earlier hour of the afternoon, had pretended that the country was upon their side. He denied it. He admitted that the country was opposed to the territorial aggrandizement of Russia. So was he. But the country was not for a sham strong policy, and it was not for a sham war Vote. What was the best test of the opinion of the country, if it were not the elections to that House? What did the recent elections show? In Perthshire, the Liberal poll had been increased, and the Conservative poll had been diminished; at Leith, an opponent of the Vote had been returned, but even the Conservative candidate at Leith had pledged himself against the Vote. At Greenock, Perth, and Marlborough, opponents of the Vote had been returned. At Oxford the city had been placarded by the Conservative agent to the effect that the Conservative Member (Mr. Hall) would have stood for the county but for the fact that his seat would infallibly have been lost to Government. A great deal had been made by hon. Members opposite of the breaking up of the Cannon Street Meeting. The disturbance of that meeting had been a got-up affair, and though it would be a waste of time to trouble the House with the proofs, he could supply the names and addresses of those who organized the disturbance, and of the workmen from Woolwich Arsenal who committed it, to whom their railway-fares and a gratuity were given, who afterwards went to the Guildhall, and who then returned to Woolwich and disturbed a meeting there. Any Member who wished to discover the facts for himself, had better move for a Return of the workmen employed at Woolwich Arsenal who took short time upon the day in question. In the moderate and

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limited sense in which the hon. Member for Manchester had spoken, it was true that the country was anti-Russian. There was a distrust of Russia—a distrust which he himself had often expressed in that House and to his constituents. But that was no reason for granting a sham Vote, and it was no reason for going into a peaceful Conference armed to the teeth. The hon. and gallant Member (Colonel Stanley) seemed distressed at the Vote being called a sham Vote. Two views had been taken of the Vote upon the Opposition side of the House. Some, like his hon. Friend the Member for the Border Boroughs, looked upon it as a war Vote; others, like his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), looked upon it as a sham Vote. He confessed he took the latter view. The Cabinet was too vacillating, the policy of Lord Derby too profoundly peaceful, to allow him to consider it as a war Vote; but considering it as a sham Vote, he thought it, nevertheless, unconstitutional and unprecedented. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had pointed out that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had admitted that the Government deserved credit for having during months of excitement kept the country out of war. He wished them to go on keeping the country out of war, and that was why he could not consent to giving them these millions, which, although not meant by themselves to be employed for war purposes, would, if given by a large majority, tempt them to adopt a dictatorial policy. The hon. and gallant Member had made it a charge against the Opposition that they had not challenged the policy of the Administration during the present Session. How and when could they have challenged it? A paragraph had been inserted in the Queen's Speech about the policy of the Government, but in terms so singularly obscure that no one could discover what they meant. Then, within a day or two after the meeting of Parliament, they heard of the resignation of one Minister. The next day they heard of the resignation of another, the brother of the hon. and gallant Member, the Foreign Secretary himself. How could they have challenged the policy of the Government, when no one knew of whom the Govern-

ment was composed, or what its policy might be? The hon. and gallant Member had said—speaking of last Sunday—that the repose of a Sabbath had been violated by negotiations between the Leader of the Opposition and his unruly followers below the Gangway. That statement rested upon no foundation. But the repose of one Sabbath had been violated. He meant that of the previous Sunday, when a Cabinet Council had been held which the Chancellor had refused to attend on the ground of the sanctity of the day, but which had been held for no other purpose than that of proclaiming to the world that the dissensions of the Government were temporarily at an end, and that the brother of the hon. and gallant Member had consented to return to his repentant Colleagues. The hon. and gallant Member had made a praiseworthy attempt to defend the Vote upon its merits, and had said that it was needed to enable us “to act up to our engagements.” What did he mean by the word “engagements?” Did he mean the Tripartite Treaty? Why, the Tripartite Treaty had been killed by the noble Lord, his brother, in a speech in the House of Lords last year. Did he mean engagements to the House of Commons? Did he mean the engagements to Parliament and to the country contained in his brother's despatch of May, and in the Home Secretary's speech of the same month? If so, that was all the Opposition asked. Let them stick to their engagements, if these were the engagements that they meant. But let them not go beyond those engagements. The fear was, that when they had got this Vote, which they did all they could to prove a sham Vote, but which some of their supporters were still obliged to call a war Vote, they might be tempted by their majority to go beyond those engagements. They claimed credit for having kept the country out of war in the past; let them continue to do so in the future. Let them not attempt to bully Europe. The hon. and gallant Member had dealt with precedents, and, after saying that there was “no need of going back for 20 years or 30 years,” he had gone back to the 18th century to a precedent which did not apply. The so-called precedent, of which he had made the most, had been that of the Vote of 1870. The great difference be-

tween the cases was, that in 1870 Parliament was about to adjourn, and no one could say that the money might not be needed during the Recess. On the present occasion Parliament had only just assembled. It had been brought together "to be taken into the confidence of the Government." The amount of that confidence had been shown by the concealment from Parliament of the despatch of the Fleet into the prohibited waters until that act had been cancelled by the resignation of the hon. and gallant Member's brother. In 1870, according to the hon. and gallant Member, the then Government had been unable, as the present Government was now unable, to lay before the House the real reasons why a Vote was wanted. He was amazed at such a statement. In 1870 a secret Treaty for the partition of Belgium, for the integrity of which England was determined to fight, had been published in *The Times* a day or two before the Vote was asked for, and the exact reason for the Vote was known to every Member in the House. The hon. and gallant Member had declared that the Vote of 1870 was a sham Vote, because 20,000 men would have been useless in such a war; but the 20,000 men were not for an army of 20,000 men, but for an addition of 20,000 men to the existing Army; and a representative of the English Army ought not to stand up in his place and to pretend that an addition of 50,000 British troops to the Army of either belligerent would not have made an essential difference to the conditions of that war. He would assert, from his own experience, that in at least one period of that war a small British Army would have changed its fortune. The hon. and gallant Member had declared that "should the necessity not be over by the 31st of March," a fresh Vote would be needed. If, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had explained, the Vote was intended to strengthen our diplomacy at the Conference, then certainly the necessity would not be over by that date, for the Conference would hardly meet within the present financial year. He should like to ask the hon. and gallant Member how he could explain the title of the Vote? Was it a general Vote for military and naval purposes? Could the money be spent in Africa against the Kaffirs, or was its application limited by its

title? If so, what would become of it in the probable event of the signature of peace? For the title mentioned "the present war." He had done with the hon. and gallant Member; but before he sat down he must allude for a moment to the speech which had been delivered by the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) on the previous Friday. The right hon. Baronet had expressed the most complete confidence in the anti-Russian policy of the Earl of Beaconsfield, and the most violent dissent from the pro-Russian policy—as he thought it—of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. On the 30th of March, 1871, the right hon. Baronet had expressed his most complete confidence in the pro-Russian policy of the right hon. Gentleman who now was Member for Greenwich. He (Sir Robert Peel) now said that he had the greatest distrust of Russia. In 1871 he had declared that it was essential to the highest interests of this country that our Government should endeavour to keep up a good understanding and a friendly feeling between England and Russia. The following were his words in 1871:—

"We should never permit any personal prejudices to interfere with such an understanding. If the terms of the Note of Prince Gortchakoff were such as to ruffle the kindly nature and the good feeling of Earl Granville, the latter acted most judiciously in not giving way to the impulse they may have given rise to."—[3 *Hansard*, ccv. 955.]

The right hon. Baronet on Friday had been careful to say nothing of the terms of peace; but he had supported the proposal for a grant of £6,000,000 after hearing the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon those terms, and "with a view of enabling the Government, with a bold front and a strong arm, to labour in the interests of peace." This was generally understood by the House to mean opposition to several of the claims of Russia; but in 1871 the right hon. Baronet had said—

"I have always felt that the stipulations respecting the Black Sea were injurious to Russia. To me it has always been evident that such stipulations must be unendurable to a gigantic Power like Russia. Russia complains—and to my mind most justly complains—that since the Treaty of 1856 was signed the balance of power in Europe has been most essentially altered. And is she not perfectly correct in making such an assertion? Why, Europe is hardly the same now as she was then; its whole features on the

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map present a totally different appearance, and Russia has a right to demand that under such circumstances, the conditions of the Treaty of 1866 should be revised."—[*Ibid.*]

A more eloquent pro-Russian speech was probably never made in that House than the right hon. Baronet's speech in 1871. Hon. Members should bear in mind what was the character of the right hon. Baronet's speech of Friday night. After all, the strongest of all the reasons against the Vote was that it would be misinterpreted abroad. It would be misinterpreted everywhere except in Russia. The Russians, who were directly interested in the subject, would know that it was a sham Vote; other Powers would take it for a war Vote. The present action of the Government would be misinterpreted, as their action had been misinterpreted last year and the year before. Their action had been misinterpreted on almost all the occasions when they had violated the European concert; and there had been 11 or 12 occasions of that kind. Their isolated action in the past had been misunderstood by foreign Powers, and their isolated action in proposing this Vote would be misunderstood by Europe. He protested against the supposition that in opposing this Vote the Opposition were taking a course which patriotism should refuse. They were as deeply concerned for the interest and honour of their country, and as anxious to preserve them, as could be Members on the other side of the House. They only differed as to the manner in which the desired end should be achieved. They had not full confidence in the Government for the future, because their acts in the past had been of a character which made confidence impossible. At the same time, they saw Government go into the Conference with the most earnest desire that they should procure that which they professed themselves able to procure, that which was the greatest of British interests—a lasting peace.

Mr. HALL remarked that it had been said that the solution of the Eastern Question depended on the bases of peace. There were three possibilities with regard to those bases. The first was, that they might not have been moderate and reasonable. Secondly, they might have proved to contain something which must have been regarded as a

*casus belli* by this country, but which he was glad to say they did not; and, thirdly, they might have been so involved and obscure as to press either lightly or heavily on this country, according as the will of England might seem to be in accordance with, or in antagonism to, the spirit of those who went before the Conference. The last contingency had undoubtedly taken place; for the terms of peace were both involved and obscure, and there were important interests of Great Britain which must depend on the way in which the voice of this country was represented at the Conference. It was not only absurd, but wrong to say that this country had no greater or profounder interests either in the Black Sea, in Eastern Europe, or in the Straits, than the other nations of Europe. Where was the trade of Germany, Italy, France, or Spain that could compare with the trade of England in Eastern Europe? Our trade in the Black Sea was prodigious. At least 20,000 ships per annum were engaged in it—ten times more than Russia had engaged in her trade there. What was to become of that trade if Russia became Lord Paramount on the Danube, and was able to impose differential duties in favour of Austrian and German Danube-borne goods. Then there were important interests in regard to European Turkey as regarded the subject-races, which ought not to take place without Great Britain being authoritatively represented. Hon. Gentlemen opposite must not suppose they had a monopoly of the love of freedom. That sacred love glowed, he hoped, with as much earnestness in the breasts of hon. Gentlemen on the Government side of the House as it did on the opposite benches, and hon. Members opposite ought to recognize it in their opponents, as the latter most gladly acknowledged it in them. But, after all, the main point to consider was, what was the feeling of the ordinary common-sense Englishman on the question? He thought what would be said out-of-doors was, that if those important interests must be regulated by the voice of Great Britain, the agent of Great Britain must be given the authority which he believed to be necessary, and for the use of which he would be responsible. The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) had told them

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that they must not take that common-sense view, because to do so would be to go into the Conference with shotted guns. If he (Mr. Hall) might venture to put a question to the right hon. Gentleman, he would ask him, as a man of business, whether on entering into negotiations in which his own material interests might be in question, he would prefer to enter them in the character of a strong, wealthy, influential man, or in the character of one whom his own family would not trust with a shilling. Let the House be wise and strengthen the hands of the Government, in order that, when England entered into the Council, she might receive that attention which she always received in the time of our forefathers, and which he was sure we all hoped she might receive in future. But if we were weak-handed we had better stay at home altogether, and leave the Christians of the Turkish Provinces to be dealt with by Prince Gortchakoff and Prince Bismarck. A great deal of freedom, he opined, they would get from those two Gentlemen! With reference to the famous speech recently delivered at Oxford by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, although he (Mr. Hall) could not understand the course of policy of the right hon. Gentleman, he had never been able to speak of him in any other terms but those which were due to his high position, and still more to his higher character. He should not find fault with that speech, for he was exceedingly obliged to him for having delivered it, because it had immensely smoothed his part at the next General Election; for the right hon. Gentleman had revealed to his astounded constituents that if he had been in office, supported by his (Mr. Hall's) hon. and learned Colleague—if they had not quarrelled over Van Espin meanwhile—their policy would have been a policy of coercion for Turkey, which must, of course, have brought us into a war with Turkey. But that policy might have been dependent on the circumstance whether or not he had any difficulty in carrying it out. A great deal had been said about one defection from Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet, and some people would be led to suppose that there had never been a defection from any other Cabinet. Now, on looking over a work called the *Annals of*

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*our Time*, he found this most curious circumstance—that in August, 1873, a great amount of dissension took place in the Ministry then in Office, leading to a complete re-arrangement of Offices. He found it stated that Lord Ripon and Mr. Childers were leaving the Cabinet, that Mr. Bruce was to be raised to the Peerage, that Mr. Bright was to succeed Mr. Childers, that Mr. Lowe would give up being Chancellor of the Exchequer, that Mr. Gladstone would hold that Office as well as that of First Lord of the Treasury, that Mr. Ayrton would be made Judge Advocate General, and Mr. Adam First Commissioner of Works. Well, here was as great a shuffle of the Ministerial cards as ever was seen, and all the round men seemed to be put into the square holes. And now, because one Minister had left Lord Beaconsfield's Cabinet, the fact had been dwelt upon by almost all the hon. Members opposite who had spoken during the debate. They tried to make political capital out of the resignation of Lord Carnarvon; but on this question, at all events, Lord Carnarvon was at one with Her Majesty's Government, and had expressed an opinion in the most pithy sentence which he (Mr. Hall) believed had been uttered on this subject—for, if he remembered rightly, that noble Lord said he would support this Vote because he believed it would strengthen the diplomacy of England. Well, he (Mr. Hall) hoped we all wanted to strengthen the diplomacy of England, and therefore he was surprised that ex-Ministers should oppose the Vote. What would have been the result if the policy of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had been pursued? Of course, Turkey would have been destroyed sooner than it was now destroyed, and Russia would have been somewhat wealthier and England somewhat poorer than they now were respectively. But with regard to European Turkey, with regard to the future occupation of Constantinople and the navigation of the Straits, the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues would have had to come down and ask that House for that authority which could alone have been granted on behalf of the Sovereign and the country, and said that England must be enabled to speak with no uncertain voice in the Councils. He could imagine with what eloquence the right

hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich would have spoken upon that subject, and with what indignation he would have inveighed against any unfortunate politician who would venture to refuse giving support to the Government in pursuing a national policy. The right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues would have found all necessary support in the pursuit of that patriotic policy. ["Hear, hear!"] He (Mr. Hall) thought history justified him in saying so. In 1856 the Conservative Opposition behaved like true patriots, and backed up the Government as they wanted to be backed up, and the result was that, although Napoleon III. was half inclined to shift a little, Lord Clarendon, backed up by the House of Commons and the Conservative Opposition, was able to stand firm, and England was embodied in the Treaty of Paris. But the present Opposition seemed utterly unable to rise to that high level. What could be the reason? He did not believe that was owing to Party spleen or anything of that kind, but because some one of their Leaders had made a stupid mistake. Still, he ought to have come forward and said—"I have made a mistake, and I release my followers." If that was not the reason, what was the reason? Was the reason to be found in the alliance of Erastians, Ritualists, money-grubbers, and *doctrinaires*—those modern Cœur de Lions who would destroy the children of the Prophet not by their own valour, but by taking advantage of the aggressive disposition of Russia, and who quenched their Party and religious spleen not in the ordinary way, but in the unfathomable depths of Russian duplicity. The Conservative Party were asked why could they not get rid of the suspicion of Russian duplicity? In answer to that, he would say, we wished to get rid of it with all our hearts; but how were we to get rid of it with any regard for the history of the past? Those who said get rid of Russian duplicity should tell us whether we could get rid of the handwriting against that country, of that which the right hon. Member for Birmingham alluded to the other night with so much eloquence—the bloody pages of Polish history—that record, not only of the cruelty of Russia, but of her ghastly treachery, which told how, with one hand, she by an agent stirred up insurrection in that

hapless land, and with the other quenched it in seas of blood. Could they get rid of Khiva and the Imperial subterfuges connected with it? Were these Russians the Apostles of Peace who were to go to the distracted Provinces of Turkey, and take peace, freedom, and civilization to that unhappy land? More fitly might they be described as the merciless hordes of a Northern despot, who, under the hypocritical mask of Christianity, sought only to add territory to territory and people to people, that he might crush them beneath the Juggernaut of a cruel and relentless despotism. Distrust of Russia was as natural to Englishmen as the love of freedom, for Russia and freedom were wide as the poles asunder. We distrusted them because our predecessors distrusted them, and they were our equals in statesmanship and sagacity; but the Opposition reserved that distrust and ill-will, not for the possible rivals of this country in Europe and its certain rivals in Asia, but for those whose highest ambition was to serve the country faithfully—the Ministers of the Queen. But they on the Ministerial side trusted them, for they knew that that trust would not be betrayed, for they knew that the Government longed for peace, and that they were honest and faithful guardians of the honour and interests of England. They had never had fair play from the opposite side, for they had been thwarted in a hundred petty ways, and had been misrepresented on a thousand platforms. But they might rest assured that truth would conquer at the last, and when the end came the Government might safely leave their Ministerial reputation to the impartial verdict of a sober-judging people.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, as I have listened to the impetuous eloquence of my hon. Colleague, I have been tempted to ask whether that speech, cheered from that side of the House, represents the policy with which you are going to the Congress at Vienna? because, if it does, do not come to this House for a sham Vote of £6,000,000, but for a Vote of £100,000,000. That speech, if it means anything, means instant war. ["No, no!"] Then, in my opinion, it means nothing at all. It is what was called in the vulgar vernacular the other night, "bounce." If you are seriously going

with language like that which the hon. Gentleman applied to Russia to the Congress at Vienna; if that, cheered by the Conservative Party, represents the Vote you are going to take; if the Government accept that language, if they do not disavow it, the public will know what it means. I had hoped that the armistice which had been offered would have shed some of the balmy and blessed atmosphere of peace over these debates. [*Ironical laughter.*] Well, I do not think that is a hope likely to be realized. If it had ever been likely to be realized, the speech of the Secretary of State for War (Mr. Hardy) last night would have dispelled all chance of its realization. Now, Sir, I am not one of those who are at all disposed to object to the fervid eloquence of the Secretary of State for War; though I am one of the unhappy victims, very often, of his rhetoric. I rather admire the spectacle. I do not know whether my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich is in the House, but he has a good deal of literary leisure, and the Secretary of State for War is the Achilles of the Conservative Party—

“Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer”

—and I should recommend my right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) to compose a new Iliad, in which he may recite the wrath of that Achilles, and describe the innumerable woes it has worked for Greece. But the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War is like Achilles in another respect; he is never satisfied with slaying his enemy, but he must also drag him around the walls of Troy. He told us the other night a good deal about volcanoes. Why, Chimborazo and Cotopaxi would be nothing like the eruptive eloquence which he pours on us; and as I suffered myself from that burning lava I felt like the unfortunate gentlemen who, walking about the streets of Herculaneum and Pompeii, were suddenly overtaken, and were some centuries afterwards excavated—and I do not know whether some centuries hence we shall not be dug out of the volcanic mud which he has heaped on us. Talk of conciliation to the Secretary of State for War! You might just as well pour cold water on a hot bar of iron. It hisses, and hisses, and bubbles, and disappears altogether in steam—and that

is the end of conciliation. [*Murmurs.*] I hope we may express our feelings quite as freely as the Secretary of State for War. I do not take it at all amiss. I like to see the Secretary of State for War as he ought to be—in his war paint. He always reminds me of the famous description of the war horse in the Book of Job; he sniffs the battle from afar; he champs the bit, and he makes a magnificent rush into the fray. But to try to stop him would be the most injudicious thing in the world. It would be like a man getting in the way of an express engine with the steam up, and trying to pacify the engine at full speed by patting it on the boiler. And I entirely appreciate the feeling of the right hon. Gentleman. He had had a proposal of conciliation made to him, and had had, indeed, an armistice proposed. [*“Oh, oh!”*] Yes, an armistice; and I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman and his army felt exactly like the Grand Duke Nicholas when, in sight of Constantinople, he was ordered to stop his march. You are in sight of your Constantinople; you have a great majority; and you do not mean to be balked. I am not at all astonished that the right hon. Gentleman sympathises with that feeling, and that his supporters should share it. His speech was an admirable speech to rally an enthusiastic Party; but I think the country may doubt whether it was a speech which was calculated to unite Parliament. I wonder—I do wonder, though I do not take it amiss—that, considering the majority you have got, you cannot afford to be a little more good-humoured in your language. If you were in a minority you might be entitled to show a little temper; but with the majority you have got I think you need not be so strong in your anger. You are going to have a majority. It is the business of a Government to have a majority, and it is the fate of an Opposition to be in a minority. I could have wished that the right hon. Gentleman had spoken a little more in the tone of conciliation which I heard to-night from the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Birley); that he had recognized the fact that there was a very considerable union of feeling in the country, and that he had endeavoured to develop that, and had not endeavoured to exaggerate the differences that exist. As for these personal elements in the

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debate, I, for one, regret them. I cannot charge myself with having taken part in them. I have heard a great deal said about attacks on the Earl of Beaconsfield. From what I have observed of the noble Earl's character, I think he is about the very last man who would care about them. I have heard him say that invective was the ornament of debate, and if that be so, all I can say is that the Gentlemen on the bench opposite have given us a very ornamental debate. But neither here nor elsewhere have I ever spoken words inconsistent with personal respect for the Prime Minister. I have always admired his genius and, in spite of difference of politics, I have, with others of his political opponents, experienced that kindness which he is always so ready to show. It may be that hard things have been said of the Earl of Beaconsfield; but is the Earl of Beaconsfield the only man of whom hard things have been said? I should like to ask whether my hon. Friends the Members for Mid Lincolnshire and Christchurch (Mr. Chaplin and Sir H. Drummond Wolff) are the best entitled to throw the first stone on that matter? These personal bitternesses in political conflicts have, I am afraid, always been the law of English political life. At the beginning of the present century, parties were not satisfied without calling Mr. Pitt a monster of blood-thirstiness, and calling Mr. Fox an unpatriotic statesman. But these have not been the verdicts of history. History has not cared to inquire what Clubs at particular times in their lives they were members of. As to Clubs, you say that we have borrowed my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich from the Carlton, and you borrowed the late Earl of Derby from Brooks's. If you are satisfied with the change so are we. But when I think of these personal asperities which have been introduced, I am reminded of those lines which describe the tombs of Pitt and Fox, as they lie in the Abbey of Westminster—

"Drop upon Fox's grave the tear:  
'Twill trickle to his rival's bier."

And of those two "mighty chiefs" it might well be added—

"The sons shall blush their fathers e'er were foes."

The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War is a man of war, and I

think that in his nature he is not averse to a fight. I myself, professionally, am a man of peace. I should like to devote the observations which I shall make rather to the bases of political peace. I am not going to make a proposal. I do not wish to be misunderstood. When I talk about the bases of political peace I mean that I may be permitted to discard the recriminations of the past, and that we should condone on both sides the errors, if there have been errors, for they are at all events now irremediable. Let us consider for a moment the cause of the bitterness which has arisen in the political situation. That bitterness seems to have taken rise from what I will not call misrepresentation, but from misconception of either Party. You talk of misrepresentation of your policy and your motives. Well, that may be so; but we may ask whether we also have not misrepresentations to be set right? I see, not in this House, but in the country, we are called traitors and Russian agents. Well, if any hon. Gentleman were to say that I should not call him a "lying spirit," because that would be a plagiarism upon a style which I do not admire. I will not, of course, refer to an accidental expression which fell from the Home Secretary, which was unseemly, and which was immediately withdrawn. But language of that kind should not be used. You know it is not true. You know that we are, like you, English gentlemen, and that we are as much interested in the welfare and honour of our country as you are. Language of that kind is a Billingsgate which may be left to penny-a-liners and to Dukes. But among persons more moderate in their character and more decent in their language, there are still some who feel surprised and indignant at a course of conduct which they think gives an undue, an impolitic, and even an unpatriotic appearance to our actions. What has been our attitude in this matter? When the Conference at Constantinople ended last year the Porte had altogether refused those terms which the Conference had agreed to, and Europe was set at naught. What was to be done? There were several things that might be done. We might have rested content and let the populations of Turkey remain as they were, and have trusted in what the Home Secretary called the waste paper of Turkish pro-

mises. That course was denounced by Lord Salisbury, and therefore that was not the course you would expect us to take. There was another course—there might have been the united coercion of Europe. No one can tell whether that course would have been successful. You opposed it, and it was opposed by the other Powers also. There was a third course—coercion by Russia conjointly with us. All I can say is, that this is a policy in which I never concurred. There was a fourth course, and that was coercion of Turkey by Russia alone. That was the only course by which the submission of Turkey to the will of Europe, as expressed at the Conference, could be secured. Now, the English Government has said Russia is not our mandatory to carry out the Conference. Well, that may be true. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER dissented.] I do not wish to misrepresent the action of the Government by declaring that Russia was not its mandatory; but, at all events, they took no active measures to counteract the action of Russia. But if it was necessary that the resistance of Turkey should be overpowered, and if the force of Russia was the only force that could be employed for that purpose, whether Russia was the mandatory of Europe or not, it is Russia that in the end will make Turkey accept the mandates of Europe. Well, that is just what happened with regard to Greece in 1829. You had a Conference, which went on from year to year, which made representations to Turkey, and of which Turkey took no notice, and at length the decisions of the Conference were given effect to in the Treaty of Adrianople. What we desired was that this force—the only force which could be employed to overpower the resistance of Turkey to Europe—should not be interfered with by the influence, and still less by the support, of England, and that is the support which we have given to Russia. We believed that in this matter Russia had a special work to do, and at this moment Turkey is in a position which she was not in 12 months ago, in which she must accept the will of Europe at the next Conference. That is the situation now; that is what we desired; and we are glad of it; but if you suppose that we had any sympathy with the principles and object and the aspirations of Russia you are entirely mistaken. If

you supposed that we had a desire to assist Russia in the re-settlement of that part of Europe you are entirely mistaken. We desire that the re-settlement should be solved upon European interests just as much as you possibly can do. That is the extent of the charge against us, and whatever you may think of it, we are not ashamed of it. There is another misconception which, I think, led to a great deal of unnecessary bitterness. That misconception arose like other misconceptions, from mutual errors and mutual fear. Fear engenders suspicion, and suspicion engenders bitterness, and so it turns out that in spite of peace in Turkey, we are “fighting like devils for conciliation, and hating each other for the love of God.” Our fear was that we should be embarked in what we deemed to be an unjust and unnecessary war. Now where was the “lying spirit?” For my part, I have never imputed to Her Majesty’s Government, either here or elsewhere, that they desired to go to war. Since last Session I have never spoken outside this House except on the ordinary occasions when I spoke to my constituents; and I should not have referred to that but my right hon. Friend the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) alluded to it. I am sorry that Oxford has been brought so much upon the carpet. It seems as if Oxford has become, like Belgium, a sort of cockpit. In my speech at Oxford I did not put any petroleum whatever. The right hon. Baronet has done me the honour to refer to a passage from that speech. It is true I did express a fear of war; but it was not that Her Majesty’s Government were going to war.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: You used the expression, “mischievous and inflammatory Party.”

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That was not Her Majesty’s Government; but if the right hon. Baronet wishes, I will tell him where the “inflammatory Party” is to be found. The right hon. Baronet is one of those mild and innocent persons who has never heard of a wicked thing; he has never heard of a war Party. He is the Apostle of Peace; he was once Saul the Persecutor; but now he says he will never consent to make war against a despot, as was done in 1856.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I beg the hon. and learned Gentleman’s pardon, but I never said anything of the sort. What

*Sir William Harcourt*

I said was this—that in reference to the speech of the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), when he said the experience from 1854 to 1856 had taught this country a lesson, I said I had learnt a lesson from the teaching of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, and that never again would I give a vote in favour of a war by England in defence of the independence and integrity of Turkey.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: That is exactly what I understood him, and he added these words—and if he did not use them let him disavow them—"or to curb the ambition of a despot." Now, the right hon. Gentleman says he did that once. He is a reformed character. He sat at the feet of Gamaliel, and he can, like the Apostle Paul, now—

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I must protest against the language of the hon. and learned Gentleman. I am sure my hon. and learned Friend has no desire to misrepresent me. I never represented the character of the Apostle Paul. I consider myself far too sensible a man to have the presumption to do so. I never used the words "against a despot," and I only said what I have already mentioned, that I would not give a vote again in favour of a war by England in support of the independence and integrity of Turkey.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: If I have used any expression which the right hon. Baronet does not like, I withdraw it. All this from the right hon. Baronet is very charming and re-assuring; but I should like to tell the end of the story—for there is an end to it. The right hon. Baronet is dreadfully shocked at anybody at a critical period interfering with the Government. "You should not speak to the man at the helm; you should not put pressure upon the Government, or interfere with men who know the state of European affairs much better than you do." I heard the other day a rumour that on a certain Tuesday evening 41 Members of Parliament demanded an audience of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I shall not tell you, though it is only half a secret, because

affairs of the country! It is a curious coincidence that this was on Tuesday evening, and that on Wednesday the decision was taken to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles. My informant, whose name I cannot reveal, told me that the ringleader in that movement was the peaceful Baronet the Member for Tamworth. He said, speaking of the Earl of Carnarvon—I thought he rather sneered at the Earl of Carnarvon, but I do not think the country sneers at him—"What a pleasant Colleague to have!" [SIR ROBERT PEEL: A nice sort of Colleague.] Yes; and I think that when the right hon. Baronet left the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have said—"What a nice sort of supporter!" This personal pressure was followed by what was, in my opinion, a very dangerous act. Hon. Gentlemen opposite must not complain of my describing it, because the Earl of Derby and the Earl of Carnarvon thought it was dangerous too. It was found necessary to put another pressure on the Government in an opposite direction, and that pressure was put by two resignations. And then the right hon. Baronet, having taken this course, comes down to us and coos like any sucking dove, and tells us he is a converted friend of peace. Now, what were we to do when we knew that the right hon. Baronet and his allies were putting pressure on the Government in one direction? What ought we to do but put pressure on the Government in the opposite direction? We could not resign—we have nothing to resign. We used what means we had at our disposal. The right hon. Baronet was tugging in the direction of the Dardanelles, and we pulled as hard as we could the other way; and that is the extent of our interference with Her Majesty's Government. Well, now I tell you that one of the causes of our anxiety—if you like of our over-anxiety, our unfounded anxiety—was that we feared that the Government might be driven by operations of that character into war. We do not fear war now; at all events, as far as we can see, the danger is over for the present. I do not think even the right hon. Baronet,

thought that British interests were in danger, and you asked for assurances from the Government. You defined what British interests are, and we have not quarrelled with that. You said—"We must not have a separate peace between Russia and Turkey," and you received pledges on that subject. You asked to be guaranteed against the occupation of Constantinople by Russia, and assurances were given. You feared for the Straits and for Gallipoli, and assurances were given that the question of the Straits was to be made a European question; and as to Gallipoli I do not think that even now we have anything to fear. In spite of all these things you say—"This is all very well, but don't believe a word of it." Well, now, I want to know whether this is wise language to use? I do not say you ought not to be prudent, guarded, and vigilant; but, I ask, is that wise language to use towards a Power with which you are about to treat, and with which you must ultimately be on friendly terms, both in Europe and Asia? I venture to say that it is bad diplomacy and bad statesmanship, and it is both, because it is bad temper. You discourage concessions that are for the interest of England by language of that kind. I think that in the interest of this country there is nothing so much to be deprecated as this kind of provocative language, which is of no use for the purposes of real debate. It is a singular coincidence that at the very moment when the Home Secretary was illustrating the advances of the Russian Army in so dramatic a manner on the back of the English statute book, the ink of the signatures to the armistice was scarcely dry. If we have been fearing war too much, and if you have been anticipating danger to English interests too much, and if the armistice has removed all that, surely, having got rid of the quarrels of the past, the best thing we can do is to occupy ourselves with the prospects of the future. I think there is some misapprehension which it would be well to remove in reference to the form of the negotiations. There is a great deal of ignorant jealousy in some quarters of separate negotiations between Russia and Turkey. Why, you accepted the arrangement that, primarily and provisionally, Russia and Turkey were to treat with each other alone, and that

subsequently all matters contained in the Treaty that were of European interest should be brought under the cognizance of the European Powers. We are perfectly prepared to support you in the demand that they shall come under European cognizance. The object of that separate negotiation was to deprive Turkey of the power of doing what she did last year—namely, that of saying, when Europe had come to a decision, she would not agree to that decision; because, by her antecedent agreement with Russia, she will have parted with that power. Well, now, you ask us for our confidence. Gentlemen behind you are entitled to give you their confidence blindly. ["No, no!"] Oh, then, you know the policy of the Government. We do not know what that policy is, and we are going to ask. We know what was its policy during the war, and we have not disapproved of that policy. ["Oh, oh!"] We have always approved of the policy of conditional neutrality. Hon. Gentlemen opposite do not appear to understand that it is like the principle of a united Cabinet. It is said that if the Members of the Cabinet agreed on the main line of policy, it does not matter if they differ as to the method of carrying it out. In that way Parliament is united on both sides, just in the same way as they are a united Cabinet. A word now respecting the policy of the Government during the war. Hon. Gentlemen opposite do not object to that; but now that the war is over, as we may hope it will be immediately, we want to know what is to be the policy of the Government in time of peace and during the negotiations. That is what we ought to know before this Vote is passed, and what every Opposition is bound to ask. I do not ask for the details of your policy; it would be impolitic for the Government to give them, and improper for me to ask for them. I should have been satisfied if the Leader of the House had been content to do what the Earl of Derby did—namely, to read out the bases of peace, and nothing more. But he did not do that—he read them with a running commentary which I do not understand, and I hope the right hon. Gentleman will give some explanation which will render it less unsatisfactory. I do not wish to misrepresent him; but I thought that when he read the articles

with reference to autonomy, and when he commented on the provisions in the bases of peace for the liberties of Bulgaria, he spoke in the tone of a man who rather grudged the extension of those liberties. I hope it is not so; but the right hon. Gentleman will speak before the close of the debate, and I only tell him the impression that was produced upon my mind, so that, if he thinks it necessary, he may try to remove it. Now, the Government have said that they desire a solid and a permanent peace. So do we; and in the establishment of a solid and a permanent peace we will render them all the support in our power. But, in order to have a solid and a permanent peace, you must have some sound general diplomatic basis of negotiations, and what is the basis of your negotiations going to be? The bases of the negotiations of the Treaty of Paris in 1856 were the maintenance of the territorial integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. I hope I shall not startle or shock hon. Members opposite when I say that if you are to have a stable, a permanent, and a solid peace, the diplomatic basis of the Congress of 1878 must be the recognition of the fact that the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire has ceased to exist. I believe that every man who has thought on this subject—some sooner, some later, some reluctantly, some willingly—have arrived at that conclusion. It is difficult to speak becomingly on this subject, because, in the moment of the distress of a gallant people, one does not wish to use language which would be unnecessarily wounding. But we are speaking of great political interests, and I shall speak with respect of the fallen. I use the word “fallen” upon high authority; for last night the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs spoke of Turkey as a fallen Empire. Events have marched rapidly. I remember that in August 1876—and I remember it with regret, a regret which is, I believe, shared by every Gentleman whom I address, for it was the last time we heard the voice of Mr. Disraeli in this House—I ventured to express the sentiment I now express, in somewhat emphatic language, and the Prime Minister good-naturedly touched me with the blunt end of his lance, and said—“Can anyone believe such things would happen?” His words were—

“There is the Tripartite Treaty, by which we not only generally, but singly, guaranteed the territorial integrity of Turkey.”—[3 *Hansard*, ccxxxi. 1145.]

What has become of the Tripartite Treaty, and where is now the territorial integrity of Turkey? He ended that speech—and these were the last words he uttered in this House—by saying—

“We will never agree to any step that hazards the existence of that Empire.”—[*Ibid.* 1147.]

But that Empire has ceased to exist. [“No, no!”] I daresay you may not think so; but you will allow me to express my opinion on the subject. I have told you what Lord Derby said yesterday when he spoke of a “fallen Empire;” I have given you the words of the Prime Minister in 1876; I will now read the words of the Foreign Minister on the 28th of January. They are these—

“I will only say that if any man thinks we ought to have gone to war to maintain the Treaties of 1856 and 1871 that is an intelligible view of the case, but it is not the view of Her Majesty’s Government, or of the great majority of the people.”

I am not now speaking of our going to war, but of the question whether the Turkish Empire can be sustained or not, and Her Majesty’s Government have come to the conclusion that it cannot; but they have come to it late. I venture to express my opinion that, if they had come to that conclusion earlier, this war might have been prevented. I believe that all their objections—natural objections, I admit, but I think mistaken objections—first of all, to the Andrassy Note, then to the Berlin Memorandum, and next to the 50 other measures proposed to prevent the war—were founded upon a natural reluctance to compromise the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. But, Sir, not all the King’s horses, nor all the King’s men, will ever set up that Empire again. I do not wish to speak with censure or harshness of those who have expressed a different opinion. We are converts to a new political faith on this matter, and therefore we have no right to rage against those who adhere to the ancient religion. I have heard very harsh things said of Mr. Layard. I enjoyed for many years his acquaintance, and valued it. Mr. Layard is Her Majesty’s Ambassador at Constantinople, and it is very natural



that he should desire to maintain the Ottoman Empire and the British Embassy at Constantinople. But Mr. Layard has said that these bases of peace, if accepted, must destroy the Ottoman Empire. That is perfectly true. Does the Government, or even Mr. Layard, believe that these bases of peace, or something like them, will not be ultimately carried into effect? If that is so, you have got two lines of policy before you. You may either try to patch up the broken pieces of this ruined Empire; you may endeavour at the Congress to re-establish a weaker and a more enfeebled Turkey, and in that you are likely to get assistance. An enfeebled Turkey is probably what Russia would desire, because a weak and an enfeebled Turkey would inevitably lead to her becoming the vassal of Russia. If you adopt that policy, in my opinion you will miserably fail. It is said that the Treaties of 1856 and 1871 still exist. Well, so they do in form, but in substance they are gone; because these Treaties had no other end or object in view except the maintenance of the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire. I agree entirely in the language of the Protocol to those Treaties, that they ought not to be set aside without the concurrence of Europe. The concurrence of Europe will be given, and the Treaties will be re-established on totally different bases. Therefore, I hope Her Majesty's Government are not going to rest their title to be at the Congress upon the feeble parchments of the Treaties of 1856 and 1871. They have a much better title to be there. They have a right to be at the Congress of Europe as representing one of the Great Powers in Europe, and in going there upon that title they may be sure of the support of every man in this House. But what is the true principle upon which you ought to go into this Congress? I think if you want to get a permanent settlement of Europe, you should see what are the causes which have destroyed the previous settlement. The Treaty of Vienna of 1815 was negotiated by great statesmen. There were giants in the land in those days; but they made a gigantic blunder, and their work has failed. The Treaty of Vienna was signed 12 years before I was born, and in my lifetime I have seen every bit of it torn into fragments. The chain first broke where it was weakest, for a chain is no stronger than

its weakest link. It broke in Greece. The emancipation of Greece, under the influence of England, was the first breach in the Treaty of Vienna. Then followed the emancipation of Belgium; then that of Italy; then came the Holstein affair, and then the break-up of the German Confederation at the battle of Sadowa, and it was completed at the battle of Sedan. Why had the Treaty of Vienna failed? Because the negotiations were founded upon principles which were radically false. It had relation only to dynastic arrangements and geographical puzzles. It was made to suit the ambition of rulers, and it neglected altogether the interests and the sympathies of nationalities and populations. I do not wonder that the negotiators at Vienna made that mistake, fatal as it was. When, after the deluge of the French Revolution, the spires of ancient institutions began to appear out of the flood, it was not unnatural that a different view should be taken from what is taken now; but the edifice was built of untempered mortar; it has broken down, and it now lies in ruins. What is it that has broken down that edifice; what is it that has worked like leaven in the lump; what is it that has destroyed the Treaty of 1815? It is the principle of nationalities. What is it that has made Prince Bismarck so strong in Europe? It is not his armies, great as they are; but it is because he has had the courage and the wisdom to grasp the principle of nationalities, by which he has ground his Potentates to powder. What is it that has made Austria so weak? It is because, by the very conditions of her existence, she is the enemy of the principles of nationality and autonomy. What has made Russia so weak? Her treatment of Poland. What has made her so strong? Because she is the vindicator of oppressed races. ["Oh!"] Is she not strong? Is she not the vindicator of oppressed races? You dislike the Slavs. I do not know why. I daresay you know as much about them as I do. The Slavs are a great nationality. You cannot extinguish them. They have their rights and their sympathies, and whether you like them or not they will assert their existence. You fear the increasing power of Russia, and if you act upon the old policy you have good reason to fear it. But it is not the extension of her frontiers, it is not the fortresses she acquires, that

will make her strong. Her strength will be in the imperishable gratitude of the people she has emancipated. ["Oh, oh!"] What, do you think she will not emancipate them, or that the people will not be grateful! I tell you it is not too late for Her Majesty's Government yet to equal and to rival Russia in these sources of strength, if you only go to the Conference with a true policy. England may appear at that Conference in a character in which she would surpass the influence of Russia, for she might be the champion, not of one race, but of all the races there. I have heard a whisper of an Austrian alliance. Well, Sir, Austria has not had a fortunate history in modern Europe. And why? Because, from the conditions of her existence, she has been opposed to the principle of nationalities, and her Empire has broken away. Therefore it is that she has been obliged to have a dual Government and a dual policy. I should be glad that Her Majesty's Government should have the alliance of Austria for objects which England can desire and approve—for the protection of Constantinople, for the preservation of the freedom of the navigation of the Straits and of the Danube; but if you are going to purchase that alliance by aiding her in paring down the autonomy of the Christian Provinces of Turkey—if that is what you desire, then I have a right to say that that is a policy not worthy of the English nation. I had hoped, as was said by my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich, that Her Majesty's Government would appear at the Congress as the champion of those who have no power to defend themselves—I mean the Greek nationality. But what is the policy on which you ask our confidence? This is far more important than all these Party squabbles, because this is the question on which the permanent peace of Europe depends, and upon which the future of England must rest. I hope, therefore, that before the end of this debate, we shall hear from Her Majesty's Government—for we have not heard it yet except in some satisfactory sentences from the Secretary to the Treasury—what is the spirit in which you are going to the Conference. Are you going to endeavour to save out of the wreck some miserable fragment of a ruined system; or are you going, as you ought to go, to call a new world into existence, to repair

the scandals of the old? Are you going to this Conference in the spirit of Castle-reagh or in the spirit of Canning? That policy, which began by emancipating the Greeks, I hope you are not going to mar it, as the policy of Canning was marred by the Duke of Wellington and Lord Aberdeen? That is a question we have a right to ask before assenting to give you our confidence on the money which you say is required to strengthen you in the negotiations. Compared with these considerations, the Vote of Credit, to my mind, is a matter of very small account. The Secretary for War said we were refusing to vote the Supplies. That was a very good thing to say, as a Party cry; but really we are not refusing Supplies. I have heard no answer yet to the argument of my right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers). The speech of the hon. and gallant Member the Secretary to the Treasury was able and interesting, and fully justified his appointment to the high and responsible position which he holds, but it was no answer at all. This Vote is not Supply in any sense of the Constitution. ["Oh, oh!"] Well, it comes to this, then—that if Her Majesty's Government come down and ask for money without saying what it is for, anybody who refuses to vote that money does an unpatriotic thing. You may make that a Tory doctrine; but you can never make it a Whig doctrine as long as you live. If that is Supply, you might as well have no House of Commons at all. But it is not money, it is confidence that is the main point. I have appealed to Her Majesty's Government that they shall tell us the outline of their policy, and the direction in which it would take us? They have asked for an "outward and visible sign." That they may get by a Party majority; but you will never get from a Parliamentary majority the "inward and spiritual grace"—["Oh, oh!"]—why not let me finish the sentence—of "a large and an enlightened Liberal policy." If the Government will, before the close of this debate, declare a policy worthy to command the sympathy of a free people, they will then have the unanimous support of the nation, and they will command the united vote of the House of Commons.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD) said, that he did not propose to attempt to compose the

[*Fourth Night.*]

domestic differences of the City of Oxford. He had listened with great interest and with some instruction to the sentiments which had been uttered by both the hon. Members who represented that ancient city, and he had found great difficulty in ascertaining at that period of the debate and at that period of the history of the proceedings which had led to the debate what were the exact differences between them. It was very easy to treat the events which had happened during the last 18 months as having been blotted out and as being of no importance; but those who remembered what those events had been and how the interests of this country had been protected by Her Majesty's Government in spite of the difficulties which had been placed in their way, might well be disposed to ask, with some curiosity, how hon. Members opposite were disposed to treat in so mild and tender and gentle a manner the policy of this country and the mode in which it was in future to be conducted? It was a fact that this country had been kept out of the war. It was a fact that, but for the firmness of Her Majesty's Government, certain right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite would have driven the country into war. He wanted to know what it was, when they had arrived at this condition of events, that had produced the difference in the tone and spirit of the speeches delivered in the course of that debate and that of the speeches which had been echoing and re-echoing through the country during the last 18 months? Was it the collapse of the Turkish Empire? ["Yes!"] The hon. Gentleman opposite said "Yes," but was not that event anticipated? Was it not a fact that so far from being unanticipated, people paused with astonishment at the wonderful power of resistance opposed to the overwhelming odds of the Russian Forces? He should have thought that hon. Members opposite would have been ready to give Her Majesty's Government credit for anticipating what was an obvious event to every mind, that the Turkish Power was totally unable to resist the overwhelming odds brought against her. But instead of that, during the period described, every kind of assertion had been made that Her Majesty's Ministers desired to take England into war, and those who stopped short of that proposition declared that the policy was

framed to encourage the aggressors and to depress the nation attacked. He did not wish to interfere with what the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir William Harcourt) had described as the armistice of the debate as well as the armistice in the war which had been raging. It was not worth while, nor was it a proposition becoming the dignity of Her Majesty's Ministers, that they should unnecessarily hark back to the conduct of their antagonists, or search their speeches for expressions to prove that they had been endeavouring to prevent the Government from speaking with a firm and certain sound. It was said that there was a tone of conciliation in the country; but it appeared to him that that alleged tone coincided, in point of time, with the tone of certain public meetings which could scarcely be described as conciliatory in their tone. Up to the commencement of the debate it was nothing but war and fury, and statements were freely made that Her Majesty's Government intended to plunge the country into war despite the determined voice of the people. This was the tone which right hon. Gentlemen opposite felt it consistent with their dignity to adopt. He was happy that this tone had passed, and he would not inquire as to what its disappearance was due, but content himself with discussing the question upon the conciliatory and amiable grounds upon which it had now been placed. But he had been exceedingly anxious to hear, among the many counts in the indictment presented against Her Majesty's Ministers, the speeches of the international lawyers, of whom the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) was so much afraid, and who were, according to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment, to prove that Her Majesty's Government had committed a breach of international law in the course they had taken. They were not, however, forthcoming. He had heard the hon. and learned Member for Durham (Mr. Herschell), and from first to last he declined to endorse the opinion that the conduct of the Government had been a breach of international law, if not an act of war against Russia. He had listened in vain for any Gentleman who had a regard for his own reputation as a lawyer to affirm that proposition. He

had listened, also, with a certain amount of pain, because he thought it was due to the House of Commons, after what had been said, not simply to avoid the topic, but to disavow the proposition. That had not been done, and unless there was in reserve some Gentleman who was going to quote Puffendorff, Grotius, and a whole tribe of authorities on the subject, he was afraid he must take it that the statement of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster) was to be left unsupported, and that no international lawyer would be found to come forward and affirm the proposition laid down. He had some difficulty in following the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) who had just spoken, because the words "you" and "we" so frequently occurred in his speech, that it was not easy to tell which side of the House was to be credited with the various propositions which he discussed. They were accustomed to the editorial "we," and to its use by Gentlemen who considered themselves of sufficient dignity and importance to employ it; but he did not know that he was particularly concerned to disentangle into its integral parts the "we" that the hon. and learned Member thought proper to represent. But when the hon. Member adopted the "you," he (the Solicitor General) confessed he was somewhat disturbed, because every proposition which the hon. and learned Gentleman had discovered to have been uttered by anybody, and some inferences therefrom which he had drawn himself, he thought proper to address broadly to the Conservative Party, and say—"You do this and you do that, and from that I deduce that it is the policy of Her Majesty's Government." Well, he had to inform the hon. and learned Gentleman that there were independent opinions on that side of the House as well as on his own, although he did not believe that in the matter they were then discussing there was any difference of opinion among them. Her Majesty's Government, he believed, enjoyed the full confidence of the Party whom they represented. But when they were told, as they were recently, that they were like so many sheep, that their discipline was marvellous, and that they did this or that as they were ordered, he wished to know how hon. Gentlemen

opposite would like such language applied to them? ["Name!"] He was reluctant to name the author of the sentiment—so much of wrath had during the debate been poured on his devoted head; he preferred to protest against it. The hon. and learned Gentleman said it was not wise to use language distrustful of Russia. Although his "you" was supposed to stand for the algebraic X, which the House was to solve, they were told that the "you" on some occasion or other distrusted Russia, and it was not wise to go into the Conference using such language. Well, he did not know to whom that language was attributed. In the House of Commons they ought to deal frankly and speak plainly of the subject under discussion. It might be extremely impolitic and imprudent for Her Majesty's Ministers to depart from the decorous usage of diplomatic language; but freedom from such restraint was an advantage of which hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite had unsparingly availed themselves, and if some proposition of theirs could not be replied to without a breach of diplomatic courtesy and without fettering the conduct of the Government in the most difficult and intricate negotiations into which they might enter, they thought that because no answer had been given no answer could be given. They were asked to believe that the proceedings by Russia were dictated by a love of enlightenment, nationality, and self-government. If one were to discuss these questions freely, without the fetter that diplomatic language placed upon them, one would be compelled to appeal to the history of even recent negotiations to show that, in the language of the right hon. Member for Greenwich, they were in the face of an essentially astute diplomatist, with respect to whom it was extremely undesirable to draw aside that veil of diplomatic language which was forced upon persons holding official and responsible situations. Right hon. Gentlemen opposite must be aware that they had been tied and bound by the same kind of fetters, and he asked them to say whether their adversaries had abused the advantage they possessed. He could not help saying he was somewhat ashamed of the tone adopted in some part of the debate. There was one thing upon which he believed they were all agreed. He had not heard from a single

hon. Member a denial of the extreme gravity of the situation. They were in a situation in the history of this country—he would say in the history of the world—which was probably without parallel in reference to the materials of mischief, and the possibility of an explosion which would be unexampled in its disastrous effects upon the civilization of every nation of the globe. That being the condition of things, what was the sort of discussion which had been raised? They were asked to discuss, forsooth, whether the Motion before the House was a Supplementary Estimate or a Vote of Credit. Was that worthy of the position which they at present occupied? Was that the sort of discussion which ought to arise when these exigencies were pressing? Why, if that sort of objection had been raised in a Law Court he knew what would be said. They would be told that they were losing in the forms the substance of the things they were asking for. But he was glad that a lawyer was not responsible for the proceeding. Why, if it was not a Supplementary Estimate or a Vote of Credit what mattered it? It was the thing asked for by the Government which they ought to discuss. It was the means wherewith to protect the State, and to revert to forms of the sort adopted by the Opposition seemed to him to be the abandonment of the real substance of the matter at issue. He would not discuss the matter further. It was conceded on all hands, it had been conceded by the right hon. Member for Greenwich, that they were now in this position—that in the settlement of Europe this country was faced by a condition of things which no generation had witnessed within living memory, and that that which was supposed to be a barrier against utter confusion of the European system had been, if not removed, at all events impaired. It was in reference to this state of things that the Government asked not the confidence of a Party Vote but the confidence of the country and of Parliament in their efforts to protect the honour and the interests of the Empire. But in what way had the Government proposals been met? They had been threatened and denounced—threatened with an exposure of the evil intentions and policy of the Queen's Ministers. Some statements he would rather not refer to particularly; but when they

heard it said that the object of this Vote was to provide places for the sons and nephews of Ministers, he confessed that he could not master his indignation that in an assembly of Englishmen statements of that sort should not meet with the contumely they deserved. They were dealing with a condition of things in which it was admitted that the greatest interests that any country could possess were at stake, and he did therefore protest against the alternative presented to them by hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House. He protested against the alternative in which he was only permitted, on the one hand, to say he was for Turkey and for the maintenance of its misgovernment, which no one had denied; or, on the other side, that he must admit that the object, purpose, and tendency of Russian policy was the establishment and enfranchisement of the subject-races, and to establish a new era in the liberties of mankind. He protested against that alternative as entirely untrue. It was not true that any hon. Members on his side of the House had put forward for admiration and respect the institutions of the Turkish Empire. They were, unfortunately, self-condemned. They were unable to act for themselves, and were hopelessly abandoned by reason, inasmuch as they were the will of a single man, acted upon, unfortunately, by no public spirit or deliberative assembly. On the other hand, if it was to be suggested that because he refused to accept that alternative, he was driven to the other, and that he must accept the influence and intentions of Russia as likely to operate for the benefit of mankind in the establishment of free States, that was what the common sense of mankind would repudiate as utterly untrue. With what force could any hon. Member who put forward that proposition avoid the argument which was applicable to the actual condition of things when he was asked while Russia is reforming other States and enfranchising subject-populations what was the condition of her own? He did not desire, and it would be imprudent for many reasons, to go through the catalogue of history, or it might be used to show that the Russian Government was not calculated to make subject-populations which were under her rule examples either of free government or of happiness. Every hon. Member would be able from his

own memory to give examples to enforce that proposition. Now, in what position were we? and that was the question with which the House was dealing. Hon. Members opposite, and the hon. and learned Member himself, had spoken as if this country should aid and assist Russia in the mission which he assumed to be for the enfranchisement and enlightenment of the subject-populations over which her arms might now give her sway. He would like to know what guarantee to this country the hon. and learned Member could point to, to prove that if we should use our influence in that direction, the power so conferred would be used in the direction he desired that it should be? And in what way was it to be used? Was the House to discuss the question that ought to be discussed by the responsible Advisers of the Crown, or were they to prescribe and lay down the particular way in which this country was to advance its view? If not, what was the course to be pursued? He should have thought, with reference to any administration, that the position at which they had arrived must be taken into consideration. Given the conclusion at which they had arrived—given the admitted declaration of the Government that their efforts had been to preserve the interests of the country and the peace of the country—he should have thought that the necessary consequence was that they could not discuss the matter in the House of Commons, and that the inevitable result would be to trust the Government for the time being, and if they could not be trusted, to substitute another Government; but whilst they were at the helm the House had no right to interfere with their steering. The hon. and learned Gentleman spoke of exhibiting strength by showing our confidence in other countries. These were marvellously fine words; but, practically, what did they mean? They were not legislating for Bulgaria or Roumania, but whether the Government should go into the Conference with the voice of the country at their back, or whether that influence should be destroyed by an adverse Vote. They were discussing that question on a totally artificial hypothesis. It was known the Amendment would not be successful. The Opposition ought to argue as they would if it were probable that the Amendment would be carried, and as if

by carrying it they must displace the Government. In a momentous crisis, when to his astonishment the conduct of the Government met with almost universal approbation, the Opposition asked the House to refuse a Vote which the Government thought necessary to maintain England in the Conference, and then they sheltered themselves under the known fact that they would be defeated; because they knew they dared not, if there was the smallest possibility of their Amendment succeeding, expose to the country the absence of interest in their own country which such a vote would necessarily involve. That was a self-confessed act of faction. It was not a genuine determination to conduct the affairs of the country according to their view in which those affairs should be conducted. It was dragging down to the regions of Party that which ought at all times and under every Government to be the first and ruling object of every Englishman—the words were not his, nor those of a politician who sat on his side of the House, but of a distinguished Liberal, who said, with regard to this question, he must remember that he was an Englishman first and a Liberal afterwards. The condition of things, therefore, was this—at this period in the history of Europe, with every element of mischief existing in every country in Europe—with the influence of England trembling in the balance, when no specific charge was made against the Government, it was thought a fit and opportune moment to deprive them of that support which every Government ought to receive from the existing House of Commons, be the Government on one side or another. He felt that at that period of the evening he had kept the House too long, but there was one observation he was desirous of making. It had been repeatedly observed that the Government and those who spoke in their support were continually harping on selfish interests alone. What did foreign nations regard as our title to interfere? Not our general championship of the rights of mankind. But what they did recognize, and what they were compelled to recognize, was the interest which every country had in its own welfare; and any country which came to the Conference of Nations and claimed a hearing would be compelled to show that its national rights were interfered

with and its interests were at issue, which they were bound to guard. And what was improper or inappropriate to those entrusted with the interests of a great nation in saying that they would not interfere with Turkey or Russia, so far as they fight their own battles? The Government had said that consistently; yet now, when they came forward to guard English interests, which they were bound to do, they were to be refused the support of the House of Commons in the Vote which they felt to be essential to the efficient conduct of the negotiations. When these subjects went before the Conference, the Minister of this country should be entitled to say England had a voice on this question, which affected the future condition of England. If that was so, why were they not in the House of Commons to exhibit their great characteristics—to say that they could afford to speak out the truth, that they were able to abide by what they had said? When he spoke of English interests, he believed it to be no exaggeration to say that in representing English interests it represented the interests of the country which alone had carried, and had dared to carry all through the globe, those principles of liberty which were as dear to hon. Members on his side of the House as to hon. Members opposite—those principles of independence, those desires for education, the desire for the raising of the subject-populations over which our sway might extend—in maintaining the interests of England we should be maintaining the interests of civilization and freedom throughout the world.

MR. RYLANDS moved the adjournment of the debate.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Debate adjourned till To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half after  
Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 6th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—Public Prosecutor\*.

*Second Reading*—Glebe Loans (Ireland)\* [9];  
Land Tenure (Ireland) [50], *put off*; Mar-

*The Solicitor General*

riage Preliminaries (Scotland)\* [86]; House Occupiers Disqualification Removal (Scotland)\* [87].

*Second Reading*—*Referred to Select Committee*—Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment\* [67].

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.



### LAND TENURE (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Downing, Mr. Butt, Lord Francis Conyngham, Mr. Shaw.*)

[BILL 50.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. M'CARTHY DOWNING, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, he felt how much the interests of those whom it concerned must suffer by reason that his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) was not there to perform that duty. He (Mr. Downing), in common with his Colleagues, regretted the cause of his absence, and he had the additional ground for regret that the duty of introducing that Bill to the notice of the House was not confided to some one of the many of his Colleagues who would do so with more effect, and bring to its consideration more influence. When his hon. and learned Friend introduced the Bill in the last Session of Parliament, he did so in a speech of not more than 10 minutes, in consequence of a severe hoarseness that made it painful to him to speak so as to be heard through the House. But short as his address was, it led to a debate of considerable length, and elicited from hon. Members on both sides objections which there was then no opportunity of answering and refuting. That opportunity now presented itself, and he (Mr. Downing) felt that he could give the refutation, in explaining the clauses of the Bill, and the objects to be obtained by it. He hoped to satisfy the House that there was no principle contended for which could not be defended; that he asked for nothing that was unreasonable, much less inequitable. The purport and object of the Bill was to finally settle a question the most important and pressing as regarded the peace and contentment of Ireland, and the happiness of her inhabitants; and he ventured to think that there were few—if any—in that House who would not be glad to see Ireland in such a condition—

may, who would not take a willing part in effecting it. He had a pretty long and intimate knowledge of the Land Question, and he stated his deliberate opinion, that they could never establish that happy state without giving to the occupying tenants in Ireland security in their holdings, and that they could not give while they left to the landlord the power of exacting excessive rents by capricious evictions. He did not intend to refer to the confiscations by which proprietors of land in Ireland obtained their large possessions, nor to the Plantations effected in the reign of James I. in Munster, as well as Ulster; nor to the fearful scenes of the Famine years, when hundreds of thousands of the occupiers of the soil were evicted from their holdings; nor even to the evictions and levelling of houses consequent upon the introduction of the Poor Law into Ireland, because he thought it would tend to no useful purpose; but, on the contrary, might lead to a discussion which he considered it prudent to avoid. He would commence with a later period, that in which a distinguished statesman—the late Lord Clarendon—called the exercise of landlord power in Ireland a “legalized robbery;” soon after which a still more distinguished statesman, in the person of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), introduced in 1870 a Land Bill, which subsequently to some extent became law. He said to some extent, because the Act was not the Bill as it was sent from that House to the House of Lords, where it was shorn of many of its valuable clauses, and to which he might particularly refer before he concluded. The intentions of the right hon. Gentleman were, in all sincerity, to substantially remove the grievances under which the tenant-farmers of Ireland had been suffering for centuries, and for those good intentions the people of Ireland were deeply grateful to him. In introducing the Bill in his speech—seldom, if ever excelled in either House of Parliament—that right hon. Gentleman called attention to the series of Acts of Parliament one after another, pressing unduly upon the tenant, and giving facilities to the landlords for eviction, and said—

“See what a defence that state of the law was to the Irish occupier in the possession of his holding. All that defence we have altered. All that shelter we have stripped away. We have

simplified the law against him. We have made ejectments cheap and easy, and notices to quit have descended on the people like snowflakes.” —[3 *Hansard*, cxcix. 347.]

The right hon. Gentleman then proceeded to show that while freedom of contract was highly to be valued, there were conditions of society in which it was not possible to allow unlimited freedom, and that English legislation was full of interference with its freedom. He added—

“Strict freedom of contract, then, having proved to be a great evil, what is the precise nature of that evil? The Devon Commission has pointed it out. It is insecurity of tenure.” —[*Ibid.* 349.]

To give that security which was wanted, and to prevent the descent of notices to quit like “snowflakes” was the object intended by the Act. Well, he (Mr. Downing) took an anxious part in the progress of that Bill in every stage of it, and no one regretted more than he did—save, perhaps, the right hon. Gentleman himself—that the Act had failed, and lamentably, in its objects. He did not know if any hon. Member representing a constituency outside the Province of Ulster would deny that; but, whether there was or not, he felt it his duty to prove its truth to the satisfaction, he hoped, of English and Scotch Members, and, if he did, he would have made out a case for the interposition of Parliament to apply a remedy of a sufficiently just and lasting character. That remedy he would lay before the House. A large majority of the Irish Members—and he in common with them—said to those who insisted upon managing Irish affairs, that they were bound to give to the people of Ireland that which they demanded, provided it did not inflict upon others injustice. That he hoped to satisfy them upon, and that what was now demanded the House had done in excess in more than one of Her Majesty’s Colonies. First, then, as to the failure of the Act. It had been in operation for four years, when complaints from every county in the three Provinces were made that evictions were as numerous as before the passing of the Act. He (Mr. Downing) moved for a Return of the number of ejectments brought upon notices to quit for the three years previous to the passing of the Act, and for the three years next after, with this result, which must surprise the House.



For the three years before the passing of the Act, the number was 4,253. The number for the three years after the Act amounted to 5,641, being 1,388 in excess, and involving the expulsion of 7,634 individuals more than for the three years before. If he had no further evidence to offer upon that point, that would be in itself pregnant to sustain his first proposition. But, and he said it with regret, he was armed with a further evidence of a most startling character by a further Return, only laid upon the Table of the House on Thursday last, and which, consequently, was not yet in the hands of hon. Members; but from which he had taken the figures which he was about to lay before the House. The Return was moved for by his late lamented right hon. and learned Friend, Sir Colman O'Loughlin, in concert with himself (Mr. Downing), and was in continuance of the Return from which he had already quoted, but of a more enlarged character. This Return embraced the years, 1874, 1875, and 1876. The number of notices to quit could only be given for two years, from October 1875 to October 1877; because previously there was no separate "die" by which the number could be traced, and for those two years 8,439 notices to quit were served, throwing into despair so many families and paralyzing their industry and energies. Let him here put a question to the House—Had the same number of notices to quit been served by English and Scotch landlords within the space of even 10 years in Great Britain; and, if there had been, would the people have patiently submitted as the Irish had? who, notwithstanding the refusal for years of protection had not yet abandoned the hope that Parliament would put an end to proceedings so unjust and disastrous. What did these 8,439 notices to quit involve? Taking each family at an average of 5½, that in two years 46,414 human beings, men, women, and children, were subjected to expulsion from their homes to seek others in foreign lands, in the lanes and alleys of a neighbouring town, or the last asylum which an Irishman would seek—the workhouse. The Returns, so far as he had gone, had only reference to evictions arising from the jurisdiction of the Courts of Quarter Sessions; but the Returns from the Superior and other Courts gave the

astounding and alarming fact that the total number of evictions proved by the necessary notices which, under the Act of 11 & 12 Vict. c. 47, the landlord was obliged to serve upon the relieving officers, so as to provide shelter for the evicted, amounted to the enormous number of 11,711, which, on the same calculation, resulted in the eviction of 64,105 human beings, which divided by six—the Return being for six years—proved that 10,651 of the Irish race had been expelled from their homes in each year. Now, he depended on these Returns, which the House must take as conclusive. He was not, as had been in a former debate upon this question, charged by the right hon. Baronet the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), bringing forward cases of capricious evictions to justify the Irish Members in asking for this measure; and, therefore, he felt that he was not only justified, but bound to bring before the House cases which had occurred in his own county. He did not go beyond it, for he ventured to think that many cases, although not of the same magnitude, could be brought forward by his Colleagues who represented other counties. In the Session of 1877 he felt it his duty to call the attention of the House to the proceedings of an English proprietor of land in Ireland (Mr. Nathaniel Buckley)—once a Member of that House—whose advent to the proprietorship of a considerable part of the princely estate of the Kingston family resulted in wrongs and sufferings to the occupiers upon it, and danger to the peace and tranquillity of the whole country by which it was surrounded. Upon that occasion, many hon. Members who knew that Gentleman as a Member of that House thought he was incapable of the conduct which was imputed to him, and that his (Mr. Downing's) statements were scarcely credible, and notably the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) described his (Mr. Downing's) relation of his proceedings as a savage attack upon that Gentleman, whom he had known from his infancy. He (Mr. Downing) was, however, now prepared not only to repeat what he had previously said, but to show that he had really under-stated, rather than over-stated, the facts. The district in which that property was situated was virtually

*Mr. M. Carthy Downing*

in a state of siege, and men with rifles were patrolling in every direction, morning, noon, and night. It was not his habit to introduce the action of any gentleman in his relations with his tenants, unless he felt it a duty and an obligation, and when he did so feel, he always endeavoured to understand the case. Recent events had proved that he was not wanting in his usual caution upon that occasion, for a trial of five days' duration before the highest Common Law Tribunal in Ireland resulted in proof of the truth of his statement. All that he had stated in that House, and vastly more, appeared in letters in *The Freeman's Journal* and *The Cork Examiner*, written by a Mr. Casey, for which Mr. Bridge, a now celebrated character in Ireland, obtained a "criminal information" for libel, which, upon the pleadings of Mr. Casey, were justified, and although there were 80 witnesses subpoenaed to sustain the plea of justification, 22 only were examined when a jury equally, he believed, composed of Conservatives and Liberals, intimated to the Judge that they required no further evidence—that their minds were made up. Now let him state the circumstances of that case. The magnificent estate of the Kingston family was sold during the Famine years, and an association was formed, with the sanction of Parliament, to purchase portions of it, with the view of establishing a "peasant proprietary." It provided that no more than 50 acres could be given to any occupier, and it further provided "that no member of the association could hold any portion for himself." Distinguished men formed that association—the Earl of Devon, Lord Emly, and others; but the late Mr. John Sadleir was the moving power. They purchased the estate—some 20,000 acres—at something like nine years' purchase upon the then rental; but, by a subsequent Act of that House, another association, composed principally of Manchester merchants, in place of those firstly named, was established. Mr. Buckley was a director of this new association, and eventually two Gentlemen became the proprietors—one the hon. Member for Wednesbury (Mr. Brogden) and Mr. Buckley. Previously to the next phase in his narrative was the fact that a Mr. Massey, who was agent for

years over the estate before Mr. Buckley became the owner, earned for himself the confidence and regard of the tenantry upon the estate, and his connection with them was marked by a warm tribute to his just administration by an affectionate adieu in an address. He was succeeded by the uncle of the hon. Member for Wednesbury, and when his connection with the estate terminated, there was also the deepest regret, and his name was even now remembered in every household upon the Galtee Mountains with affection and prayers for his welfare and happiness. Now, why did the gentleman give up the agency? Why did the hon. Member for Wednesbury resign his interest in this fine estate? Because Mr. Sadleir, who was connected with the unfortunate Tipperary Bank, introduced this celebrated Mr. Bridge, one of the managers of that unfortunate and bankrupt company, to the position of agent for this estate. The hon. Member for Wednesbury, influenced by the feelings of an honourable and just man, could not agree to the suggestions made by this hardhearted agent, and was so tormented by his suggestions and the adoption of them by Mr. Buckley, that he, in a moment of indignation to be regretted, said—"I will not be a party to the proceedings suggested. I would rather sell to you, Mr. Buckley, the interest of my moiety in the property," which he (Mr. Downing) need not say was exactly what Mr. Buckley wished for. An agreement was entered into, by which the hon. Member for Wednesbury sold his interest in the property, but upon the condition that Mr. Buckley was to receive a certain percentage, arising out of the rental as it then stood. Mr. Buckley up to this was in the habit of visiting this estate annually, and taking with him a number of friends to enjoy the sports which that extensive mountain property afforded, and was received by the people as a semi-prince. They would suppose that this was exactly what an English Gentleman, whether of aristocratic descent or wealth derived from trade, would be proud of. Yet what had been the conduct of this Gentleman. He had no necessitous calls; he had no wife and daughters to occupy an expensive house for the London season; and, if report be true, he was in receipt of £50,000 a-year from all sources. What was his conduct, being at the time

in receipt of the percentage agreed on on his purchase money? On the estate was an immense tract known as Galtee Mountains, on which lived, probably for centuries, a population living upon the most scanty food, badly clad and housed, yet satisfied with their humble lot. They had cultivated the mountain top with labour impossible to describe, and upon that innocent, guileless, and wretched population Mr. Buckley, a bachelor, with his £50,000 a-year, yielded to the promptings of Bridge, or of avarice, to place upon them, "including many widows," an increase of rent ranging from 50 to 500 per cent, while the average increase on the whole was more than 100 per cent. How that was effected and carried out the House should hear in the words of the able and learned Judges. Judge Barry said—

"But what is the course adopted upon this estate in the Galtees? The purchase is made in 1873; a stranger, unknown to the tenants, of whose integrity or skill they know nothing, is brought down in July; he completes his valuation in November; and in January 1874 printed notices are sent to the tenants informing them that their rent is to be so and so" (specifying the amount fixed by Mr. Walker) "from the 26th of March then next. I have professionally and judicially come in contact with many cases of controversy between landlord and tenant. I have seen and heard the usual charges and counter-charges of harshness on the one hand and dishonesty or unreasonableness on the other, sometimes proved and sometimes disproved; but such a demand by agent or landlord as that made by these notices, under such circumstances, never fell within my observation. The demand was wholly unenforceable in law, and so far as I see on the facts before us, indefensible as a matter of dealing between man and man. In point of law the landlord could no more enforce the advanced rent from the 26th of March than he could enforce its payment retrospectively for the antecedent 10 years. The tenants were entitled by law to hold at the old rent until the end of the year, and the service of these notices must therefore be regarded as an attempt—and, so far as I can see, an unjustifiable attempt—to exact, through the terror of apprehended eviction, that increase on the coming half-year which he could not obtain by any legal process. It does not appear whether many of the tenants yielded to this demand, but in October another notice is posted. I shall not comment upon the pregnant significance of the word 'submit' in this document, but every tenant who did not submit was, so far as I can gather, served with notice to quit; and it appears that about 100 were served. One of the principal charges against the prosecutor in the libels is that the increase of rent forced after this fashion upon these tenants ranged from 50 to 500 per cent on the old rents, and this is in many instances absolutely true. According to the prosecutor's own affidavit, there are instances of

increase ranging from 50 to more than 500 per cent, while the average increase on the whole of them is more than 100 per cent."

Mr. Justice Fitzgerald, after some preliminary observations, said—

"The details have been so amply observed on that I will only state that my strong impression is that the new rents imposed on the tenants of the district of Carrigeen were, in many instances, exorbitant, and generally more than the occupiers might reasonably have been called on to pay. I am bound to add that the manner in which the occupiers were called on and compelled to accept the results of a re-valuation to which they were not parties, and in which they had no voice, was high-handed and oppressive. The prosecutor supplies no fair test as to the justice of the course pursued when he informed the Court that even at the higher rents, the occupiers would not give up their holdings for substantial sums of money. Let us take any one of the class of occupiers in this townland. To him his farm is everything in his life; is he bably lived and worked on it and other means skilled in no other labour; has no other means of existence; and, if deprived of it, must become a wanderer, without a home, until ultimately he finds one in the workhouse. He will submissively accept a great deal to avoid such a result. When legal rights are sought to be enforced by ordinary process of law, it is our duty to give effect to and enforce them without regard to consequences; but should legal rights be converted into an engine of oppression? Let it not be supposed that the oppressor is entitled to the aid of the extraordinary power of this Court by criminal information. My brother Barry has gone so far into the details of the case, that I forbear from commenting on them, and shall only now observe that if we had to deal with this portion as if it was in respect of a private inquiry alone, I should entirely concur in the opinion that the prosecutor does not stand before us in that unblemished position which would entitle him to the extraordinary interposition of the Court, and that the rule should, therefore, be discharged."

Mr. Justice O'Brien expressed his full concurrence with the views so clearly and ably stated by his brother Barry. What further was established on the trial for libel in Dublin? This, that Mr. Walker, from Shinrone—which he (Mr. Downing) understood could claim the honour of giving birth to Mr. Bridge—was paid by a percentage on the increased rent which he placed upon the tenants, a proceeding which he ventured to think had no parallel in any civilized community governed by just laws. The Judges declared that if upon those facts alone they had to decide, they would have refused the application; but that, considering the consequences which had resulted from the firing at Mr. Bridge and the death of Hyland, his driver,

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they felt compelled to send the inquiry to a jury. Well, it did come before a jury, and he had already stated the result—that that jury had in effect decided that what Mr. Casey said of the cruelty and inhumanity charged was clearly established; but that, upon the charge of the Chief Justice, which he (Mr. Downing) himself refrained from passing an opinion upon, they were unable to come to a decision upon the law of libel as laid down by him. Now, what were the results of that exercise of the power which law gave to Mr. Buckley? This—that one of an injured population, plundered of every right and threatened with eviction, sought the vengeance of revenge, fired at Mr. Bridge, wounded him, for which he applied for compensation, and obtained from the grand jury of Limerick a presentment for £400. Then an iron barracks was placed at the gate of the residence of Mr. Bridge. Police fully armed were constantly patrolling; no fewer than 10 were told off daily in discharge of, to them, an odious duty. Notwithstanding all that protection, Bridge was again fired at. He and a policeman were severely wounded, and his watchman was shot dead, for which a retched old man was executed. Bridge obtained a further sum of £1,000 as compensation; the widow of the coachman got £700; the constable £100. That sum of £1,800 was levied off the struggling inhabitants of the parish of Bichelstown, county Cork—where only small portion of the estate was situated, though the outrage took place within half-a-mile of the county of Limerick, here a more considerable portion of the estate was situated. That innocent population were plunged thus into difficulties. The surrounding district was kept in a state of terror, and as if misfortune was to meet everyone connected, innocently or otherwise, with those proceedings, two of the police were shot by their own rifles accidentally going off as he knew that it was the intention of a hon. Friend of his to move for a Commission of Inquiry into the whole of that farming affair he would not enter into

by compulsion, agreed to the increased rents, were hopelessly in debt and in arrear of rent, and that the result would be evictions for non-payment of rent, which would preclude the tenants from any compensation for disturbance—a new method of evading the provisions of the Land Act. Well, he had been hopeful that Mr. Buckley would have stayed his exterminating hand, Mr. Bridge having, in a letter published in *The Manchester Guardian*, stated that the 55 tenants whom he (Mr. Downing) said were doomed to eviction were not, and need not fear eviction. And yet what had taken place! That the notices to quit and ejectments were still being persevered in. At the Clonmel Sessions, 1877, 31 ejectments on notices to quit were entered, and some 14 at the Limerick Sessions. At the Clonmel Sessions, held last month, there were 16 capricious evictions pronounced, the Judge humanely staying execution for some months, and four similar ejectments at Limerick. Twenty-seven other families were awaiting a similar fate at the approaching Sessions, with regard to which printed notices of a most unique character had been considerably given by Bridge in the following words:—

“Mountain Lodge, January 29th, 1878.—I hereby give you timely notice of my intention to have you served with ejectment processes for the next quarter sessions or county court to be held at Clonmel in pursuance of the notice to quit, which terminated your tenancy on the 29th of September last, so that you may have ample time to serve the notices which the law requires to enable you to put in your claims for compensation at the Land Court which will then and there be held.—PATRICK S. BRIDGE, Agent for Nathaniel Buckley, Esq.”

The House would observe that it was the intention of Bridge that was communicated, and the object of it was obviously to create alarm and terror and submission to the will of this unfeeling agent. He (Mr. Downing) felt he might now part with Mr. Buckley and his unfortunate tenantry on the Galtees by offering a portion of the evidence given on the trial in Dublin to the inspection of the House—namely, three photographs of the habitations on that

ment cases on notices to quit were tried, and although not of the magnitude of Mr. Buckley's, they were fully equal, if not in excess, in injustice and oppression. The cases were reported in all the country papers, in which an agent named Campion figured as a worthy colleague of Bridge. The plaintiffs were three sisters, married ladies, the daughters of the late Captain W. P. White. The first case tried was against a man named Cornelius Kelleher, tenant of part of the lands of Ratooragh, where he and his family lived for many years. He improved the land, and when he did so his rent was from time to time increased to £16 16s. per year. This Mr. Campion became agent in May, 1876. He lived some 80 miles distant from the lands. He visited the lands once for nine hours, and his first act was to serve the tenantry—he (Mr. Downing) believed 17 in number—with notices to quit their farms on the 1st November last. Now, he would ask the attention of the House to the treatment of these tenantry by this agent, as given in evidence by himself. The following document was put into his hands, which he admitted to be in his handwriting, and which he had served upon the various tenants—

"Ratooragh, 9th of August, 1876. Mr. Con Kelleher—Unless you to-morrow, at 9 o'clock, execute a lease of your farm at £30 a-year I shall increase my terms to £40 a-year, and my attorney's full charges of three guineas for the lease.—N. G. CAMPION."

That case was typical of the several other cases tried; but he would mention one other. The defendant was Roger Mahony, whose rent, when Captain White purchased, was £13 a-year. From time to time it was raised to £19, and a similar document was sent to him calling on him to execute forthwith a lease at £24 a-year, and stating that if he did not, the rent would be raised to £29. Now, all the improvements, including even roads, were made by the tenants under the following threatening letter signed by Captain White, the original purchaser—

"Cork, April 21st, 1856.—To the tenants of the lands of Ratooragh—I have to request that you, and each of you, will aid and assist in repairing the roads leading from your farms, and in improving your farms, otherwise I will be under the necessity of serving you with a notice to quit, and get other tenants that will

assist in doing so. I have aided you in draining your farms, and I have not increased your rents; but, in future, I will charge a higher rent if I improve without your assistance. I wish each of you to purchase as much lime as will do your houses, and draw it home. Given under my hand, W. P. WHITE."

Now, the County Judge had the confidence and respect of all classes, and was not remarkable for his leanings towards the tenantry in carrying out the provisions of the Land Act; therefore, the House would regard more any observations coming from him than from himself (Mr. Downing). What did he say in giving his judgment granting decrees, except in some cases which were dismissed upon technical grounds? In alluding to his experience, he said—

"That whenever a landlord made a fair and equitable demand upon his tenants, he was met fairly and properly, and the matter settled out of court in a fair spirit. He could say from his own knowledge—and he was confirmed by the opinion of a gentleman of the highest position as a landlord and agent both in England and Ireland—that there was not in the world a tenantry more disposed to act fairly and justly to the landlords than the tenantry of Ireland. In every case they were found submitting to any fair and reasonable proposal, although it might increase the rental put upon them. In the cases heard yesterday, the increase of rent from time to time came out in evidence. It was almost an annual increase. They had first the rent paid in 1845. At that time land may have been let under its value; but, at all events, in 1853 the state of the country had then assumed its fair letting value. Well, then, there was an increase in the rental in 1853, and from that period there seemed to have been a steady, gradual increase in the amount demanded from these tenants until the present, when it was proposed to raise the rent in some cases to double what it had been in 1853. Unquestionably that was a very large, in fact, too large, an increase. If there was nothing more in the cases except the evidence afforded by the rental, the present demand would seem to be unreasonable; but they had one of the tenants deposing 'that in spite of all his improvements, all his industry, it would be impossible for him to exist, and to pay the rent now demanded.'"

It must be obvious to everyone that if these cases were persevered in to the bitter end in the spirit evinced hitherto, the results, public and private, must be mischievous and deplorable. He could not believe that any landlord would persevere in cases like these if he were aware of all the facts of the antecedents of these tenants, of their improvements, and their present position. Nor could there be a more convincing illustration of the condition of the occupiers of land

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in Ireland, and of the inadequacy of the Land Act to prevent capricious evictions. The action of the Government of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich was an honest, and, he might admit, a bold endeavour to give security of tenure to the occupiers of land. He would, however, venture to say that no hon. Member for Ireland would say that the Land Act had given that security, and it was now in their power, as a strong Government—and it was their duty—to carry into practical effect that which the Parliament of 1870 intended. They had, during their four years of office, not done one single act of justice or conciliation to the people of Ireland. They had now the opportunity, and he would tell them they ought not to lose it. He could multiply cases of capricious evictions; but it would only weary the House; therefore, he would only give one other case of eviction from different motives, at the same Sessions, and before the same Judge, in the case of Beamish against Sullivan. The tenant was long upon the lands, had paid his rent to the last gale day, and upon examination of the plaintiff's son, it appeared that the eviction took place because the defendant voted at the election of a Guardian as he thought right, and refused to vote according to the bidding of the landlord. Now he came to the provisions of the Bill, and he did not think he need go over-minutely into them; its recital conveyed its object, that being that provision should be effectually made to enable the occupiers of land to hold it upon such sufficient security of tenure as should induce them to make improvements and the land more productive for the public good. The Bill was divided into three parts. The first had reference to the Ulster custom of tenant-right, and he considered that it would be an unjustifiable consumption of time if he were now to enter into that part of the Bill, the subject having been so lately discussed on the Bill of his hon. Friend the Member for Down (Mr. Sharman Crawford), and likely to be again on the Bill brought in by the hon. Member for Downpatrick (Mr. Mulholland). The second part, commencing with the 13th section, contained provisions for the amendment of the Land Act. That section, and the 14th, were absolutely necessary in consequence of the decision made by the

County Judges, and affirmed on appeals with which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland was conversant—that where a tenant entered into a new agreement with his landlord after notice to quit determining his tenancy, by which the former terms were altered, that the tenant thereby lost all claim to the improvements which he had previously made, and to which he would have been entitled had he been evicted. It was clear that that was not the intention of the framers of the 18th section of the Act, which was an Amendment by Sir Roundell Palmer. The 15th section would repeal the 12th section of the present Act, which allowed a tenant valued at £50 a-year and upwards to contract himself out of the benefit of the Act. He might here observe that there was no such provision in the Bill when originally introduced, the provision being introduced in Committee when the limit was fixed at £100 per annum; but in the Lords it was reduced to £50; therefore the clause was a fair matter for discussion in Committee. The 16th and 17th sections provided for compensation to tenants, to which he would take for granted no hon. Member could object. The 18th section went to qualify the 14th section of the Act, which disentitled a tenant under the 3rd section of the Act, who might be evicted, for the exercise of a right from which he was debarred by agreement, and the clause would then give the Judge in such a case power, in awarding compensation, to take into account the conduct of such tenant. The 19th section was an important one—embracing one of the cardinal objects to be attained, and that was power to the Judge to determine the fair value of lands, and for that purpose enabling him to call to his assistance two referees, one to be appointed by the landlord and the other by the tenant; but whose opinion need not be binding upon the Judge. Now, there were many precedents for the intervention of arbitrators, and for ascertaining the value of land by taking the average price of agricultural produce for a certain number of years; and in the Land Act itself Courts of Arbitration were recognized. The 20th clause was a modification of a similar one in the Land Act of 1870. It gave power to the Judge, if he should think it neces-

sary, to have the aid of a jury upon matters of fact. The 21st clause enlarged the scope of the 32nd section of the Act by enabling landlord and tenant to carry out the provisions of that section by a grant in perpetuity, subject to a fee-farm rent, instead of an absolute conveyance of the fee. The 22nd clause provided that no tenancy could be determined save by a notice to quit served 12 months previously, and expiring on the last gale day of the year. Now there was a curious history connected with the object of that clause. When the Land Bill went from that House to the House of Lords it contained a similar provision; but the House of Lords, in its wisdom, altered the clause so as to contain the form requiring but six months' notice. In 1875 the present Parliament passed the Agricultural Holdings Act for England, probably the greatest sham ever practised by a political Party on their unsuspecting, but duped supporters. However, it contained that just and useful provision requiring 12 months' notice to quit, and therefore since that Act became law, 12 months' notice was required to terminate a tenancy in that country. The late Sir Colman O'Loughlen and he (Mr. Downing) in a former Session introduced a Bill to assimilate the law in Ireland. It passed that House without one word of opposition, indeed with the full assent of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland. But the House of Lords again, in its superior judgment, rendered the Bill almost valueless, by making it only prospective—that was, as to tenancies created after the passing of the Act. Those facts spoke for themselves, and must convince the public outside of the difficulties which Irish Members had to contend with in obtaining the simplest concessions. The 24th, 52th, and 26th clauses required no explanation or comment, and with them ended the clauses providing for amendment in the Land Act. He would venture to think that the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite would, even if inclined, find it difficult to urge any arguments against any of them; but he would probably say, as he did upon another debate in reference to the Land Question—

“That there were a great many things in the Bill that he thought unobjectionable, but, on the whole, he could not recommend the adoption of it to the House.”

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If he would say so in reference to that Bill, he (Mr. Downing) hoped he would be somewhat more explicit, and inform the House what portions of the Bill, if any, he considered objectionable, and how far his Government were prepared to go in the direction of it. To the third part of the Bill he (Mr. Downing) had reason to believe that objections would be offered. If so, he thought it was because it was misunderstood. The 27th clause provided that any occupying tenant entitled to compensation on disturbance under the 3rd section of the Act should be entitled to claim the benefit which that part purported to confer. The 33rd section defined what that benefit was—namely, a declaration of tenancy from the Judge at the rent therein specified. He thought it would be convenient to go at once to the clauses by which that rent was to be ascertained. The 44th section gave the mode, that was—the rent should be that which a solvent tenant could pay, fairly and without collusion, after deducting from such rent the additional letting value by the improvements made by the tenant. If the landlord and tenant did not agree—which, he thought, they would in 19 cases out of 20—then, under subsequent clauses, arbitrators would decide, one appointed by the landlord and one by the tenant, and the third by the Judge. The arbitrators would be sworn, and the Judge would have the power to set aside an award for fraud or misconduct. At the end of 21 years the landlord or the tenants might apply to vary the rent according to the average price of agricultural produce as set forth in the 62nd clause. That was already done in the case of property belonging to Trinity College, Dublin. The 39th clause enabled the tenant to have a labourer's cottage for every 25 acres. It was so in the Land Bill of 1870. Now, he thought, he had gone through all the important clauses of the Bill, and having had the advantage of hearing the objections made in the last Session, he could deal with them, and hoped to refute them. They came principally from the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kerry (Mr. Herbert), who moved the rejection of the Bill, and the right hon. Baronet the late Chief Secretary for Ireland. The hon. Member for Kerry designated the Bill “a Land Transfer instead of a Land Tenure Bill.” He

said under it the landlord would be a mere rent-charger in the country, and would have nothing to induce him to remain in the country; that by giving perpetuity of tenure they would transfer five years' annual value to the tenants, the perpetuity being worth that, and he strongly objected to the 40th clause, giving power to sub-divide. He (Mr. Downing) hoped to be able to satisfy the hon. Member that he had misunderstood the effects of the Bill, and that if the hon. Member could see that he did, he would own it, and in candour admit it. An annuitant was a person deriving a fixed income from land by a deed of annuity or mortgage, and who had no further interest in the land, or power over it, and a perpetuity in the sense understood by the hon. Member would be the same as a fee-farm grant, reserving a rent fixed and unalterable. Now, under that Bill the landlord would possess every right, privilege, and power which he did at this moment, save and except the power of capricious eviction to extort exorbitant rents, for the prevention of which the Land Act was passed, but failed to achieve. He would first, however, recall attention to the 36th clause, which reserved to the landlord all royalties, mines, minerals and quarries, and game. The 35th clause also gave implied covenants for payment of rent, against sub-letting, against assigning, and against waste. Now, what power beyond those which he had enumerated did the landlord possess at the present moment, and so far from being merely an annuitant, the rent might vary at the end of every 21 years, according to the interest of either landlord or tenant, and because, in many cases, the declaration of tenancy was but security of tenure. Then there remained of the hon. Gentleman's objections that with reference to the power given by the 40th section to assign not less than 30 acres where the farm consisted of 60, provided that the 30 acres' rent be not less in value than £30; and while the consequences which he apprehended might arise as described by him, in reference to a small Roscommon estate of 164 acres, on which he said there were 222 tenants, he (Mr. Downing) was not at all prepared to say that there was not much weight in another objection which he put—namely, that on a large farm on which there was one suitable house

and out-offices, it would be injurious to the landlord in every point of view to have this large farm cut into three or four 30-acre farms. Therefore, it would not only be a matter to be discussed in Committee, but expressing his own opinion, he should be sorry to lose the Bill by retaining the clause. Then the right hon. Baronet the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, in that former debate, asked—

“What reason had there been shown to the House for this change beyond an old story of landlord tyranny in Ireland, composed of anecdotes dating from any period within the last 500 years, except the present time. What proof had been shown that the revolution in the interest of the tenant and against the landlord was really required?”—[3 *Hansard*, ccxviii. 816.]

He (Mr. Downing) hoped that the House would agree with him when he alleged that he had given the extremest cases of oppression and disregard of all equity and justice as could possibly occur in any well-governed society; and similar cases he might have given, but feared that he might weary the House. Had he not, further, by the Returns of evictions, to which he had already referred, given startling proof—if proof could prevail—that protection to the occupiers of land in Ireland was a crying necessity. They did more for the ryots of India by Statutes passed in 1868 and 1869, called the Punjaub and Bengal Tenancy Acts, by which they prevented the Chiefs and Zemindars from enhancing rents, save upon grounds specified, and every tenant had the same right to an abatement of rent for other causes, all such claims being cognizable by the collectors of land revenue. The recitals to those Acts were worth hearing. They said—

“Whereas (amongst other things) that it is expedient to the prevention of illegal exaction and extortion in connection with the demands of rent;”

and went on to enact as he had stated. This they did against a memorial and protest signed by all the Chief Rajahs and gentlemen of the Presidency. But what had they lately done in Prince Edward Island? They had there, by an Act sanctioned by the present Government, actually compelled every proprietor of land in that island to sell his property, although Petitions in the strongest language were presented praying that the



Royal Assent might not be given to the Bill. They had appointed Commissioners, one of whom was the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), to fix the purchase money, and if refused by the owner it was lodged to his credit; and at that moment there was not one of the old proprietors of that island in possession of an acre of his estate. He would conclude by referring to the prosperity and happiness enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Channel Islands by reason of their having perpetuity of tenure. The following extract from the history of Guernsey, by Jonathan Duncan, Esq., would best illustrate it. He said—

“The plan of leases for seven, fourteen, or twenty-one years, together with the tenancies from year to year, and others as well, is bad in principle, as these tenures merely convey a temporary interest, terminable at a date specified. The working farmer thus becomes a bird of passage, without any fixed home. He may be prudent, industrious, and sober, a good father, a good husband, a good master, a good neighbour, and a good citizen; but these virtues avail him nothing. He lives in a state of agricultural servitude, and at the expiration of his lease the capricious spite of his landlord may expel him from his farm. Widely different is the condition of the Guernsey men. Once possessed of land, he can never lose it except by his own fault, and he continues absolute lord of the property. He feels proud of his position, and the spirit of independence is within him. He is not classed among the locomotive machines of humanity, who in Great Britain and Ireland are shifted from county to county, seeking a precarious subsistence. No; he has a stake in the country, though it may be small. He can say, with honest pride—‘This house is mine; that field is mine; and when I die the law will give them to my children.’”

Enable the Irishman to say the same, and Ireland would become a second Guernsey. He had to apologize to the House for the great length at which he had addressed it, and to express his thankfulness for the patience with which he had been heard. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That the Bill be now read a second time.”—(*Mr. M'Carthy Downing.*)

SIR JOHN LESLIE, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, he had been challenged to defend the conduct of Mr. Buckley, or of Mr. Bridge, his agent; but that had no reference to the question raised by

this measure. With regard to certain evictions which were said to have taken place in the county of Tyrone, the right hon. Baronet the Chief Secretary for Ireland had last year proved by figures that evictions in Ireland, except for non-payment of rent, were exceedingly few. That was in print. In the short space of three weeks Parliament had been called upon for the second time to consider and amend the Land Laws of Ireland. He much preferred the present Bill, extravagant as it was, to that of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Sharman Crawford), which was disposed of the other day, with an *odium probandi* which was less likely to be mistaken. He thought it must appear extraordinary to the House that after the exhaustive labours of Parliament at so short a time ago as 1870, it should now be thought necessary to re-open the whole question of the Land Laws. The Bill, in his opinion, instead of amending, subverted the fundamental principles of the Land Act. It had been stated over and over again, and not contradicted, that the Land Act of Ireland afforded to the tenants in Ireland greater security and protection than was afforded to the tenants of the other parts of the United Kingdom. That being so, it was surely monstrous to introduce, week after week, Bills to amend the Land Laws of Ireland, as if tenants had not got any protection from the law at all. What were the principles of the Bill? They might be summed up in certain terms of agitation, which were well known as “fixity of tenure”—what were called “fair rents,” and “free sale.” Political economists had, however, searched and probed those principles to the bottom, and had come to the conclusion they were fallacies. Although they had a specious exterior, they had another skin inside which would not bear the light of day. Fixity of tenure itself, to dispose of it in a few words, whilst it would claim for the good tenant that he should not be disturbed, it was altogether forgotten that it secured to a bad tenant the right of remaining in perpetuity without fear of eviction, which surely no one would contend to be a desirable thing. Another thing which an hon. Member who had spoken with pride of his own tenantry would wish to see in existence was “fair rents,” as they were called. Well, the first prin-

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ciple of fair rents was that the landlords should have no power to say what the values of lands which he let should be, and that the amount of rent was not left to his choice at all. He had a right to nominate an arbitrator; but, on the other hand, the tenant had a right to nominate another. Should they disagree, a third, the assistant barrister for the county, was to be called in, and his decision was to be final. Therefore the landlord would be in the position of having two to one against him. ["No, no!"] At all events, according to his experience. According to all recognized principles of fixture, the landlord was the person who had the right to say what was the value of the farm which was about to be let. The third principle was that of "free sale." Nobody would wish to oppose the right of selling that which was the tenant's property. The only ground of opposition was that he should not at the same time sell that which did not belong to him. But by the Bill he was allowed to sell not only his own interest in the farm, but that which belonged to the landlord. Surely if the tenant had been holding for a long term under moderate rents, low rents, such as the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Downing) charged his tenants, for instance; if he had been holding under low rates, and then had a right to sell the farm to the highest bidder, he not only sold what belonged to himself, but he sold the advantage he had had for years in holding below the actual value of the farm. That was undoubtedly the property of the landlord. This fact had been so thoroughly sifted and analyzed by a distinguished political economist, who put the matter so undeniably before the minds of his audience, that it was impossible to contradict him. A great authority—one who, from time to time, illumined the minds of his audience with political economy and wisdom in Ireland—the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar)—had said in the course of last year, talking of this subject—

"The landlords are an idle class, and ought to be removed. The best remedy that I see for this is fixity of tenure."

That, at least, was a comprehensive criticism, and, coming from such a source, would be valued at what it was worth. Under the Bill the power to evict was totally inoperative, and a bad tenant

became practically immovable. It had also been said that the land for agricultural purposes in Ireland had been for many years held on tenancy from year to year, and that it had been found by experience that such a tenure was not sufficient either to ensure to the industrious occupier the benefits of his industry, or to encourage occupiers to apply their best energies to the cultivation of the land; but he (Sir John Leslie) said boldly that the best farmers in Ireland at the present moment were those who held from year to year, and that the man who showed enterprise and industry in the cultivation of his farm never feared eviction. There was no question about it that Ulster was acknowledged to be the seat of the best cultivation, and the best farmers there did not hold from year to year. To give a case in point, he would say that before the passing of the Land Act, Commissioners were sent to Ulster to report upon the state of agriculture in that Province, and in their Report they said—

"We have found the standard of agriculture higher in the Province of Ulster than we expected, but judge of our astonishment on coming on the best-tilled farm we have ever seen in any country."

He (Sir John Leslie) was bound to say that farm was part of the property he had inherited from his ancestors, and which they had possessed for generations. The tenant had never found the necessity of any alteration of the tenure, and had found nothing to prevent him putting the whole of his substance into the land, and the result was that the commendation he received was the greatest that could be bestowed upon the agriculturist in the country. Another defect of the measure was that the device of sub-letting was re-introduced into it; they had again the abomination of the middlemen forced upon the country. In fact, the landlord was deprived by the Bill of every single right now remaining to him—except that of receiving his rent, which was to be valued by somebody else, and, as an hon. Friend close to him said—"if he could get it." It was, certainly, pleasing in the course of 69 clauses to hit upon one in which he agreed; and he would admit his agreement with Clause 7, which provided that the Ulster custom should take effect in leasehold property. That was the recognized custom in Ulster with respect

to leaseholds, and if it was not at this moment part of the Land Act, it was merely an instance of omission which easily admitted of rectification. Such an error was not by any means sufficient to necessitate half a dozen different Land Bills, and more especially it was totally insufficient to justify bringing into existence such a Bill as that he held in his hand. The Bill, he was bound to say, was as full of vices as mortal life was full of sin. It was not that Ireland required better Land Laws—she required better cultivation; and if hon. Gentlemen opposite would bestow upon the people of Ireland as much care in counselling them to improve their lands as they did in getting up Bills, they would do more good. Not even from the hon. and learned Member himself (Mr. Butt), whom he was sorry to see absent, from him down to the hon. Member for Cavan, none had ever lectured the husbandmen of Ireland upon the improvement of the cultivation of their land. If they could only prove to the tenants that they could obtain a third more out of the land, they would effect that which they had hitherto failed in doing—to confer on them a lasting and enduring benefit. The hon. Baronet concluded by moving the rejection of the Bill.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word “now,” and at the end of the Question to add the words “upon this day six months.”—(*Sir John Leslie.*)

Question proposed, “That the word ‘now’ stand part of the Question.”

LORD FRANCIS CONYNNGHAM said, that after the able exposition of the Bill which was made by the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Downing), it was not his intention to expatiate upon or to go into its particulars, for he knew there were many hon. Members sitting on both sides of the House who were far more eloquent and abler to enter into that question than he was; but he could not for one moment divest himself of the feeling that in his position, having no slight interest in the Irish Land Question, it behoved him to say a few words in favour of the second reading of the Bill. Year after year they had brought in a Land Bill, and year after year they invariably had to return to Ireland with the message that that House could not agree to it. As regarded what the hon.

Baronet the Member for ~~the~~ *Lough* (Sir John Leslie) had said, he (Lord Francis Conyngham) regretted that from his experience, having lived many years in a certain part of Ulster, he could not agree with him. He was not one of those who believed that the Land Tenure Bill would interfere for one moment with the just rights of the landlord, where there were right feelings existing between the landlord and tenant. In fact, wherever the tenants were treated by their landlords in a spirit of justice and kindness, the greatest good feeling existed between them, and in such cases there was hardly a necessity for the Bill. It was required, however, as a security and a protection against unjust landlords, who, however, he was happy to say—thank God for it!—were in a minority in Ireland. He would mention a circumstance which related to his old Friend, Tom Conolly, the late Member for Donegal. Some of his estates got into the Encumbered Estates Court. The tenants of those estates, like the rest of his tenantry, were devoted to him, and when they heard his estates were going into the Court, they actually wrote him a letter, beseeching him for Heaven's sake not to barter his people, who were happy men, free-spoken and contented, on his property, and who were quite willing to have their rents raised to continue his tenants. Unfortunately it could not be done, and what was the result? He would not go into details, but bad feelings began to exhibit themselves. After a man had bought it who would have his pound of flesh, Ribbonism began to show its head, and discontent spread. In pleading for the second reading of the Bill, he thought the House should remember that, speaking for both sides of the House, there were landlords such as the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh) and other hon. Members who were pattern landlords, and if all landlords treated their tenantry as these hon. Members did, there would be no occasion for a Bill of this kind. As far back as 1857, when he first had the honour of a seat in the House, then comparatively a boy, there was a miserable attempt to deal with the question. The Bill was treated with sneers, and met with few supporters. He remembered the division well, and he said at the time it was a pity to treat the measure in that way. The day would

*Sir John Leslie*

come when it would become one of the greatest political questions, and he had lived to see it become the subject of a Government Bill of the greatest magnitude. He thanked the Government of the day for passing the Act of 1870; but that Act required amendment, and he believed that with good handling, the present measure would settle satisfactorily this important question, which had been the cause of estrangement between landlord and tenant, and of so much misery to the country. Every time this Land Bill came before the House, the same unfavourable answer went back to Ireland—they would not even look at it in Committee. Was it fair or just to treat the measure in that way? He appealed to the House to let the Bill go into Committee, and then the objectionable clauses might be cut and carved away. If all hon. Members knew how that Land Question touched the heart of the people of Ireland, they would not refuse to deal with it. Many things had been said about the question, and those who supported it; but a public man did not mind that, and for his part such attacks fell like water on a duck's back. Some of his family might hold different views in politics, but he was glad to say, all held the principle of live and let live on the estates. If the Bill were allowed to go into Committee, it would show that the House was disposed to meet the wishes of the people of Ireland, and to deal with the question in a favourable spirit, and as an amendment to the Land Act. It was no use for the House to say that having passed the Land Bill, there was an end to the Land Question. If they decided on rejecting the Bill, he could assure them that it would be brought forward again and again, just as year after year for 20 years the Ballot Bill was brought forward, and he ventured to say that, like other measures of justice which had been scornfully refused, it would ultimately become the law of the land. He voted for the Ballot in 1857, and he had lived to see it carried. He believed that if they persevered they must inevitably pass some good measure at last. He was not a Member having the gift of eloquence, and generally preferred to listen; but he felt that was an occasion when the House should know there was a determination to persevere with the question. In the remarks of the hon.

Baronet the Member for Monaghan, he was sorry to find a disposition to prejudge the case, and to suppose that under the clauses by which landlord and tenant appointed an arbitrator, there would be a foregone conclusion against the landlord. For his own part, he had the utmost anxiety to deal justly with the landlord, whom he valued as highly as any man; but he was willing to give up his seat, and 50 chances of a seat if by so doing he could hope to see the Land Question settled in a happy manner. Do not let hon. Members say the law was passed. Let the Bill go before Committee, for it was no use calling the Land Act of 1870 a messenger of peace to Ireland while that Act needed amendment.

Mr. KAVANAGH said, he was glad to hear the assurance of the noble Lord the Member for Clare (Lord Francis Conyngham) that the bad landlords of Ireland were in a minority, because his hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Downing) founded all his arguments upon the necessity of the Bill by stating the number of ejectments, and led the House to believe that the Irish landlords were, as a class, bad. He (Mr. Kavanagh) had listened throughout his remarks, but had only heard reference made to the case of Mr. Bridge, or Mr. Buckley, and another case under the name of Sullivan; and the last name he did not remember ever having heard of. So far as his own experience went, he did not think that numerous evictions had taken place. The hon. Member, however, was stating what he believed to be facts, and it was to be presumed he had satisfied himself of their correctness; but from what he (Mr. Kavanagh) had heard, the hon. Member must have mixed up the notices to quit for non-payment of rent with evictions. He did not think there could be numerous cases of notices to quit such as the hon. Member had referred to. In his opinion, they could not occur without some noise being made upon the subject in the newspapers. The hon. Member then referred to the conduct of landlords when their tenants had made improvements in a manner which, so far as his (Mr. Kavanagh's) knowledge went, was not borne out by fact. He had never heard of such cases, and without wishing to throw doubt on the sincerity with which the statements were made, he

should like to see such cases as those mentioned substantiated. The hon. Member went on to hold out the example to this country of what was done with the landlords of Prince Edward's Island. But there was one great difference between the way in which landlords there were dealt with, and the method proposed in the present Bill. The Government in Prince Edward's Island paid the landlords a price; but the hon. Member opposite proposed to sweep away all the landlords' rights and pay them nothing. That was a very great difference in the two cases. He must say that when he came to treat of the Bill that he thought hon. Members on both sides of the House had good reasons to complain of being brought down to the House during the latter end of the 19th century to argue first principles. The noble Lord who spoke last complained that motions for their approval or adoption were neither approved or adopted. They complained of that, and some said they were not listened to, and others that they were sick of being listened to. However, the result was the House did not accept the proposal. They argued, therefore, the only way to gain their purpose was by a Home Rule Parliament. He (Mr. Kavanagh) must ask the House whether there was not a sufficient answer to that complaint in the Bill before them? He would ask the House whether the Bill they were now considering did not afford as cogent, as efficacious an answer to what the Home Rulers demanded as could well be given? Was it a reason that because a Home Rule Parliament in College Green would pass the Bill that the House of Commons should? So far from that being so, it offered very strong reasons against entrusting to a Home Rule Parliament at College Green the power of legislating for property. He would ask the House to consider the Bill quietly from this point of view. The Bill was a proposal that re-opened the whole Land Question in Ireland which was settled in 1870 by the Act then passed. It was then gone into most carefully, and legislation was carried to an extent that many believed scarcely possible. That Act was agreed to by many as a compromise, and one that went further than many hon. Members at the time approved of. The result of it was the present Bill, which was not only a proposal to re-open the

entire Land Question; but it was a proposal in the coolest, most unwarrantable manner, to hand over what little was left to the landlords to the occupiers. No reason was given for that, except that the occupiers wished it, and as he had no doubt there were many people in the world to whom a slice from their neighbour's possessions would be an advantage, so he believed there were some people who in the inmost recesses of their hearts would be glad to have the slice. But he did not think there were many men with sufficient assurance to avow it. That there were some the Bill gave evidence of, and it was the embodiment of their wishes. He hoped, however, the House would agree with him in thinking that confiscation had already gone far enough, and that it was time to draw a line somewhere and fix some boundary to the encroachments on the rights of property. The Preamble of the Bill which he had read offered a sort of revolutionary lecture upon political economy, the substance of which was that discontent prevailed in Ireland because the Irish people had not possession of the land, and with that possession a right to sell. That must not be forgotten, and that it was discontent that acted as a deterrent to the industry of the country, and prevented that peace which should exist. Now, he thought that Preamble—by merely changing the text of the lecture, and by a few transpositions of words—might be made to refer to any kind of property. By the same argument, hon. Members who were in support of that principle might govern with as much justice all kinds of property. It would be said that the titles of land were quite distinct from that of any other property; but he did not think it was so very different from the case of the merchant or shipowner, who did not possess a stronger title than he did to his land. They had inherited and they had bought their property. So had the landlords, and, as far as that went, the same argument might apply to property in each case. It appeared to be generally accepted as a principle of political economy that, if an owner made a bad use of his property—a use detrimental to the common weal—then the Government had a right to interfere. The Irish landlords were assumed to have come under that ban, and in 1870, the Land Act was in-

troduced and passed, and, as all imagined, the complaints against the landlords were effectually stopped. It went, in the opinion of many, even further than that. But he would not stop to argue that point now. What had been the effect of that legislation? Its result was the present Bill. The Irish tenant learned what he could gain by agitation. He was taught the cry—"I have got so much now; I must have more." He had got so much, and he held his land at an advantageous tenure as compared with his class in England and in Scotland; but that did not satisfy him, he still cried for more; and claimed now the fee-simple of the land, subject to a rent-charge. Did the House suppose that was all that was wanted, and that the same cry for more would not follow, and that the rent-charge would not soon follow the fee? The first part of the Bill he hardly thought required much notice; inasmuch as, though not verbally, it was practically the same as the Bill which, 14 days ago, was rejected by the House. It appeared strange to him that the Standing Orders of the House should permit hon. Members to introduce a question the issue of which had been definitely settled in the same Session; but he was sure, if the Bill was technically out of Order, attention would have been called to it. The promoters might shield themselves on that score, by saying of that part of the Bill that, though the same in principle as that of the hon. Member for Down (Mr. Crawford), it extended the principle. He thought that, so far as words went, the present Bill took an even wider scope on one point—namely, the 5th clause. The proposition was to extend the provisions of what was known as the Ulster custom to holdings which had never yet been subject to it now. He did not understand much about Ulster matters, but when it was proposed to extend a custom—to which there were many objections—to holdings never before subject to it, he thought it was hardly fair. The second part of the Bill dealt consistently with the subject, he admitted, for it was framed in the same spirit of confiscation that was the leading feature of the whole, which characterized the Act of 1870, unsettling what had been settled, and re-opening the ground for agitation. Clause 15, to read it shortly, merely repealed the 12th section of the Act of

1870. Perhaps there were many hon. Members present who were not in the House during the passing of the Act in 1870, so it would be no harm to explain what that section was. In 1870, one of the great arguments used in favour of the passing of that Act was, that the Irish tenant was of such a simple nature, such a dependent character, that he was unable to defend his own interest against a landlord, therefore it was thought necessary to protect the tenant from being forced by the landlord to renounce the benefits given by the Act. The words in the 3rd and 4th clauses were—

"That any contract entered into by the tenant by virtue of which he is deprived of the right to ask compensation under this section, shall, so far as relates to this claim, be void in law and equity."

But it was shown afterwards that there was a class of tenants just as well to do, just as independent, just as intelligent, and able to take care of themselves as the landlords—in fact, he did not think he was saying anything not true when he said there were some of them richer than the landlords themselves. It was shown that there was such a class who could not be classed as imbecile, and for them the 12th section was passed. The effect of that was to exclude holdings of the value of £50 from the clause for compensation, in cases where the tenant should have made a contract with the landlord not to make any such claim, virtually preserving to the tenant a right to make a contract. Clause 15 of the present Bill, then, repealed this enactment, and applied the stigma of imbecility to every class of Irish tenantry. Upon that, without comment, he would leave the House to judge. Coming to Clause 16, he did not attach much importance to it, for it was rather thrown into shadow by other parts of the Bill. Clause 18 repealed Clause 14 of the Act of 1870. The effect of that clause was, that if a tenant did any waste to the holding—did anything he was not entitled to do—committed any act of breach of agreement made with the landlord—if he did these things the landlord might evict without compensation. Clause 18 repealed that. [An hon. MEMBER: Only in part.] Well, though it was only in part, the result was, that the tenant was given the right to waste and do many things with the holding he should not be allowed to do. Another

part of Clause 14 of the Act justified the landlord in evicting if the tenant refused to let him walk over the land. Clause 18 repealed that; for a right to go over the land, the landlord was referred to the Court of Equity. He would not refer to other clauses in Part II. Clause 22 and 23 he might dwell on. Their effect was to unsettle again the whole matter of notices to quit which were settled by the assistance of the late right hon. and learned Member for Clare (Sir Colman O'Loughlen), whose loss nobody regretted more than he (Mr. Kavanagh) did, and especially in connection with this question. Proceeding to Part III., what filled him with wonder was, that hon. Members who had devised it, should have given themselves the trouble to devise Parts I. and II.; because, if Part II. became law, the inconsistencies and, if he might be excused the word, the iniquities of the first two parts were merged into the third. The effect of Part III. was simply this—if the tenant of any holding in Ireland wished to possess himself of the fee simple of the land, he might go to the Chairman of Quarter Sessions, who, being satisfied that the claimant was the real occupier, should give a certificate that he was so, and by that certificate the tenant, by the provisions of that Bill, would acquire the fee-simple subject to a rent-charge. But as far as he (Mr. Kavanagh) could gather, that rent-charge was subject to sundry and divers reductions. To the other claims he would not refer. Clause 22 provided for notices to quit; but what was the use of a notice to quit when the landlord had no power to evict. The clause he would just say a word about was Clause 35. That clause, he understood, was intended as a sort of compensation balance, and was not unimportant—that clause enacted that the tenant should pay his rent on the 1st May and the 1st November, but the usual days were March and September. ["No, no!"] He only gave his own opinion of what was the custom in his part of the world. Well, the effect would be that the landlord would lose a part of his income for the year that the Bill came into operation; then the clause went on to say that the tenant should not sub-let without consent of the landlord, or use his holding for any purposes than those intended. With all that he quite agreed; but passing on, he found that

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all the good done by Clause 35 was undone by the clauses following. For Clause 38 allowed the letting of lodgings, conacre, the building of houses and cottages. When all that was done, he thought that the landlords would have a good deal to complain of. He would not trouble the House with further remarks, but conclude by saying he was sorry to be obliged to oppose Irish Members on the other side, but he did think that their asking him to accept such a proposal was rather hard lines. It was hard in 1870, but it was harder lines to come down now and discuss first principles, and he hardly believed the proposal was made in earnest. It was of such an extravagant nature that he could not believe that those hon. Members whose names were on the back of the Bill, and whom he had the honour to call his Friends, could be really in earnest in bringing it forward. The Bill was introduced not with any idea, belief, or expectation that it would ever be passed, but for the purpose of agitation—agitation which had been and ever would be, while it lasted, the curse of Ireland, which had stained her soil with blood and made her a bye-word among the nations.

Mr. BLENNERHASSETT said, his hon. Friend the Member for Cork (Mr. Downing), in the course of his interesting speech, entered at considerable length into the details of several recent instances showing the working of the Land Laws. The hon. Baronet who moved the rejection of the Bill (Sir John Leslie) complained that he did so, and regretted that so much time had been occupied in the discussion of what was called the Bridge and Buckley case, and the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh) also complained that so much time should have been taken up in discussing first principles. In advocating that important matter, there was one duty clearly before them, and that was that when first principles were misapplied, they should be able to show how they were misapplied. He did not intend to quarrel with the hon. Member who spoke last for his remarks on the subject of Home Rule. But he thought it was a most inconvenient thing to complicate the discussion of one subject by introducing another. At the same time, the hon. Member made an admission which was worth noting. He was of opinion that

if Home Rule were granted, a measure of this kind would be passed by an Irish Parliament. Without entering on the subject of Home Rule, he thought that the very fact that a Bill of that kind would be passed by an Irish Parliament was, at all events, good ground for the assumption that the measure was one which deserved the impartial and earnest consideration of the House. The hon. Member had said that no reason had been alleged for giving to the occupiers of land in Ireland what was demanded for them in the Bill, except that they wished for it as people, he said, very often wished for things which were not theirs. That was a statement which he (Mr. Blennerhassett) ventured to contradict, and the object of the few remarks he intended to make was to give some reasons which he hoped would prove satisfactory to the House that there were other grounds for their demand besides the ignoble desire on the part of one man to transfer to himself the property of another. The hon. Baronet who moved the rejection of the Bill had stated that no political economist ever expressed himself in favour of the principle involved in the measure now before the House. Unfortunately, the hon. Baronet did not cite the arguments of those political economists. He (Mr. Blennerhassett) had made a careful study for years of political economy, and he believed there was no political economist of eminence whose writings on this point he had not made himself acquainted with, and he was at a loss to know on what evidence the hon. Baronet based his assertion. The question at issue lay, he thought, within a narrow compass. The main point on which all that controversy about Irish land turned might be stated in a few words, and the closer the arguments were kept to that point the more practical and valuable would be the results of the discussion. The one question to be asked was—did the present circumstances of Ireland render it desirable on the part of the State to interfere with the relations of landlord and tenant in that country in such a manner that the landlord's power of indefinitely raising rent should be curtailed? The regulation of rent was the very essence of the proposal before the House. Now, the advocates of legislation in the direction of the Bill had to encounter at the very outset all the un-

popularity which attached to the idea of any limitation of the power of individuals to enter freely into relations of contract with one another. What was to be said for a proposal like this Bill, which seemed to run counter to all these recent ideas of legislation—a proposal which had been called an attempt to artificially cheapen the price of land in favour of the individuals who now held farms in Ireland, and which, at first sight, at all events, appeared to limit the sphere of contract, and to enlarge the operation of positive law. His reply was, first, that those matters in which legislative interference had been found mischievous were essentially different from the matter in which it was now proposed; secondly, he denied that the proposal involved any real and substantial limitation of freedom of contract. Freedom of contract could not exist where one of the parties to the contract was wholly in the power of the other. And he maintained that there was no natural sense in which the rents of the peasant-farmers in Ireland could be said to be fixed by free contract according to the only rule of mercantile bargaining. They could not destroy or interfere with that which had never had any existence. He did not, of course, mean to say that there was no such thing in Ireland as free contract for the hire of land. He merely asserted that peasant-rents in that country were not, as a rule, fixed in accordance with the legitimate application of that principle. By peasant-rents he meant rents under that system of cottier tenure which might be taken to include all those cases in which the labourer made his contract for land without the intervention of a capitalist-farmer, and in which the condition of the contract—if contract it might be called—and especially the rent, were determined, not by custom, but by competition. It was to meet the peculiar conditions of this peasant-tenure, which had hardly any place in the agricultural system of England, that the proposal they were now discussing was devised, and it was with reference to that tenure that its merits had to be considered. He mentioned that there was, as regarded the duty of the State, a vital and a most important distinction between that tenure and the ordinary commercial treatment of land with which people were familiar in England and Scotland. It was always



unsafe to assume that a principle which was generally true was true universally, and perhaps no principle was more in danger of this undue extension than the belief which seemed in some minds to be gaining ground that all economic teaching was summed up in letting things alone. He thought no one would dispute the proposition that it was essential to the welfare of an agricultural country that the cultivators of the soil, not being the owners of it, should hold the land on such terms as would afford them ordinary encouragement and fair remuneration. That, at least, was necessary to provide for the proper working of the land, and to secure the bulk of the population from being kept in a state of chronic misery and degradation. Now that end might be accomplished either by the operation of commercial principles, or by custom, or by direct enactment. In many parts of the Continent, and in Ulster, occupying tenants were protected by custom, to which sometimes, as in the case of the Ulster tenant-right, a positive legal sanction had been attached. Under the English and Scottish system the full play of commercial principles, acting between capitalists, farmers, and landlords had, generally speaking, a like effect. But wherever in the world, whether in Ireland or elsewhere, the cultivator did not in some way or other enjoy this protection, idleness and misery in the farming class, and in the end national decadence, were the results. A pamphlet called *An Essay on the Commercial Principles Applicable to Contracts for the Hire of Land*, written by his Grace the Duke of Argyll, and published last year by the Cobden Club, was an elaborate argument for the purely commercial treatment of the hiring of land, and a protest against anything beyond the most limited interference of the State in the relations of landlord and tenant. No one, he thought, would venture to maintain that Irish peasant-rents were limited by commercial considerations, or that there was any real similarity between the position of the Scottish capitalist and that of the Irish petty cultivator. An authority whom all economists would respect had described the working of the Irish system, and he ventured to call attention to the difference—"The produce," says Mr.

Mill, speaking of the Irish cottiers' system—

"Being divided into two portions—that is, the rent of the land and the remuneration of the labourer—the one is evidently determined by the other. The labourer has whatever the landlord does not take. The condition of the labourer depends on the amount of rent. But rent being regulated by competition depends upon the relation between the demand for land and the supply of it. The demand for land depends upon the number of competitors, and the competitors are the whole rural population. The effect, therefore, is to bring the principle of population to act directly on the land, and not as in England, on capital. Rent in this state of things depends on the proportion between population and land. As the land is a fixed quantity, while population has an unlimited power of increase, unless something checks that increase, the competition for land soon forces up rent to the highest point consistent with keeping the population alive."

It therefore followed that keeping nearly the whole population of the country just above the level of starvation, would be the necessary result of the rigorous application of the principle of free competition to the hiring of Irish land. That, in many instances, had been the actual result of that principle before one of the most terrible calamities which had ever visited a nation lessened, in a considerable degree, the pressure of population. The principle of competition, therefore, however admirable it might be, was not applicable to the case with which the House had to deal. No definite custom regulating rent could be said to exist in the three Southern Provinces. The good feeling of individual landowners, the sense of justice in some, the respect for public opinion in others; unfortunately, also, in certain districts the dread of agrarian outrage might practically moderate the demands for rent; but the fact was undeniable that the existing state of the land and the social condition of Ireland enabled landlords, if they chose, to exact in the form of rent the entire produce of the soil beyond what was necessary for the bare subsistence of the cultivators. It was equally certain that this power was occasionally used with great severity and hardship, and that the fact of its existence lay at the root of that widespread feeling of discontent and insecurity which was the main source of the industrial and political evils of Ireland. They asked the State, therefore, to assume the responsibility of saying what a fair rent was, and to declare that no landlord should

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be allowed to avail himself of the peculiar circumstances of the country to exact more than that fair rent for the land. They were willing to assent to any proposal to ascertain, in case of dispute, the fair value, valued in the most impartial manner; but they emphatically stated that no settlement of the Irish Land Question could be final or effectual which left to the landlord the power of indefinitely raising rent. While that power was retained, it would always be possible to defeat the most stringent provisions, and no means provided for the protection of the tenant would make him secure. They might think the English system of large farms cultivated by hired labour better than the Irish system. It might be so, but no one in his sober senses could think it possible to establish that system in Ireland. It would amount to a revolution in the ideas and habits of the people. They could not expect to establish it by abstaining from legislative interference and leaving the power of the landlord uncontrolled. That plan had been tried for many years, and had proved the most dismal of failures. It had now been partially abandoned, and restrictions and penalties previously unknown had been imposed upon the landowner. He did not see how the Act of 1870 was to introduce the English system into Ireland. It was rather a step in the other direction. In fact, it was based throughout on the assumption that the circumstances of Ireland were peculiar, and required special treatment. To establish the English agricultural economy in Ireland would involve two things. They would have to find a large number of capitalist-farmers, and and to reduce the bulk of the existing peasant-farmers to the condition of hired labourers. Such a project was too utterly impracticable to be worth discussion. The agricultural economy of Great Britain was exceptional, and it was only rendered tolerable by circumstances which did not exist in Ireland, or in most other countries. What they had to do was to legislate in the best way they could for the actual state of things. They should dismiss the idea from their minds that the Irish problem was parallel to any which had to be solved on this side of the Channel, or that anything they might do there would be a precedent for a similar

course here. They could not set up artificially a large number of wealthy farmers in Ireland, nor divorce the existing cultivators from the soil, and transform them into hired labourers. What they had to do was this—to make the best of the existing tenants, and to surround them with the conditions which were universally recognized to be the most potent incitements to the prudential virtues—namely, security for the fruits of their labour, and a permanent interest in the soil. Do that, and they would not only have placed the one great industrial pursuit of the Irish people on a sound economical basis, but would have dried up the sources of a perennial spring of social and political trouble in Ireland. It was not necessary to interfere with the legitimate pecuniary rights, either actual or prospective, of a single landlord. Security of the occupier did not imply the non-payment of rent, or the payment of anything less than a full rent. It meant simply freedom from capricious eviction, and protection from arbitrary exaction. Give that protection to the occupiers of land in Ireland, and they would raise up an element of stability in the population which would be the best guarantee of order and of progress. Two or three hundred thousand sturdy and independent peasants, seeing in the maintenance of law and order the secure and quiet enjoyment of their fields and firesides, would banish far more effectively than all the coercion laws that ever could be passed the disturbing and dangerous elements of society. Not a man who would be thus “rooted to the soil” but would be Conservative, not in the sense which regarded that word as the badge of a Party, but in the sense which marked a secure and happy social state. With the settlement of the Land Question would disappear the last great barrier to the cordial union of classes in Ireland. Differences of race and history, memories of conquest and confiscation, persecution on account of religious belief, the long-continued exclusion of the great body of the people from political rights, had all contributed to create a great gulf. The wiser views and juster spirit of recent times were gradually filling up the chasm. The land still remained a source of discord and contention. He was afraid it was in vain to hope for a cordial union between

the landlord and the tenant. Land-owners were no exception to the general rule which made change unpopular with every interest that had to be disturbed and reformed; while the farmers thought no effort too great to get themselves relieved from a position, if not of actual oppression, at all events of painful insecurity. The influence of this dissension affected the whole character of social and political life. It tended to produce the most dangerous separation that could exist in any society—the divorce of property and social influence from political power. If they removed this disturbing and perplexing agrarian dispute, every year that passed would diminish that separation, until at last the quiet operation of time would have moulded all classes into a harmonious and well-regulated community. With the softening of social divisions would vanish the gravest difficulties in the government of Ireland. Questions of importance would, no doubt, remain; but they would have taken a more sober tone, and they would be advocated in a milder spirit. The rank, wealth, and culture of the country, which were identified with the ownership of the soil, would be no longer out of harmony with popular feeling and with those who held in their hands the control of electoral power. If they thought cultured classes were the natural leaders of the people, let them be assured that they would never take their place until this question was set at rest. On the landowners themselves—and he spoke as one of them—he believed no greater benefit could be conferred than by depriving them of a power which, sometimes abused, and always resented, was in no respect necessary for their protection or their prosperity—to leave them free to assert amongst a sensitive and warm-hearted people the natural and legitimate influence of their position. He was not able to see in the present state of things any element of permanence or any hope of contentment. If he could, he would not support any attempt to re-open the question. He believed the inevitable solution must come from the direction and in the mode he had indicated. He was convinced that the sooner it came, the easier it would be found, and the greater would be its effect in promoting the welfare of Ireland and the good

feeling and concord of the United Kingdom.

MR. BRUEN said, he felt it a duty, and that he should not be worthy of a seat in that House, if he did not oppose such a Bill as that, which he believed would tend, not to the peace of Ireland, but would be one more step to encourage agitation. The Bill proposed to establish fixity of tenure at valued rents and the right of free sale by the tenant. What was the reason for a change so fundamental in its principles as that asked from Parliament by the supporters of the Bill? Two separate kinds of arguments had been advanced. It was alleged by some that the land of the country was the common right of all, and that any interference with that right was wrong. It was further said in that House that the landowners of Ireland had got a right which they had abused, and therefore it ought to be taken from them. Now, as to the first statement, the right of the people to the land of a country, he did not intend to argue it. If such was the right principle, and if the House was prepared to affirm it, he held that the Bill should not be confined to Ireland. The land of England should be subjected to the same principle; that, however, was not attempted. He gathered that the supporters of the Bill relied on the manner in which the landlords were said to have abused their rights in this way—that they raised their rents so that their tenants could not live; and next, that they exercised their power of eviction capriciously. But on both points the evidence was the other way, and he maintained that the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Downing) had not proved his case by giving one instance. Had the landlords of Ireland abused their position in the matter of rents? When the Land Act of 1870 was under discussion, some hon. Members on the other side of the House went to Ireland to investigate the matter for themselves, and those hon. Members, one of whom was the Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan) came to the conclusion that the land in Ireland was low rented, and that tenants, with fixity of tenure, would occupy a better position comparatively than their landlords. He further said it was no wonder the tenants were asking for fixity of tenure, as the rents were so moderate. When the Land Act was passed the landlords of

Ireland were naturally anxious to preserve their rights. They, therefore, formed a committee to collect information, and that committee ascertained that the rates of rent in Ireland were less than in any other country in Europe, being, for arable land, only on an average from 15s. to 18s. per acre. From his own experience, he could say that land in Ireland was let at a low rent. In an adjoining county to his, when it was proposed that the rent of land should be fixed, and that the valuation of the Government assessor should be taken, the tenants were most alarmed because the low rents under which they held the land would be raised. But it was said that the landlords of Ireland were now raising the rents excessively. But that was not true. The landlords of Ireland knew too well that if they raised the rents to more than the tenants could pay, in a year or two the latter would "become broken," as they termed it in Ireland, and the landlord lost the rent altogether. Considerations of self-interest, if no other, would therefore prevent the landlord from demanding an excessive rent. Then it was said that it was objectionable that the landlords should have the power of raising the rent to any amount they thought fit. But he denied that they had such a power. The hon. Member for Cork had quoted one case where the rents were high; but, because it was stated that there was abuse in one case, was it to be held that there was to be a change in the law with regard to the whole of Ireland? He had never heard of such a case in his part of the country as that referred to by the hon. Member, and he was sure, if there were any such cases in Ireland, the House would hear of them from hon. Members opposite. As to free sale, of which they had heard, it seemed that it was the idea that the fee-simple would be taken away from the landlord and handed over to the tenant, who might sell it to the person who would give the highest price. Well, that was tantamount to transferring the property of the landlord to the tenant without compensation, and he could not consent to such a proposition. When he came to ask what was left to the landlords, he was told that the rights of the mines and minerals and of the game were left to them; but he was sorry to say he did not value his rights in those matters at a high figure. But,

even as to the game, it appeared the landlord was only to have the right to go over his land and shoot what the tenant had left. It was said that a better cultivation of the land in Ireland could not be obtained without security of tenure. He would like to hear more said about security of tenure as compared with fixity of tenure, for the terms were not at all synonymous. The truth, however, was that in nine cases out of ten in Ireland security of tenure already existed. He knew that the great majority of landlords had the greatest desire not to disturb a tenant in his holding, and with that view in times of trouble they made great sacrifices, and gave them the greatest indulgence in the payment of their rent. Under the present system, thus administered, the tenant had far greater security of tenure than he would have under a system under which he would be liable to eviction for non-payment of rent, and under which he could expect no indulgence from a landlord who would only have a rent-charge upon his estate. Moreover, according to the evidence of an hon. Member of that House—the hon. Member for Linlithgow (Mr. M'Lagan)—in cases where there were long leases, the land was not so well cultivated as in other cases. The Preamble of the Bill stated its object to be the promotion of the peace and prosperity of the country; but did the House suppose that, if it were passed, those from whom it emanated would be satisfied to allow matters to remain where it would place them? There were already indications of an agitation in the West of Ireland for the breaking up of large farms, as a proof of which he would refer to the speech of a rev. gentleman in that part of Ireland. In truth, it was absurd to expect that the tenants of Ireland would be satisfied with a measure which would impose rents fixed by valuation, in a great proportion of instances higher than those which were at present paid. At a meeting of an influential farmers' club the greatest disappointment was expressed at it, and no settlement could be effected by it. He hoped the House would reject a Bill which could not be anything but injurious to Ireland and its interests.

MR. A. MOORE said, that although two years ago, he had voted for the Bill, he was not now prepared to do so, because if the House passed it they

would pass a measure which was both unwise and unjust. It was unwise, because it would hand over the land of Ireland to the tenants of Ireland on a fixed rent subject to re-valuation—a result which would tend to excite angry feelings; because the landlords would, in that case, naturally endeavour, in order to protect themselves, to increase the rents to the highest possible figure. He did not deny the right of the State to take the estates of the landlords if the interests of the State required this to be done. But in that case the landlords would be entitled to compensation. This Bill, however, contained no mention of compensation, and for that reason he said that it was an unjust Bill. If it contained the smallest element of compensation to the landlord, it would have a very much stronger claim than now upon the consideration of the House. Then the Bill was objectionable on another ground. He could not admit that a tenant who took his farm yesterday on certain legal conditions which he well knew was entitled to the same rights and privileges as the tenant whose family had held the farm for perhaps 100 years, and had thus acquired a kind of moral right to continue in its occupation. The Bill was therefore further unjust, inasmuch as it made no distinction between these two cases. Again, the Bill would convey the land of the landlords to the tenants on the payment of a fixed rent. But he would ask whether there were no conditions under which a man was to be entitled to recover his own land? He could certainly conceive such a state of affairs in many cases, and he would instance one. Suppose a village on the estate of a landlord grew to be a small town, with the wants of a thriving and rising community for public buildings and other improvements. If this Bill passed, a landlord would not be able to do anything to develop such a town, or to provide for its wants; because, whenever he tried to do anything for its improvement, he would be met by an impregnable barrier in the rights of the tenants and their fixity of tenure in the land. There was, however, one element of the measure which he could praise. He thought that that part of the measure which related to arbitration as to the amount of rent between landlord and tenant would be useful. He

could not disguise from himself that many of the troubles which existed between landlord and tenant sprang from the matter of disputes as to rent, and he believed arbitration would do a great deal of good. It could not be a healthy state of things when they found a man contending with 50 tenants at the same time, and when so many notices to quit arising out of disputes as to the amount of rent were served, as was the case at present. This should be put an end to, and he thought that if the arbitration clause were passed, and some legal means of arbitrating between landlord and tenant were provided, it would be a step in the right direction which would have a happy result, and many of the difficulties which now existed in Ireland would thereby be terminated. He had, indeed, been told that no satisfactory Court of Arbitration could be found, that it would be a mockery, because no Court of the land could resist the popular pressure to which it would be exposed. But, at the most, that only amounted to an allegation that the proposed tribunal like all others of human origin would have its imperfections. He did not, however, believe that they would be such as to interfere seriously with its usefulness, or be an important drawback upon the improvement which it was calculated to effect in diminishing, if not preventing, those arbitrary and capricious evictions, which were the cause of so much misfortune and unhappiness in Ireland.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Bruen) alleged that the Bill would, among other matters, interfere with the landlord's right to game—would prevent him, in fact, from walking over his own land, and would confiscate improvements made by him. Well, his answer to that was this—let them allow the Bill to go into Committee, for those were points which should be dealt with in Committee, and he had no doubt the hon. Member would find many hon. Members on his (Major Nolan's) side of the House ready to vote with him. It was said that the present Bill should be rejected, because it would only stimulate the cry for more; but that was really only the answer given to Oliver Twist's request for more porridge. The hon. Member for Carlow had also said that the Bill would take away from the landlords the little power

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that was left in their hands by the Bill of 1870. That Bill was introduced by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, and lately, when he was attacked for having confiscated the landlord's property, he stated that since the passing of that Act the average price of land, as shown by the sales in the Encumbered Estates Court, had actually increased. Again, the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Kavanagh) had told them that it was not fair for them to bring first principles up for discussion. He (Major Nolan) was opposed to his hon. Friend in that respect, and asked in what condition many of the first countries of Europe would now have been placed had they not considered first principles? It would have applied equally to the abolition of slavery in the United States and of serfdom in Russia. He asked the House to allow the Bill to be read a second time without a division; for in Committee it could be considered in detail, and he was persuaded that many hon. Gentlemen, when they came to look into the Bill, would find it of the greatest importance. When it reached that stage hon. Members could oppose the clauses that had been condemned, if they were deemed to be objectionable in their operation. There were, however, good clauses in the Bill, and they would remedy glaring defects in the law. One of these was that no compensation was payable to under-tenants, for whom, when removed, there was no resource but to go to America, as they did not constitute a peasant-class such as was understood by that description in this country. Under the present system landowners had the power to confiscate all improvements, the exercise of which power had been the cause of great emigration. In the Bill there was provision made for a Court of Arbitration to settle any disputes that might arise as to the rent to be paid. That was a very valuable provision; but if it was feared its operation might prove injurious, the Government might, if they thought fit, insert restrictions to guard against rents being unreasonably reduced. He desired that the Bill should be discussed on its merits. It had for three Sessions consecutively been introduced, but had always proved unsuccessful. It was more than probable that next year the Members of the House would be sent to their

constituents, and in the case of the majority of the Irish Members, they would have to state that they had done their best to pass into law a Bill to regulate the present obnoxious Land Laws, but could make no impression in Parliament. He trusted the House would see its way to read the Bill a second time.

MR. R. E. PLUNKETT: Sir, I should not have taken part in this debate had not my hon. Friend the Member for Kerry (Mr. Blennerhassett) challenged me to answer him. Of that part of his speech which consisted of a lecture upon the Law of Contract, I will say nothing beyond that, historically, it has an interest, but it has no bearing upon the Bill. That which bore upon the question, I will answer with one clause from the Bill. My hon. Friend claims that this is a Bill dealing with cottier tenancies, and that it is to be judged solely by its bearing upon cottier tenure. The first words of Clause 40 are—"Where any farm shall exceed 60 acres." This at once disposes of his argument that the Bill is one of cottier tenure. But as a little experience is worth a good deal of argument, I will relate a case which came under my own notice, and will show how this Bill would affect such cases. Some nine years ago a tenant holding somewhat over 60 acres—Irish—on a long lease at a low rent, demanded that I should buy him out before the expiration of his lease, which had then seven or eight years to run. If I did not buy it, he said he would ruin the farm. I refused his terms, and though restrained by his lease from breaking up an acre of his farm, which was rich old pasture, he broke it all up. By an oversight in drawing the lease, no penalty had been fixed in case of a violation of its provisions. My tenant took six successive white crops off the farm, and never put in a single barrow-load of manure. He did not keep live stock of any sort upon the farm. At the end of his lease, having broken up and ruined an excellent farm, he claimed £2,222 for improvements. The case went before the County Chairman, and I will now tell my hon. Friend the Member for Kerry (Mr. Blennerhassett) why I object to County Chairmen as Judges on land questions. The Chairman made a feeble protest against the iniquity of the claim; but, by way of making things pleasant, allowed some-

thing like half of it. There was fortunately an appeal to "the going Judge of Assize." Upon appeal, the tenant's case was conducted by Mr. Butt and three other Q.C.'s; but he was defeated upon every count, and the decision of the Chairman reversed. Now, had this Bill been passed then, what would its operation have been? Not only would the tenant, who had ruined my farm, become its possessor for ever, but the low rent he paid would have been reduced by the amount allowed by the Chairman on the claim for "improvements." For although Clause 58 appears under the heading, "Persons holding under a lease not entitled to apply," it really provides that he is not to apply for fixity of tenure during the continuance of his tenure under lease; but at any time within 12 months of the expiration of his lease he may apply, and the Act shall take effect as soon as his lease expires. Sir, I think I have met the challenge of my hon. Friend, and have answered his speech. I will only point out that Clause 60, under the heading, "Arrears of rent to be paid," provides that in no case shall more than one year's arrears be paid; but I have said enough to condemn this Bill, and will conclude in words quoted by my hon. Friend, that it is "an ignoble and dishonest attempt to transfer to people in Ireland property which does not belong to them."

THE O'CONOR DON said, that having on former occasions very fully stated his objections to the Bill, he did not intend on that occasion to repeat them in detail. He might say in a general way that he still believed if the Bill were passed and carried out according to its principles, it would cause the greatest dissatisfaction and confusion in Ireland—that it would destroy the amicable relations existing between many of the occupiers and owners of land in that country, and instead of being a settlement of the Land Question, would only be a prelude to an agitation of a far more formidable character than any which had previously existed. If he did not conscientiously believe what he was now stating, he would not oppose it, for it was a serious thing for one in his position to do. An hon. Friend of his, the junior Member for Kerry (Mr. Blennerhassett), whom they always heard with very great pleasure in that House, had stated that he

supported the Bill because he believed that the ordinary economic conditions which regulated the price of any commodity did not apply in regard to the price paid for the use of land in Ireland; and that in consequence of the immense competition for that commodity, the fair rent, which he termed the economic rent, was very often exceeded. He (the O'Conor Don) would not dispute that the competition rent was often in excess of what the true economic rent would be; but he would ask his hon. Friend and those who agreed with him, whether the actual rents which were paid were not still oftener lower than the economic rents? Was it not the fact that taking most of the large and long-settled estates in Ireland, the rents would be found to be very much lower than the standard of the economic rent, or the standard fixed in the Bill; and if the operations of the Bill would be to keep down the rents in the one instance, would it not equally tend to raise them in the other? He asked, did the people of Ireland understand this, or did they want it? He felt sure that if they understood it, they would not want it. There were estates in Ireland on which the rental had not been raised for generations. There were cases in which the rents paid now were actually lower than they were 50 years ago, on which the reductions made in the famine times had never been altered, and on which the landlord and his tenants lived in the greatest amity and goodwill; but if the Bill passed, all that would be done away with. Every landlord would feel bound to treat his tenantry on pure commercial principles, to get the full economic rent if he could get nothing else out of his property, and all the friendly relations at present existing between the good landlord and his tenants would be done away with. The very agitation for the Bill was producing those results, and its passing into law, if such a thing were possible—which, however, he did not believe was the case—would make these results inevitable in every case. He would not dwell any longer on his objections to the Bill; he would rather consider whether any, and if so what alterations ought to be made in the present system of land occupancy in Ireland. He had often been taunted, both in and out of the House, that whilst objecting to that and other proposals he suggested nothing in their stead. He

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did not admit the justice of these taunts. He was not bound to propose a land system for Ireland. He did not occupy any responsible position which involved such a duty, and he had neither been commissioned nor deputed by any Party in Ireland to formulate any detailed or definite plan; but whilst he demurred altogether to the argument that because he objected to the Bill he was bound to supply another in its place, he had no objection to state in a general way the principles upon which he thought any legislation on this subject to be effective should be based. The demand throughout Ireland was a demand for fixity of tenure, and that was the demand which was attempted to be dealt with in the Bill. There was no use in concealing the fact that a great majority of the tenant-occupiers of Ireland believed that they had a right to continuous occupancy of their holdings. He did not mean a legal right, but a moral right, and that moral right they were determined, if they possibly could, to turn into a legal right. Hence all the agitation, and hence the production of the Bill. His hon. and learned Friend the Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) had, on former occasions, explained very fully and fairly the origin of this claim. To understand it, he most rightly said, one should go back and study the history of Ireland. Ireland was a land of confiscations. The soil of Ireland had almost all been confiscated at one time or another, some of it three or four times over, and new lords had been placed over it, aliens in race, and feelings, and religion, and regarded as outsiders by the nation. In some instances the confiscations were conditional upon the retention of the occupiers, and in all instances, the native occupiers were imbued with the feeling that whatever the law might say, they had a moral right to keep possession of their holdings—that if they paid a fair rent or value to the owner he had no reason to complain, and that was all he was entitled to receive. That feeling was strengthened by the fact that the Irish occupier in most cases was left to make for himself all necessary improvements on his farm; he had to put up all the buildings, fences, and other fixtures; he had to drain and reclaim; he had with the hard sweat of his brow to turn barren, unproductive waste into food-producing pasture or tillage;

and having done all that, he naturally believed that the land which he had so worked on, and which he had thus transformed ought to be his own, so far, at least, that he ought to be sure that its occupancy would not be taken from him. In the North of Ireland, where the system of tenant-right grew up, that feeling was sanctioned by a custom which had almost the force and operation of law, and a custom which, by the Act of 1870, received the sanction of law. Well, this was the origin and justification of the claim for fixity of tenure. A moment's consideration would show that this claim was really to all intents and purposes a claim for joint ownership in the soil, and he considered that it was very important that this fact should be borne in mind. What the Irish tenant claimed—what he honestly believed he had a right to—was joint ownership with the landlord, the landlord being entitled to the rent, and the tenant to the occupation. That being the case, what they had next to consider was who were entitled to make this claim, upon what conditions should it be recognized, and how far would its recognition interfere with the rights already guaranteed by Parliament to the owners. There were in Ireland two classes of occupiers, holding totally distinct and different positions. There was the class of capitalist farmers, the large graziers, the men who had taken farms of late years under the English tenure, men who followed farming as a commercial pursuit, who could either retain or give up a farm, just as they found whether they were making a certain amount of profit or not, and men who, to all intents and purposes, corresponded in every respect to their brethren in England. He could see no reason for dealing with those men in any different way from that in which such men were dealt with in England. There was nothing in the past history of Ireland to justify a claim on their part to obtain a part ownership in the soil. They were not the descendants of the ancient natives; they had not obtained possession upon any tacit or expressed understanding that their occupation was to be of any longer duration than the terms of their leases or the will of the owners might dictate; there was no general feeling in Ireland in favour of their obtaining anything beyond what they already possessed; and most



of them were men of too much intelligence and too fair-minded to think that any real benefit would accrue to the country, or, in the long run, even to themselves, by a violent transfer of property from the owners to themselves; for they could not help foreseeing that the very same reasons which would justify such a transfer would equally justify a demand that their farms should be taken from them, and cut up into smaller divisions and given to the working population. But there was another class of occupiers in Ireland whose position was totally different—they were the men who had an historical claim to the occupancy of their lands. The men who, in the Northern counties, had this recognized by the existence of the custom to which he had alluded before—the men who, in the other parts of Ireland, had either reclaimed the land from barrenness, or whose families had lived on it for generations—the men who were the actual tillers and cultivators of the soil; to whom its retention was an almost absolute necessity; who, if they gave it up had nothing before them but the workhouse or starvation; who were generally men not in a position to make a fair bargain for their holdings, and from whom an unfair and exorbitant rent might be exacted—it was with these men, and these men only, that they had really to deal. His hon. and learned Friend, in the Bill before them, had in a sort of indirect way recognized this fact, for he proposed to exclude the grazier class from its operation; but, strangely enough, while he excluded all the grass farms let before the passing of the Act, he proposed to include all let subsequently. Now, he maintained that in that very provision itself, the vicious character of the Bill was made manifest. Finding that there were in Ireland a class of occupiers who, from one cause or another, had a moral right, or who believed they had a moral right, to perpetual occupancy, or a joint ownership of the soil, arising in the main out of the events of past centuries, his hon. and learned Friend, instead of meeting their claim directly, proposed to alter the whole system of land tenures—to enact that men who were not in occupation at all at present, who had no possible claims or rights, but who hereafter might get into occupation—should have

the right to hold it for ever. Well, upon that point he (the O'Connor Don) differed *in toto* from the Bill and from its whole principle. It seemed to him that even if it were admitted that there were certain classes in Ireland entitled on account of past proceedings to certain rights, that the proper course would be to ascertain who were entitled to those rights, to what extent those rights should be given, and then at once, and by one decisive act, to give them to them. It was not by attempting to interfere with the whole system of tenure of land, by violating every economic law, by attempting to regulate the price of a commodity by Act of Parliament, and by regulating not only its price, but the very quantities and divisions into which it was to be cut that they could settle this question. The only way in which it could be settled was to meet it boldly. To admit at once that what was required was a transference of a portion of the property of the soil from the owner to the occupier, and then having admitted that, to see how it could be most fairly carried out. Having ascertained who were entitled to make the claim, the next step, he thought, should be to determine upon what conditions it should be recognized. That, no doubt, would be a point upon which some difficulty might arise, for in it was involved the very difficult question of determining what was a fair rent. As he had not undertaken to propose a full and complete Bill on the subject, and as he did not wish to weary the House with too long a statement, he would merely say that he would accept the proposals in the Bill—that the rent should be that which a solvent tenant could afford to pay, and that he believed it would be possible to devise a means by which this could be ascertained. The condition of receiving that right of perpetuity should be either the payment of that rent, or the payment of a sum of money down as its equivalent at a lower rent. The conditions of the perpetuity being settled, it should be offered to all those who could prove that they were entitled to receive it, and who claimed to receive it. It should be forced upon no man; and if there were tenants who preferred to remain as they were, and to deal with their landlords as they had done in former times, they should have the

free option to do so, always understanding distinctly that the proposal, when once made, was not to be repeated—that this was to all intents and purposes a re-settlement of the land of Ireland, an attempt to undo all the mischievous consequences of previous confiscations, but not a re-settlement to hang open for ever. It was to be an act once done and then ended, and those who desired should take advantage of it at once or lose their right to claim it altogether. Well, then, so far as the occupiers would be concerned, these were the general principles on which he thought legislation in the direction of fixity of tenure, if it were to accomplish any lasting good results, must be based; but he had a word more to say about the position of the owners. No matter what had been their original titles to their land, whether they dated far back, or were of recent origin, whether they were founded on confiscation or not, he thought that where their full legal rights of ownership had been clearly recognized by lapse of time or Statute, that it would be impossible justly to interfere with them, or take them away, without at least offering them the option of sale. He believed that option should be given to any proprietor whose tenants claimed and established their claims to this perpetuity, and that any proprietor who objected to grant the perpetuity should be compelled to sell to the State, and that on behalf of the public the State should be empowered to purchase—in fact, that compulsory sales and purchases should take place for that purpose, as now compulsory sales took place for other public purposes—the price to be paid for the land, being its full value, to be ascertained by the same sort of evidence now given of the value of land taken up for any other public purpose. The State having purchased the land under these circumstances, should, wherever it was possible, sell it outright to the occupiers, or if they were not able or willing to purchase it after granting the perpetuities, the land should be re-sold to the highest bidder. It was possible, of course, that that re-sale might result in loss to the State. If the supporters of the Bill were right, no such danger need be apprehended; because they maintained that the granting of the perpetuities would in no way diminish, but, on the contrary, would increase

the value of land; but if any loss should result, he thought it was manifest that every principle of justice required that the loss should fall on the public, in whose interest this change was to be made, and not on the individual landowner. These were the general principles on which he believed the question should be approached. They differed *in toto* from the principles of the Bill. They would leave tenure and contract, and all agreements in land perfectly free. They would go directly to the evil which was sought to be removed. They would tend to establish an independent class of yeomen in Ireland, every one of them interested in preserving freedom of contract for the future, every one of them interested in maintaining law, and order, and the institutions of the country. He thought that for the establishment of such a class in Ireland no sacrifices would be too great; and, as a landlord himself, he would only say that he would be willing to give up any of the rights to which he had been alluding, if that result could only be brought about. But the Bill before them, and which they were asked to read a second time, whilst nominally proposing to meet a certain case, in reality was directed to something else. And its justification, being to secure to certain occupiers a term of occupancy to which they had acquired a moral right, its real effects would be to establish a system of land tenure of the most harassing and indefensible character that could possibly be imagined, and a system of tenure, a precedent for which, or a parallel of which, he ventured to say, could not be found at the present day in any civilized country in the world.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) said, he had listened with patience to the whole debate, and was rather astonished at the opinions expressed that the Bill should be allowed to go into Committee, and there be discussed and amended. The last hon. Gentleman who expressed that view in a very persuasive manner—the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan)—referred to some details in remarks of a somewhat insidious character. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had said, without going into particulars, there was nothing in the essential principles of the Bill which, in his opinion, ought to prevent the House

from sending it to a Committee. The hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Downing), in moving the second reading, had very wisely declined to supply the deficiency; but he (Mr. Gibson) thought it must be seen that the third part of the Bill contained principles which were subversive of the rights of property, and which in time would be equally subversive of the best interests of the tenants of Ireland, and upon that ground he was of opinion that it would not be desirable to give the Bill a second reading. He concurred in the observations which had already been made with respect to passing by without discussion the first part of the Bill; because it was the third part of the measure which must be taken as the part of the Bill in which its principle was to be found. He, however, ventured to say that, so far as the first part was concerned, hon. Gentlemen might have been able to find many topics to discuss in Committee, and he thought the same observations would apply to the second part of the Bill. But the third part had been put forward as that which contained the essential principles of the Bill. Before he referred to the third part, he wished to make one very short observation on an apparently small clause in the second part, because it led up to the entire Bill. The Land Act of 1870, which must be regarded by the country as a measure which had been fairly and honestly worked, contained the principle, that freedom of contract in land must be accepted as a reasonable and necessary governing principle; but there was a qualification adopted by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich and those who assisted him in carrying on the Government of the country at the time. They said that the humble class of tenants in Ireland required in certain cases to be relieved from the freedom of contract, and that holders of farms of a Poor Law valuation of not less than £50 might contract themselves out of the provisions of the Land Act. That was the law at the present time. But what did the second part of the Bill propose to do? It proposed to repeal entirely that limitation of £50, and enacted that the farmer in future, no matter what might be his education, no matter what were the conditions of the farm, no matter whether the tenant was worth £500,000, must come under the

provisions of the Bill. The present Bill would prevent a man, no matter whether he had received a University education, from entering into a contract with his landlord to cut down or qualify a single enactment in the Land Act, and would say to him—"We treat you as a simple-minded man or an idiot, who is not capable of taking care of his own interests." That was a proposal which he (Mr. Gibson) said ought not to be adopted without more convincing arguments than they had heard at present. What was the cardinal principle of the Bill? It was this—it gave the tenants of Ireland, no matter what might be their tenure or the terms of their contract, or the amount of their rent, the power to turn their tenures into perpetuities. It would not be denied that that was the effect, the intention, and the essential object of the third part of the Bill, and the House could not fail to see that it would operate against the interest of the landlords without permanently benefiting the future tenants. What, he asked, would be the position of the landlords of Ireland if the Bill passed into law? They would be unable to fix the tenure of their tenants; because the tenant could, by the service of a simple notice under the Act of Parliament, if it ever became an Act, convert his tenure into a perpetuity. In fact, the Bill would encourage a kind of golden age of notices, and the tenants of Ireland would be made absolutely masters of the situation by simply serving a notice. Then again, in relation to the rent, the landlord would have no power over that. That was taken out of the landlord's hands and vested in arbitrators. He ventured to think that the measure, if it was to be discussed in Committee, was open to grave argument in that respect. If the Bill attempted to fix the rent, he asked why the County Court had not been taken? The hon. Member for the County Kerry (Mr. Blennerhassett), in the course of his interesting speech, said that the rents in Ireland at present were fixed by competition; but that was not his (Mr. Gibson's) own experience. He thought he might take it that nine-tenths of the rents in Ireland were settled by old usage and by custom, in accordance with the friendly feeling which subsisted between the landlords and their tenants, and not at all by com-

petition. And he ventured to assert that if the Bill became law, and if it was fairly worked, instead of the rents being fixed by kindly feeling and by custom, they would be settled by competition; because the provision in the Bill was that the rent that was to be fixed by the arbitrators was to be such a rent that the tenant could fairly afford to pay without collusion. The effect would be, if the principle was honestly applied, he thought, to substitute for new rents, rents which would be fixed by competition. His hon. Friend the Member for West Gloucestershire (Mr. R. E. Plunkett) mentioned another matter—arrears of rent, and he asked hon. Members whether the Bill did not practically confiscate arrears of rent? In reference to that, he (Mr. Gibson) would say that there might be arrears for four years, and if under the Bill the tenant served the landlord with a notice of his intention to turn his tenure into a perpetuity, the County Court Judge had at most a discretionary power to order the tenant to pay one year of such arrears, leaving the landlord to recover the remainder by procedure in the ordinary tribunals of the country. That was a practical confiscation of the arrears of rent. He was bound to say that he did not think there was anything whatever in the present condition of Ireland to justify such a strong and extreme measure. They all knew that, taken as a whole, the relations of Irish landlords and tenants were most satisfactory; and whether in the North or the South, whether in County Down or Tipperary, in County Galway or County Cork, rents were well paid, and Irish landlords were on good terms with their Irish tenants. The number of evictions had been mentioned in the debate; but it should be remembered that those statistics included the towns, and the number was much swelled by the notices of eviction from small houses in Dublin and other cities. The measure had been ably introduced and ably supported by argument; nevertheless, nothing had been said which, in his opinion, would, as he had before remarked, justify the reading of the Bill a second time, seeing that its operation, if passed, would be to unsettle all existing relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland without permanently benefiting the tenants. He should, therefore, oppose the second reading.

MR. M'CARTHY DOWNING briefly met several of the arguments urged against the second reading of the Bill, observing that most of the points which had been raised could be properly dealt with in Committee.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 86; Noes 286: Majority 200.—(Div. List, No. 8.)

Words added.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to*.

Second Reading *put off* for six months.

#### PUBLIC PROSECUTOR BILL.

On Motion of Sir EARDLEY WILMOT, Bill for the appointment of a Public Prosecutor, ordered to be brought in by Sir EARDLEY WILMOT, Mr. WALPOLE, Mr. WATKIN WILLIAMS, and Mr. Sergeant SIMON.

House adjourned at Six o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 7th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL.—*Second Reading*—Linen and Yarn Halls (Dublin) \* (11).

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION.

##### QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD ST. LEONARDS, who was very indistinctly heard, was understood to say that the news which had reached England within the last 24 hours regarding the state of affairs in and near Constantinople was of so grave a character as to lead to the suspicion that the British Government had been duped and hoodwinked. He thought the House was entitled to be informed, Whether any intelligence had been received at the Foreign Office confirming or contradicting the rumours as to the arrival of the Russians at Constantinople, and whether the Government considered such entry consistent with British interests?

THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD: My Lords, I understand my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign

Affairs is going to make a communication to the House on the matter referred to by the noble Lord, and I think it would be more convenient if the House would wait for that statement.

EARL GRANVILLE: It is not usual to make a statement without Notice, and therefore I will ask my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs a Question, of which I have given him private Notice. My Question has reference to certain rumours which were rife last evening, and which are also current to-day, which are of a very important character. I allude especially to the report of the movements of the Russian troops on Constantinople. It is stated that Gallipoli and also Constantinople are occupied by Russian troops. I wish to ask my noble Friend, Whether he has received any information in reference to those rumours, and whether he has received any communication on the subject from the Russian Government?

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I was quite prepared for the Question which has been put by the noble Earl, and, in the state of excitement which undoubtedly at this moment prevails, I think it is very desirable that your Lordships should be informed of the precise position in which matters stand, according to the last intelligence received at the Foreign Office. We received yesterday afternoon from Mr. Layard a telegram of the date of February 5, at night, which is to the following effect:—That, notwithstanding the Armistice, the Russians are pushing on towards Constantinople; that the Turkish troops have been compelled to evacuate Silivria, notwithstanding the protest of the Turkish Commander, which the Russian General refused to receive—Silivria, I should say, is a port on the Sea of Marmora—the Russian General declared that, according to his orders, it was necessary that he should occupy Tchataldja that day—I will refer to the position of Tchataldja presently; that the Porte is in great alarm, and cannot understand the Russian proceedings. Representations have again been made to the Grand Duke Nicholas. The Servians have destroyed a place called Vranja and are advancing on Uskup. Five days have elapsed since the signature of the bases of peace and the convention of the Armistice, but the Protocol has not yet reached the Porte,

which is in ignorance of the real terms. Another telegram, dated yesterday, and received last night, states that the Russian Government has insisted, as one of the conditions of the Armistice, that the Tchekmedje lines should be abandoned, leaving Constantinople wholly undefended. The Russians have occupied Tchataldja in considerable force. Tchataldja, I ought to mention, is a part of the Turkish lines of defence extending across the Peninsula, of which I understand it is an outpost. It is on the line of railway from Adrianople. The distance from Constantinople, as well as I can judge by the map, is less than 30 miles. Your Lordships will see by a telegram from St. Petersburg, which is included in the Papers laid on the Table this evening, that the Grand Duke Nicholas telegraphs from Adrianople on the 31st of January, that the Porte has accepted the conditions of peace, and the Protocol has been signed; that the Armistice has also been concluded and signed, and orders to suspend all hostilities given. It appears, also, by a telegram from Belgrade of the 4th instant, that orders had been given by Prince Milan of the suspension of hostilities. I cannot undertake to reconcile that statement with the information given above as to the continued advance of the Servian forces, except that it may be possible that the order did not reach them in time. It will be seen by the Papers that the Turks had given orders to suspend operations on the 2nd instant. My Lords, I wish to put the case quite fairly, and will, therefore, add that it may be the case, as I have seen it said that the various steps which I have related are not in contravention, but in pursuance of the conditions of the Armistice. That may be so, because we do not know what conditions there may be in the Armistice of which we are not aware. But it would appear that the Porte is equally in ignorance, and is perplexed as to the meaning of these movements. We have, in a telegram of this day, asked the Government of Russia to give us some explanations on the subject, and we have called attention to a declaration made by the Emperor of Russia in July last to Colonel Wellesley to the effect that "His Majesty will not occupy Constantinople for the sake of military honour, but only if such a step is rendered neces-

sary by the march of events." Considering that the Turkish resistance has ceased, it would not appear that any such necessity can now exist. I ought to add, my Lords, that the Russian Ambassador, whom I have seen within the last two hours, was entirely without information confirming or contradicting the statement I have made. I hear from Lord Lyons, with whom I communicated by telegraph, that the French Government is equally uninformed, and I have similar reports from Vienna and Berlin. But the date of the latest intelligence received at those capitals is not very recent, and it is possible that telegraphic communication may have been suspended. I ought also to say that our latest telegram has come to us by the not very direct route of Bombay.

**LORD CAMPBELL:** My Lords, the intelligence which has been generally circulated, and which the language of the noble Earl the Secretary of State does more to confirm than render doubtful, must modify the course of anyone who has now upon a Notice to address you. As there is a time for going at length into a subject, there is a time when, from the gravity, the rapidity, and the appalling nature of events, it would be wholly inappropriate, perhaps impossible, to do so. The Correspondence I refer to, consisting mainly of Numbers 5 and 6, leads up to the events the journals have announced. The excellent Ambassador does not cease to dwell upon the marches by which Constantinople and Gallipoli are threatened. He does not hesitate to sketch the dangers it portends. It is significant to learn—which you may do by collating two despatches, one dated January 27th, one January 30th—that, after the withdrawal of the Fleet, "on all sides the Russians were advancing." We learn now what I ventured to assert on Monday last, that the armistice is not a barrier to the formidable evils which impend upon the world, and which affect so deeply our country and our Sovereign. My Lords, there is but one topic worth discussing, or which the House would be inclined to tolerate at present—namely, by what measures the situation yet admits of being improved. My Lords, one is, whatever tends to secure the perfect union of the Government, of which so much has recently been heard, so little has been witnessed. Another

is, the immediate return of the Fleet to the waters it has quitted, so far as that return is not already intercepted. That return is in perfect accord with all the Treaties on the subject. This very day I have taken the precaution of referring to those of Unkiar Skelessi, of 1841, of 1856, of 1871. By none the measure is impeded. A third expedient may present itself—namely, the prompt withdrawal of all resistance to the Vote of Credit in the other House of Parliament—resistance which, although initiated by an amiable and honourable man, was never sanctioned by the body of the Party from which ostensibly it emanates. [Some noble LORDS: It is withdrawn already.] The impressions I am under will not permit me to discuss the Papers any longer. Although the nature of events ought not so far to affect the mind as to disqualify it for reflecting with perfect coolness on the steps which they demand, it may be such as to remove—if it existed—the faculty of complicated argument by which at times a Motion has to be supported. But, like the two noble Earls who came forward respectively on Monday and on Tuesday, I shall not make any. Reserve, however, at a time like this, ought not to go beyond a certain limit. It seems to me that anarchy prevails in our councils, while ruin menaces our honour; that we are moving to the flood of war over the quagmire of discredit; that the occupation of Constantinople, unless prevented by activity, will very soon indeed be remedied by bloodshed. But, on the other hand, I readily admit that it is not too late for both Houses of Parliament to ensure a better prospect to themselves and to the world.

**THE EARL OF DERBY:** My Lords, a few minutes ago I had to make to the House a communication which certainly was not of a very re-assuring or satisfactory character. Since I made that communication in reply to a Question of my noble Friend, I have received another of considerable importance, inasmuch as it comes from a quarter which undoubtedly is better informed than any other as to what is passing. As the statement I have now in hand modifies to a considerable extent that which I have already laid before your Lordships, I feel bound to communicate it to your Lordships exactly as I received it. The Russian Ambassador within the last few

minutes has placed in my hands a communication to the following effect:—The Russian Ambassador, having addressed to his Government an inquiry whether it was true that the Russian Army was advancing on Constantinople, and had taken a fortified position forming part of the line of defence of Constantinople, has received from Prince Gortchakoff the following reply, dated St. Petersburg, February 7:—

“The order has been given to our military commanders to cease hostilities along the whole line in Europe and in Asia.”

The reply goes on to say—

“There is not a word of truth in the rumours which have reached you.”

What those rumours are is not stated. Literally, the contradiction may only apply to the capture of some fortified position; and therefore it does not, I think, absolutely contradict the statement I read from Mr. Layard; but undoubtedly it does, to a considerable extent, modify what from that statement would appear to be the situation, and having given to your Lordships the one statement, I felt bound to place before you the other.

THE EARL OF FEVERSHAM said, they had heard the statements recently made by the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and yet they had not been informed what course Her Majesty's Government, under the grave circumstances which had been announced, were prepared to take. He should certainly be the last person to wish to make any remarks of a nature to throw any obstacle in the way of, or to create any embarrassment to, Her Majesty's Government. He was only anxious for those interests of the country which they had been informed were intimately connected with this question. The whole community, he was sure, would reiterate the hope which had been expressed by the noble Lord opposite, that Her Majesty's Fleet would occupy the Straits and keep the waterway open, which, their Lordships were informed, was the object of sending the Fleet to the Dardanelles. It would be satisfactory to know that the waterway of the Dardanelles was to be kept open, and he believed there could be no better way of doing that than by occupying Gallipoli. He should not venture to

*The Earl of Derby*

express his own opinion; but he would venture to express the opinion of the highest military authorities, that it was of importance to this country, and for the great interests we had at stake, for us to occupy Gallipoli, which, as the key of the position, would give us the command of the Straits of the Dardanelles.

LORD DORCHESTER said, that the statement which had been made by the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) left their Lordships in doubt whether the Russian Army had retreated to the point that they had reached when the Armistice was signed, or whether they had advanced after the Armistice was signed and occupied one of the forts, and so turned the flank of the Turkish defences of Constantinople. In the present state of public feeling, if the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or one of Her Majesty's Ministers, would inform the House on this point, it would give general satisfaction. He did not know whether the noble Earl read the communication, which he had just received, accurately, or whether he (Lord Dorchester) misunderstood him; but it did not appear clear whether the Russian Ambassador had forwarded the statement direct from St. Petersburg or not. He would, therefore, ask whether the communication came from the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg, or from the Russian Ambassador at Her Majesty's Court?

LORD HOUGHTON asked the Foreign Secretary whether there was direct communication by telegraph between Constantinople and this country?

THE EARL OF DERBY: Direct communication from Constantinople appears not to be re-established; but there is free communication with Besika Bay. I was for a moment absent from the House when the noble Lord (Lord Dorchester) asked me a Question; but I am informed it was, whether the communication which I read to your Lordships came from the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg, or from the Russian Ambassador in England? In reply, I would state that it came from the Russian Ambassador to this Court.

House adjourned at a quarter before  
Six o'clock, till To-morrow,  
half-past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 7th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Edward William Harcourt, esquire, for the County of Oxford.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Irish Land Act, 1870, nominated; Army (Royal Artillery and Engineer Officers' Arrears of Pay), re-appointed.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—£6,000,000, Supplementary Estimate—R.P.

PUBLIC BILLS—Ordered—First Reading—Hypothec (Scotland) (No. 3)\* [101]; County Courts Jurisdiction (No. 2)\* [102]; Poor Law Amendment Act (1876) Amendment\* [103]; Debtors Acts Amendment\* [104].  
First Reading—Public Prosecutor\* [105].

## QUESTIONS.

## CHRIST'S HOSPITAL.—QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What steps have been taken by the governing body of Christ's Hospital to carry out the recommendations of the Commission of last year; and, whether it is proposed to remove the school from its present site?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that the governing body of Christ's Hospital had adopted some of the recommendations of the Commission of last year, and they were now in communication with the Charity Commissioners with reference to the removal of the school from the present site, and other matters.

## TURKEY—THE WAR—BLOCKADE OF THE BLACK SEA.—QUESTION.

MR. COLLINS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, during the armistice reported to have been concluded by the representatives of Russia and Turkey, the blockade of the Black Sea is to be suspended, so as to admit the right of free ingress and egress to the Mercantile Shipping of Neutral Nations; and, in the event of a renewal of hostilities, what would be the position of such shipping if employed under charters between Black Sea ports?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, a telegram has been received to-day at the Foreign Office from Mr. Layard, saying that the blockade of the Black Sea would be raised according to the terms of the Convention which has been signed, we believe, between Russia and Turkey, and communication will be re-opened with Odessa. With regard to the last part of the Question of the hon. Member—that is, as to the resumption of hostilities—I am not able to answer that Question until the event arises; but Her Majesty's Government will not fail to make all information public which they have in their possession from time to time upon the subject, and will not fail to do their best that British commerce shall be protected.

## GERMANY—RELIGIOUS REFUGEES.

## QUESTION.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether the Government will grant protection to certain religious women who are refugees here from Duderstadt in Hanover, their convent having been suppressed and the property confiscated by the German Government?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER, in reply, said, that he had conferred with his noble Friend (the Earl of Derby) on the matter, of which he had no knowledge of his own, and he could say that the case of those persons, in the shape in which it stood at present, was one entirely for the Law Courts and not for the Foreign Office.

## NAVY—NAVAL ENGINEERS.

## QUESTION.

MR. E. J. REED asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is true that a former Commander in Chief on the North America and West India Station gave an order excluding Naval Officers of the Engineer class, below the rank of Ward-room Officers, and them alone, from all invitations given to the Officers of the ship; and, whether it is true that this order is still in force on that station; and, if so, whether he will take early steps for putting all the junior Officers of Her Majesty's Navy on an equal footing in this respect?



MR. W. H. SMITH: An Order was given in 1874 by the Commander-in-Chief of the Station in these terms—

“General invitations to officers of Her Majesty’s ships are understood to be addressed only to those messing in the ward-room and gun-room messes.”

So far as the Admiralty are aware, this Order has not been cancelled; but, under the improved status of the future Engineer officers of the Royal Navy, my Lords see no reason for retaining it, and orders will be given accordingly.

#### PARLIAMENT—REPORTS OF DEBATES. QUESTION.

MR. DODSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty’s Government have considered the subject of reporting the Debates of the House; and, whether he intends to submit any proposal in reference thereto this Session?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Yes, Sir; the Government have given their attention to this matter, and they have entered into a provisional arrangement with Mr. Hansard for an improvement in the reporting of the debates. There will be a Supplementary Estimate submitted to the House in consequence in a few days; and I think it will be the most convenient course to defer any discussion on the proposals until that Estimate is on the Table.

#### EXPLOSIVES ACT, 1875—CONVEYANCE OF EXPLOSIVES.—QUESTION.

MR. GOURLEY asked the President of the Board of Trade, What measures he intends adopting for the purpose of preventing the conveyance (either by sea, canal, river, or rail, unless in properly constructed magazines) of gunpowder, dynamite, and other dangerous goods such as were proven to have been shipped on board the “Great Queensland” without a magazine; and, further, what regulations he intends imposing upon the Conservators of the Thames and other rivers, whereby they may be compelled to exercise efficient supervision over the storage, conveyance, and stowage of combustible goods?

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY: I have twice already stated to the House, in answer to the hon. Member, that I

consider the law providing for the proper loading of explosives is sufficient. I am communicating with harbour authorities with a view to induce them to obtain notice of every ship loading with explosives in their jurisdiction, and to communicate any case of suspicion to our inspecting officers. The hon. Member may, if he likes, move for a copy of any set of bye-laws, which are all approved by the Board of Trade—such as those of the Thames, Mersey, or the Tyne, and of the model bye-laws as to carriage of explosives which are applied, under sanction of the Board of Trade, to all inland waters and railways in the Kingdom—and it will be seen that there is no deficiency of law on the subject.

#### METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS— NATIONAL OPERA HOUSE.

##### QUESTION.

COLONEL BERESFORD asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, If it be true that the building commenced in 1876 for the purpose of a National Opera House on the Thames Embankment is to be converted into an hotel, with or without the sanction of such Board; and, further, what amount of rent has been received by the Board up to the present time, and what sum is now in arrear to that date?

SIR JAMES M’GAREL-HOGG, in reply, said, that he had seen in the newspapers a report of the proposal to convert the building of the National Opera House into an hotel. No communication has been made to the Metropolitan Board of Works on the subject, and, therefore, he could not say whether those reports were accurate or not. The rent of the ground had been paid for two years, from Michaelmas, 1875, to Michaelmas, 1877.

#### TURKEY—THE DARDANELLES— ENTRY OF THE FLEET.—QUESTION.

MR. DILLWYN asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any communication relative to the recent entry into the Straits of the Dardanelles by the British fleet has been received by Her Majesty’s Government from the Government of Russia; and, if so, whether there is any objection to its being laid upon the Table of the House?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** No, Sir; no such communication has been received.

**ARMY—THE ROYAL WARRANT, 1877.  
QUESTION.**

**MR. DUNBAR** (for Major O'BRIEN) asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is intended to carry out that part of the Royal Warrant for Promotion and Retirement which relates to the seconding of Regimental Officers holding Staff appointments?

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY:** Sir, that part of the Royal Warrant referred to by the hon. and gallant Gentleman will be carried into effect, and steps are now being taken to fulfil that intention with regard to officers who have still three years to hold Staff appointments, and the date from which the seconding will take effect will be the day after the officer's name appears in *The Gazette*.

**THE EGYPTIAN OBELISK (CLEOPATRA'S NEEDLE).—QUESTION.**

**MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the circumstance that after the battle of Alexandria every officer and soldier of the Army subscribed several days' pay to transport Cleopatra's Needle to this Country as a trophy of the victory; and, whether, such being the case, the Military authorities ought not to be consulted as to the selection of a site for the obelisk; and whether he is aware that the site of Hyde Park, where reviews are held, has been already recommended as an admirable place for a Military trophy?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I have no reason to think that the military authorities desire to be consulted in this matter, with respect to the site of the obelisk. With regard to the site to which my hon. Friend refers, there is no doubt a good deal to be said in favour of it. On the other hand, there are objections having reference to the great distance; and I am afraid I cannot give any definite answer.

**ARMY—THE AUXILIARY HOSPITAL,  
WOOLWICH.—QUESTION.**

**MR. ONSLOW** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is the case

that the medical officer on duty at the Auxiliary Hospital, Woolwich, on the 28th January 1878, on being requested to come to barracks to attend upon a sergeant of the 3rd battalion, Rifle Brigade, who had burst a blood vessel, refused to do so, and ordered the man to be taken to hospital; and that the sergeant died before help could be brought?

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY:** I am sorry to say that the facts contained in the Question of my hon. Friend are correct. The sergeant in question sent, I believe, as early as 4 A.M. on the 28th of January for the medical officer, who directed that he should be taken to the hospital. It appears that the man had been for some time suffering from an aneurism affecting the large arteries of the chest, and was only permitted to leave the hospital for a few days at his own request. From inquiries which have been made since, it has been ascertained that if the medical officer had gone to the barracks at once the man's life could not have been saved. The whole circumstances of the case were fully investigated by the General Officer commanding, who reprimanded the medical officer for having committed an error of judgment. The medical officer had expressed his regret that he did not at once go to the sergeant; but his belief was that it was only at the hospital he could be of any use, and unfortunately the man died before he reached the hospital.

**THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE WAR  
—THE ARMISTICE.—QUESTION.**

**COLONEL BARNE** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can say if it is true that part of the terms of the Armistice concluded between Turkey and Russia are the occupation by Russia of Rustchuk, Silistria, Schumla, Varna, and Erzeroum, and the cession of the Turkish Fleet; and, if it is true that the Russians are concentrating numerous forces in Bessarabia?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Mr. Speaker, we have no such definite information of the terms of the Armistice as would justify me in answering the first Question of my hon. and gallant Friend; and with regard to his second Question, I am sorry to say that we have no information.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—A CONFERENCE.—QUESTION.

MR. WHITWELL asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he can, consistently with public interests, inform the House whether a Conference of the European Powers has been proposed by any one or more of the Great Powers; whether Her Majesty's Government has assented thereto; and, if he can furnish the House with any further information on this subject?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: A Conference of the European Powers has been proposed by the Government of Austro-Hungary; and Her Majesty's Government have assented to that proposal. I do not think it would be convenient at present to enter into any details.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE SUPPLEMENTARY VOTE—OCCUPATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE BY THE RUSSIANS.—QUESTION.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Mr. Speaker, I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, If it is in his power to inform the House whether there is any truth in the reports which have been circulated that Her Majesty's Government have received information that Constantinople has been occupied by Russian troops; or that the Russian force is advancing, notwithstanding the Armistice, on Constantinople or Gallipoli?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Speaker, Her Majesty's Government will present to the House immediately some Papers containing the latest information which they have received upon this subject; and I will state briefly to the House what is the substance of those communications. We received yesterday afternoon from Mr. Layard a telegram of the date of February 5, at night, which is to the following effect:—That, notwithstanding the Armistice, the Russians are pushing on towards Constantinople; that the Turkish troops have been compelled to evacuate Silivria, notwithstanding the protest of the Turkish Commander, which the Russian General refused to receive. Silivria, I should say, is a port on the Sea of Marmora. The Russian General declared that, according to his orders, it

was necessary that he should occupy Tchataldja that day. I will refer to the position of Tchataldja presently. That the Porte is in great alarm and cannot understand the Russian proceedings. Representations have again been made to the Grand Duke Nicholas. The Servians have destroyed a place called Vranja, and are advancing on Uskup, which is on the line of railway to Salonica. Five days have elapsed since the signature of the bases of peace and the convention of armistice; but the Protocol has not yet reached the Porte, which is in ignorance of the real terms. Another telegram, dated yesterday and received last night, states that the Russian Government has insisted, as one of the conditions of the Armistice, that the Tchek-medje lines should be abandoned, leaving Constantinople wholly undefended. The Russians have occupied Tchataldja in considerable force. Tchataldja, I ought to mention, is a part of the Turkish lines of defence extending across the Peninsula, of which I understand it is an outpost. It is on the line of railway from Adrianople. The distance from Constantinople, as well as I can judge by the map, is less than 30 miles. Hon. Members will see by a telegram from St. Petersburg, which is included in the Papers to be laid on the Table this evening, that the Grand Duke Nicholas telegraphs from Adrianople, on the 31st of January, that the Porte has accepted the conditions of peace, and the Protocol has been signed; that the Armistice has also been concluded and signed, and orders to suspend all hostilities given. It appears, also, by a telegram from Belgrade of the 4th, that orders had been given by Prince Milan for the suspension of hostilities. I cannot undertake to reconcile that statement with the information given above as to the continued advance of the Servian forces, except that it may be possible the order did not reach them in time. It will be seen by the Papers that the Turks had given orders to suspend operations on or before the 2nd instant. It may be said that the various steps which I have related are being taken, not in contravention, but in pursuance of the conditions of the Armistice. That may be so, because we do not know what conditions there may be in the Armistice of which we are not aware. But it appears that the Porte is equally in ignorance, and is

perplexed at the meaning of these movements. We have in a telegram sent this day asked the Government of Russia to give us some explanations on the subject; and we have called attention to a declaration made by the Emperor of Russia in July last to Colonel Welleley, to the effect that—

“His Majesty will not occupy Constantinople for the sake of military honour, but only if such a step is rendered necessary by the march of events.”

Considering that the Turkish resistance has ceased, it would not appear that any such necessity can now exist.

MR. DILLWYN: Before you leave the Chair, Sir, I should like to ask a Question of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I have not given Notice of it, because I expected a Question would be put on the subject from a more influential quarter. I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he has had his attention called to a telegram which appeared this morning in a very influential paper—the “Daily News”—imputing grave misconduct to the Prime Minister and to Her Majesty’s Ambassador at Constantinople? I wish to ask whether it is the intention of Her Majesty’s Government to take steps to explain or refute—[“No, no!”]—yes, I say, if they can do so, to refute a statement so injurious to the character of the Prime Minister and our Ambassador at Constantinople? [“No!”] This, I think, will be demanded by the country.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I think a Question like that of the hon. Gentleman, put in such a way and without any Notice, is unusual. My attention has not been peculiarly directed to this telegram of which he speaks; but I certainly did see amongst the various items in *The Daily News* this morning some anonymous account of a conversation to which, I presume, the hon. Member refers. I did not pay very much attention to it; but I have no doubt that if it is of the character which the hon. Gentleman wishes to bring forward, those to whom it relates will be perfectly ready to give an answer to any Question.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: After the statement just made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, I hope the House will allow me to say one word with regard to the course which, in concert

with my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) and others, I think it right to take with regard to my Amendment. The Forms of the House will, of course, not permit me to repeat the objections to the Constitutional and political character of the Vote which induced me to bring forward that Amendment. I cannot, however, deny that the aspect of affairs in the East is changed by the information which has just been given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which information I take on the authority of the Government. With regard to the Vote of Credit proposed by the Government, we are now, Sir, on the stage of your leaving the Chair. Of course, in Committee of Supply, the Government will state their view as to how the Vote of money is to be applied, and ought to be applied, in the existing state of affairs. I hardly need say that I reserve to myself the fullest freedom of action in Committee; but I must state to the House that I no longer think it my duty to oppose any further obstacle to you, Sir, leaving the Chair. I beg, therefore, to withdraw the Amendment. [“No, no!”]

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I wish to say a word as to the resumption of the debate under the new circumstances which have been produced by the statement just made by my right hon. Friend. I apprehend, Sir, that according to the rules of our procedure it will not be in your power to put the Question whether the House will permit my right hon. Friend’s Amendment to be withdrawn until the conclusion of the debate which is now in progress upon that Amendment. My hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) is, I believe, in possession of the House. I have no right and no desire, I can assure him, to dictate what steps he ought to take, or to give a strong opinion on the course which he ought to pursue under these circumstances; but perhaps the House will allow me to state my own opinion that after the statement which has just been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it would be for the convenience of the House that the discussion on the Amendment of my right hon. Friend—which he has given Notice it is his intention, with the leave of the House, to withdraw—should not be any further prolonged, and that my hon. Friend (Mr. Rylands) and other hon. Members who desire still to ad-

dress the House on this Amendment should waive their right of doing so, and allow further discussion on the Vote proposed by Her Majesty's Government to take place after the Speaker has left the Chair. It appears to me, speaking with great deference, that that would, on the whole, be the most convenient course to pursue, and I hope it is one which may commend itself to the opinion and to the judgment of my hon. Friend and the House.

MR. RYLANDS: I certainly have no hesitation—[*Ironical cheers*—]in acting in accordance with the suggestion of the noble Lord. I may venture, perhaps, to observe that while with us on this side of the House and our Leaders there has been a disposition, under circumstances which are no doubt of a novel character, and when we are in possession of intelligence, although there may be some question as to its authenticity and accuracy, yet when the noble Lord, in view of that intelligence, and with the object of giving the House a better opportunity of considering the position in which hon. Members are placed on this important question—when the noble Lord recommends that we should not proceed further, and my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford is willing to withdraw his Amendment—under these circumstances, perhaps, I may be permitted to say with great diffidence to hon. Gentlemen opposite that when this spirit has been manifested by the noble Lord and my right hon. Friend, I do not think a spirit of jeering and levity should be indulged in. The House should have an opportunity of carefully considering the new position in which we are placed.

MR. SPEAKER: Any discussion upon the Order of the Day in respect to the Eastern Question will now be premature.

MR. RYLANDS: I thought the Order of the Day had been called, but I bow to your decision.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

#### THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

#### ADJOURNED DEBATE. [FIFTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to

Mr. W. E. Forster

Question [31st January], "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" (for Committee of Supply).

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "this House, having been informed in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech that the conditions on which Her Majesty's neutrality is founded had not been infringed by either belligerent engaged in the war in the East of Europe, and having since received no information sufficient to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, sees no reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies,"—(*Mr. William Edward Forster*),

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate resumed.

MR. SPEAKER: I understand that the right hon. Gentleman desires to withdraw his Amendment.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I have no right, Sir, to make any further remark, but I beg to withdraw the Amendment.

MR. SPEAKER: Is it your pleasure that the Amendment be withdrawn? ["No, no!"]

MR. RYLANDS: I understand that the suggestion of the noble Lord is that the House should assent to the withdrawal of the Amendment on the Motion that you, Sir, should leave the Chair, and that there should be an opportunity of discussing the Vote in Committee, and that we should have information from the Government as to the mode in which this Vote is to be applied. Under these circumstances, I hope the Vote will not be pressed this evening. ["Oh, oh!"] I do not know whether the Government intend to make use of their great majority to force this Vote down our throats.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: The hon. Member asks, whether, in the event of the Amendment being withdrawn and the Speaker leaving the Chair, the Government would be prepared to assent to the adjournment of the debate, and not to proceed with the Vote in Committee of Supply? Now, I see no reason why we should act upon that suggestion. The Government made this proposal on their own responsibility, and with a sincere feeling of the necessity for making this proposal. They made it some consider-

able time ago, and the House, of course, had to consider how it would deal with that proposal. After time had been allowed for consideration, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. E. Forster), on behalf of the Leaders of the Opposition—supported, I suppose, by a great majority on that side—proposed a certain Amendment, which has been considered at considerable length; and I think we are now arriving at a time when, after so much inconvenience, and so much delay, we may hope to get the Vote, and see something practical done. It appears that the noble Lord and the right hon. Gentleman, in consequence of certain intelligence which has been received to-day, which is certainly of a serious character—more or less serious, but which is not at all different from that in anticipation of which we proposed this Vote—we originally proposed this Vote—they propose to withdraw their Amendment. I cannot see any other motive for the adoption of the course than that they wish to facilitate the progress of Public Business, and not to delay the passing of the Vote. Under these circumstances, I think we would be stultifying ourselves if we were to adjourn the debate. Of course, we are quite willing—and, indeed, very glad—to get into Committee, and have the Business we have in hand facilitated; but I do not think we would be acting with proper respect to ourselves—indeed, I think we would be acting in a very undignified way—if we were now to propose any adjournment.

MR. FAWCETT: Sir, I think there is a great deal of force in the observations which have just been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. However much we may disagree with the conduct of the Government, we must admit that that conduct has been perfectly frank and straightforward. They have said that it is expedient and desirable that the House should vote this money, and they maintained that attitude before the peace was signed, after the peace was signed, and before they knew the conditions of the armistice. Their position, therefore, is not affected by the news of the advance of the Russians that has reached us this afternoon; but if we turn to this side of the House the position is altogether different. I had not the slightest idea before I came down to the House that this Amend-

ment was to be withdrawn. I was prepared to have given it my cordial support. I was not, however, responsible for the wording of that Amendment. Let us inquire under what circumstances it was brought forward. When it was brought forward by my right hon. Friend, it was approved of by all the Leaders of the Liberal Party. Peace was not then signed; the armistice had not been concluded. In the course of this discussion, peace was signed and the armistice concluded, and yet the Liberal Leaders thought it right to persevere in the discussion of their Amendment. Now, if this was desirable then—and I am not saying whether it was or was not, but that was the opinion of the Liberal Leaders—it seems extraordinary that, without the slightest notice, on intelligence not yet confirmed, and on Papers not yet in the hands of hon. Members, a considerable number of hon. Members should be deprived of an opportunity of expressing their opinion on this important question. I have not myself risen once in the course of this debate, and I would have been willing to let it conclude without speaking; but I know that many of my hon. Friends are anxious to take part in it, and there is not the slightest reason why they should be deprived of their opportunity of doing so. The financial arguments against this Vote are not in the slightest degree touched by the doubtful intelligence of the advance of the Russians to Constantinople. Of course it is a very difficult position to find ourselves in, and I am not going to take a course which would be likely to increase it. If some of us oppose the withdrawal of the Amendment, it is not unlikely that we may be misunderstood; but of this I feel certain—that it will suit our purpose just as well to meet it with a direct negative. Therefore, I do appeal to the fairness of the Government. If intelligence has reached this country, and if it appears that the Emperor of Russia has disregarded the conditions of the armistice, of course then the condition of affairs will be altered; but until we do know it, I put it to the fairness of the Government that they ought not to press nor to vote this money at once. If the Amendment is withdrawn, we will reserve the right of voting against this proposal in Committee. I have only one other remark to make

with regard to the proposal to withdraw this Amendment. From the way in which that proposal has been received in a certain quarter on the other side of the House, it seems to me that it is only too probable that the proposal to withdraw will not be consented to, and that there is a determination in certain quarters that it should be negatived.

MR. SPEAKER: Perhaps it may be for the convenience of the House that I should point out that in the event of the House permitting the Amendment to be withdrawn, the Question to be put then would be "that I do now leave the Chair," and any discussion may take place, or even any Amendment be put upon that Question. At present the preliminary Question before the House is whether the Amendment shall be allowed to be withdrawn.

MR. WATKIN WILLIAMS: Sir, I wish to say that I believe there can be no Member of this House who is more strongly opposed to the policy of the Government in relation to the Eastern Question than I am, and I think it is fair that I should say this. I had intended—and perhaps fortunately for the House I was disappointed—to inflict a speech on the House upon this subject. But I own it does seem to me that in the presence of the stupendous events that are taking place in the East—of which the least we can say is that they are mysterious and uncertain—it is to me a melancholy thing that we should be here discussing—apparently a divided people—a miserable question of £6,000,000. When events of this magnitude are going on in every part of the world, the relevancy of which to the question is changing every six hours, I venture to point out this, that any reasonable or honourable way out of the dilemma in which we are placed ought to be accepted by the whole House at once, not in the interests of Party, for there are many of us here who do really feel something more on this question. I think in the interests, not of the House or of a Party, but in the interests of the country, and in the presence of foreign nations, that we should avoid these discussions; and I shall be delighted to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer resist the Motion of postponing this Vote. I think our duty is clear—to proceed with the Vote in Committee and bring the affair to a speedy and definite conclusion.

*Mr. Fawcett*

MR. HOPWOOD said, he was not disposed to agree with his hon. and learned Friend who had just spoken, but feared they were about to do with precipitancy that which they might be ashamed of the next day. They were told, and they had heard certain Papers read to them that evening, that the Russians were advancing. They had heard that the other night. They had heard it several times before, and always from the same source—from the British Ambassador at Constantinople. That Ambassador had done his best by every despatch to give rise to the notion that the Russians were advancing; and, therefore, when he found that the latest edition of their intelligence rested solely upon a despatch from that gentleman, he made bold to say—it was not disrespectful to him (Mr. Layard), and it was respectful to the House—that he and other Members should express their opinions on the matter under debate, because he did not believe the accuracy of the information conveyed. He, for one, would assist in obstructing the matter if the opportunity were refused which they asked for—the delay of any further discussion until the next day. ["Oh, oh!"] If the House would not listen to him he would wait till they did. There was no desire on his part from any personal motives to keep this discussion up. The Porte was said to have no intelligence on this subject. The Porte had passed that off on them two or three times during the past fortnight or three weeks, and they now found that the delay in signing the armistice, of which so much was made at the time against Russia solely was caused by matters of fact perfectly within the knowledge of the Porte and its Plenipotentiaries. In this case, the further intelligence only rested upon information from the British Ambassador at Constantinople, and the intelligence supposed to be possessed by the Porte. He asked them that they should not be precipitate in this matter, and that they should have the proposal made on that (the Liberal) side of the House adopted, that the Amendment should be withdrawn, and that they should have a postponement of the discussion until the next day. ["No, no!"] If not, he thought there were plenty of Gentlemen there who were free to take their own course upon it, and to procure that indulgence which

the House did not seem inclined to give them.

**MR. E. J. REED** : I am one of those who have felt that it was a very unfortunate thing for our own Party and for the country that a discussion of this Eastern Question should have been hung upon a direct obstruction to the money credit asked for by the Government. I merely rise for the purpose of saying that I do hope that we may now get rid of this money question, and grant the money at once, in order that as soon as possible we may leave ourselves free to consider the only question which it is worth the while of the House to discuss at the present moment—namely, the future proceedings of the country with regard to the Eastern Question.

**MR. J. COWEN** : My hon. and learned Friend behind me (Mr. Watkin Williams) has just said what I intended to say. In his opening remarks he said there was no one in the House more opposed to the policy of Her Majesty's Government on the Eastern Question than himself. I am not in accord with him there. I think the foreign policy of the Government on this question, take it as a whole, view it without the consideration of details, has been prudent and judicious. If this Amendment had been put to the vote I, at least, as a Liberal Member, would not have voted for it. But the circumstances are entirely altered—the position is entirely changed—and I think we shall best consult our own dignity and the interests of the nation by at least foregoing any further discussion of it. In discussing domestic politics, there is no need for reticence. The fuller and franker the expression of opinion, the better. But when national interests are involved, and when, perhaps, even national existence is at stake, patriotism and good sense should lead us to present a united face to the world. We are not here now as Tories, or Liberals, or Radicals. We are here as Englishmen; and without undertaking to say that the Government have been correct in all their predictions, at least we have this evidence before us—that their suspicions so far have been warranted by events. I would suggest to my hon. Friends the necessity of allowing, not only this Amendment to be withdrawn, but also the Vote to be taken at once, and to be passed unanimously, and that will be the best answer

to the advance of the Russians upon Constantinople.

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON** : The question which, I believe, we are really discussing is whether the House shall permit the Amendment to be withdrawn. I believe, although that is the question which everyone has in his mind, that we are technically still upon the Amendment of my right hon. Friend. In order that this question may be discussed, I will move the adjournment of the debate; and I will take the opportunity of saying that I was no party to the opposition to the Government taking the Vote this evening. It has been pointed out that, even after the Amendment has been withdrawn or otherwise disposed of, it will be quite competent for any hon. Member to discuss this question upon the Speaker leaving the Chair. I do not advise that that course should be taken; but I think, after what has been said by my right hon. Friend, probably it would be more convenient if we were to go into Committee, when I have no doubt the Government will not flinch from a full discussion of the point raised. It seems to me that it will be for the convenience of the House that the preliminary point should be first disposed of as to whether the Amendment of my right hon. Friend should be withdrawn. I believe the Government have not yet expressed their opinion upon that point, but I hope they will do so. Although I cannot answer for all hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, yet I have a strong opinion that, in the circumstances and after what has occurred, a division upon the Amendment cannot possibly be any indication of the real state of opinion in the House or in the country upon the question at issue, and that it would be for the convenience of both Parties that that division should not be taken. As far as my right hon. Friend's feelings and my own are concerned, I must admit that it seems to me a matter of very small importance whether the Amendment be withdrawn or negatived. Our course, in the event of the House not permitting it to be withdrawn, will be a clear one to myself and to the greater part of us. If the House tries to force us to vote on the question which we wish to withdraw, we shall, instead of withdrawing the Amendment, withdraw ourselves. I think it will be for the convenience of



the House and of the Government, however, not to take a division on this point; and, by way of enabling them to state what course they will adopt, I beg, Sir, to move that this debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
—(*The Marquess of Hartington.*)

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: My right hon. Friend, as I understood him, and as I am authorized to state for him, did accept the withdrawal of that proposition. He accepted it as an unconditional withdrawal. The objection he took was to some conditions proposed to be imposed upon it. An unconditional withdrawal we still accept.

MR. ANDERSON: I should like, Sir, to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer what he means by unconditional withdrawal. If he means such a withdrawal as enables you, Sir, immediately to leave the Chair, then I should oppose it. If, on the other hand, it is merely a withdrawal of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford, leaving us free to discuss the main Question as to your leaving the Chair, I would hope all Members would agree to it. I certainly would.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: I certainly think that in the telegram which the right hon. Gentleman has read and in the statements which are made out-of-doors—and I do not know whether there is more than one source of information—there is very little which is more certain than the rumours we had before, and also very little which does not require confirmation. The right hon. Gentleman did not, I think, give any opinion himself as to what was the opinion or the view of the Porte with regard to the alleged advance of the Russians; but I think the telegram said that the Porte was very much alarmed. Well, Sir, our Ambassador at Constantinople has been alarmed several times, and the Porte has had a good deal of occasion for alarm. But what I should like to have known, if it had been possible for the Chancellor of the Exchequer to tell me, was whether there was really any positive information which made them believe that whatever has occurred has not occurred by connivance with the Porte. That is the opinion which I

should form from the circumstances. An armistice has been signed, the preliminaries of peace have been agreed upon, and there is, it is alleged, some advance of some portion of the Russian troops in the direction of Constantinople. And this leads me to the conclusion that it is a matter of arrangement between the two Powers; that it is not, on the part of Russia, an act of war; and that it, therefore, in no degree changes the position as regards either the interests or the objects of this country. [*Murmurs.*] Well, we shall see more, very likely, in a day or two, and I may be wrong. I am only telling the House what appears to me to be a reasonable conclusion from the partial statement which has been made to us. I suppose the Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us with regard to this all he knows, and I am not assuming that he has kept anything back. But, judging from what we have heard and from what we have read in the papers this morning, I think it is not at all unlikely it may turn out that, as it were behind the back of England and of the other Powers, Turkey has come to the conclusion that it would be better to be off with her old friends and wash her hands entirely of what is called European protection and the favouritism of England, and to make herself a friend in the future of the Russian Government. If this be so, of course it is a very great change; but it is not a change which would enable this country, or justify any Party in this country, to proceed to hostilities either with Russia or Turkey. Therefore, I am of opinion that the condition of things in regard to the Vote which we have been discussing during the last week is in no degree materially changed. But there is one thing which has changed, and it is in order to refer to that that I have ventured to trouble the House for a few minutes. There is no doubt whatever that there is a difference in the style of discussion and in the state of feeling in this House. If there were a Parliament in St. Petersburg, and a House of Commons there, and if speeches were made with regard to England such as have been made in this House with regard to Russia, then I venture to think it would not be in the power of Gentlemen opposite, even if they were so disposed, or of Gentlemen on these benches, to prevent the occur-

*The Marquess of Hartington*

rence of that frightful calamity, of hostilities between this country and Russia. It is because of this state of feeling—which is not confined to this House, but which exists among some portions of people in some parts of the country—that I think that probably the true interests of the country, and also the true dignity of Parliament, would be promoted by a cessation of a discussion of this nature, at a time when facts of great importance are just trembling, as it were, in the balance, and when we are unable to know what is the exact position of the matter which is under discussion. Therefore, on that ground—and on that ground only—I have been brought to the conclusion that it would be a judicious thing if the Amendment were withdrawn, and if the discussion at this point came to an end. I trust, however, that none of those who have supported the Amendment—and I hope there are many Gentlemen on the other side to whom I may address the same remark—will believe—indeed, I hope that none of us will believe—that there is at this present time any condition of things which, more than the conditions which has existed for a considerable time past, makes it necessary or imperative that the Government of this country should again venture into a great war for purposes which few appear to understand, or for objects which all of us know—if we know anything of the geography of that part of the world—to be absolutely unattainable; a war which can only repeat the disasters—I will not say the ignominy, but the disasters—and the failures, and the disappointments of that great war which we had 24 years ago. I have ventured to address these remarks to the House from a standpoint which I admit many Gentlemen here cannot exactly, necessarily, perhaps, recognize; but I have only done that which I have done before. I have been consistent, I hope, during the whole of these transactions, and I am anxious now, as I have ever been, that we should be wise and just in our foreign policy as in our home affairs. I believe now, by patience and moderation and courtesy, and a thorough examination of all the points of this great question, we may find before long that, in spite of the clouds on the horizon, the sky will become clearer, and that this country, at least, will neither have to spend its trea-

sure nor to waste its blood in a cause which our past experience has proved to be one in which we had no interest, and certainly one from which we gained no advantage.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am only addressing the House, technically by its indulgence; but the matter which I have to mention is of so much importance that I am quite sure the House will listen to me. I wish, in the first place, to point out to the House that the proceedings of this evening originated entirely in a Question which was addressed to me by the noble Lord, and which I answered to the best of my ability. I stated to the noble Lord what was the substance of the despatches which we had received last night; and I concluded by informing the House that in consequence of those communications the Government had thought it right to-day to address a communication to the Russian Ambassador, and to ask for explanations of certain circumstances which had been noticed. [Mr. JOHN BRIGHT: Lord Augustus Loftus.] The right hon. Gentleman is quite right. A communication was addressed to Lord Augustus Loftus to ask for an explanation. But, however, that is not the matter in issue. The communication which I have now to make to the House, and which I have just received from my noble Friend (the Earl of Derby), comes from the Ambassador of Russia in this country. It is as follows:—

“The Ambassador of Russia, having addressed his Government in order to ask whether it was true that the Russian Army was advancing towards Constantinople, and had taken a fortified position forming part of the line of defence of Constantinople, had received from Prince Gortchakoff the following reply, dated St. Petersburg, Feb. 7.—‘The order has been given to our military commanders to stop hostilities along the whole line in Europe and in Asia. There is not a word of truth in the rumours which have reached you.’”

I must express to the House my regret that the circumstances should have been of so dramatic a character as they have been. It was not, of course, our fault. We gave the information exactly as we received it. It has been throughout this difficult business our anxiety to deal most frankly with the House. I can only say, in conclusion, what I said just now, and what the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) entirely confirms

[*Fifth Night.*]

—that, so far as the conduct of the Government is concerned, our view of the necessity of the Vote proposed, whether the Amendment is withdrawn or not, whether the rumours be true or whether they be not true, remains precisely the same, and we propose to proceed with it in exactly the same manner.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I wish to ask one Question of the right hon. Gentleman. Of course there is no man in this House or out of this House who would reflect for one instant on the course the Government have taken upon the information they have given us on the question. But in the interest of the peace of England, and of the peace of the world, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman what steps Her Majesty's Government will take in order to procure trustworthy and reliable information with regard to the advance on Constantinople?

MR. FAWCETT, who rose amid cries of "Order!" said: I believe I am perfectly in Order. I have a Question to ask, and I will be very precise. Owing to the information which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has communicated to the House, I understand now that things are in precisely the same position as on Tuesday; and I beg to ask my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford, now that things are in precisely the same position—a rumour having reached this country which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has said to be untrue—whether he still intends to withdraw his Amendment?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: Certainly we are in rather a curious position. I entirely support the appeal of my hon. and learned Friend (Sir William Harcourt) in the hope that we shall not again be put in such a difficulty. Perhaps my old Friend, Mr. Layard, when he hears what has happened, will be induced to take, if possible, even more care than he has taken up to the present time with regard to the information he sends. However, my hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) has asked me a very pertinent Question. I have not had time to consult other Gentlemen. I confess it seems to me the best course that could be now taken would be to let the debate proceed—if it is to proceed—upon the actual proposal of the Government and not upon my Amendment. I do not think, after what

has happened, that any Gentleman ought to suppose that the circumstances are in that position in which his opinion, with regard to the proposal of the Government, should not be stated, if he thinks it desirable to do so. It appears that the information that is given, and upon which we thought there was a change of circumstances, may not be well founded; but I would also submit that the circumstances have very considerably changed since my Amendment was proposed, for the form of my Amendment would have been different if the circumstances had been then as they are now. That is a reason why the discussion should not proceed upon my Amendment, although it is also a ground which applies to the proposal of the Government, the proposal of the Government being a Vote that is asked on account of the "present crisis in the war between Russia and Turkey;" and we are still, I trust, under the belief that the war has practically ceased. However, I have nothing to do with the consistency of facts in the proposal of the Government, though I think that under present conditions the discussion would be better conducted on this proposal than upon the Amendment. Before I sit down I think I may state, and I think hon. Members on both sides of the House, and even the Government itself, must admit that there is much more ground for adjournment now than there was a week ago. I am quite aware that the Chancellor of the Exchequer states that the reasons which induced the Government to make this proposal still exist; but the Government cannot get rid of this fact—that the House is not in a condition to form a judgment; because we have had a most extraordinary and novel statement made by Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, which has been contradicted by information from St. Petersburg. I really think it would be advisable, in the general interest of the country, and in the general interest of the Members of the House being able to arrive at a thoroughly fair decision on the question, that the Government should allow another opportunity for debate.

MR. J. HOLMS thought the House was placed in an unfortunate position by not knowing the real terms of peace settled between Turkey and Russia; and it seemed to him at the present juncture that it would be very advan-

tageous to wait until they had the terms of peace and the terms of the armistice before continuing the discussion. In the present state of the public mind it was, indeed, essential that an adjournment should take place for at least two days.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I was one of those who had learnt, before the House met, the intention of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford, under the great alteration of circumstances which we were given reason to suppose had occurred, to ask leave to withdraw his Amendment; and I entirely concurred with him in thinking that that course would be a proper course, provided the conditions were fulfilled, under which, I think, he had arrived at that decision—namely, that we found we had to deal, not only with vague and idle rumours, but with something in the nature of a definite statement from official authority, which commanded the belief of Her Majesty's Government. When I heard the answer of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the Question of my noble Friend the Member for the Radnor Boroughs, obviously those conditions were fulfilled. The statement was one perfectly definite. It was given with the sanction and the authority of the Government; and I certainly was an entirely concurring party to the proceedings of my right hon. Friend. Nor do I say that my right hon. Friend is wrong in proposing to withdraw his Amendment even after what has occurred. When such an announcement has been made, and so generally acquiesced in by the House—although it is of extreme inconvenience that such an announcement should have been made under erroneous information, yet nobody—at all events nobody here—is to blame; and therefore I do not wonder, nor do I in the least complain, of my right hon. Friend for adhering to his decision, nor do I think we have the smallest right to complain of the Government or of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has treated us with perfect frankness and ingenuousness. He has supplied us from moment to moment with the very latest intelligence in his possession. I must, however, here go a step out of my way, while we are discussing the adjournment of the House, and say that that is a remarkable letter which has been read by

the Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeding from Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople. It fills me with an astonishment and a dismay that I cannot adequately describe. I have seen plenty of rumours gathered by the Ambassador, and transmitted home, which were worthless; but this is not transmitted as a rumour. There is not in this letter—as far as I have been able to discern—one single word that indicates uncertainty. It may be, therefore, and I am bound to think, that the Ambassador's information is right. If he is not right, he is tremendously wrong; but if he is right, then the position and the attitude under which the House proceeds in this great question is immensely changed by the communication, not only for the Government, but for a very large portion of the House. I really think, under those circumstances, it is not an unfair request that we should adjourn this debate for 24 hours—[“No, no!”]—in order that we may know how this matter stands. I can hardly conceive the opposition of any fair-minded man to that request. We have a title, which I may put very high, to know whether this statement—or whether the contradiction of this statement—is correct. If this statement is an untrue statement, it raises the gravest question, as has been indicated already by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt), as to the sources from which, and the channels through which, information is communicated for our guidance from Constantinople. If, on the other hand, it is true and veritable information, then we are equally astonished and equally dismayed with respect to the telegram that has just been read; and surely, in that position, it would be a strong—I might even say, a rather violent, exercise of the power of a majority, to drive us to proceed with the discussion of the proposal of the Government. It will be for the Government to say how far the emergency of affairs is such that a postponement of the Vote cannot be allowed. I never understood it to be stated that the matter was one of very great emergency from day to day.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he understands the letter which he read just now to imply that the Russians were not advancing at all, or only that they were not advancing in

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a manner hostile to the Turks, and in a manner objected to by them? The two things are very different; for, as the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) has pointed out, it is possible that the Russians are advancing under a clause of the armistice; and I could not gather from the letter read by the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether a complete denial was given to the report that the Russians were advancing at all, or only that a denial was given to the report that they were advancing contrary to the will of Turkey, and in a manner hostile to her.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, the assertion which came from Constantinople was of a positive and definite character, and the communication which came from St. Petersburg was of an equally positive and definite character. He wished to ask whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was aware that it was possible for Prince Gortchakoff, when that denial was given to Lord Derby, to have been perfectly apprised of the movements of the Russian Army?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: In answer to the noble Lord opposite (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) I may read once more that particular message from the Ambassador of Russia. The House will observe that this is not an answer to the inquiry made by my noble Friend (the Earl of Derby), but it is an answer made to some question that we have not got before us which has been addressed by the Russian Ambassador here to Prince Gortchakoff. The message is this—

"The Ambassador of Russia, having addressed his Government in order to ask whether it was true that the Russian Army was advancing towards Constantinople, and had taken a fortified position forming part of the line of defence of Constantinople, has received from Prince Gortchakoff the following reply, dated St. Petersburg, Feb. 7:—"The order has been given to our military commanders to stop hostilities along the whole line in Europe and in Asia. There is not a word of truth in the rumours which have reached you."

I can only, of course, understand those rumours to mean those which were alluded to in the question of the Russian Ambassador—namely, whether it was true that the Russian Army was advancing towards Constantinople and had taken a fortified position. I am really unable to answer my right hon. Friend's (Mr. Hubbard's) Question. We have reason,

*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*

however, to believe that there is something wrong with the telegraphic wires, because the last two telegrams from Mr. Layard have come to us by way of India, and not by the direct route. There appears to be some interference with the wires. There are several telegrams from Mr. Layard which ought to have reached us, but which we have never received. We know by the numbering of those telegrams which have come to us that others have been sent from Constantinople which have not arrived; and therefore there is some confusion on the telegraph lines. As to the Question of the right hon. Member for Greenwich, I cannot admit that we are to treat this as a matter in which time does not signify. We are very anxious to get this Vote. Without reference to these rumours, every day renders us more anxious that the funds for which we are asking should be placed in our hands. I do not press the House to grant us the Vote without debate. Of course it would be unreasonable when such a demand is made, that there should not be any amount of discussion which the House thinks necessary; but we cannot consent of our free motion to the adjournment of the debate which has been already so prolonged. It is, I believe, a fortnight since I originally gave Notice of this Vote; every opportunity has been given for its consideration, and I hope that the House, in whatever form it thinks best, will proceed with the discussion and grant us this money as soon as possible.

MR. DODSON: I venture to make a suggestion to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which I hope may induce him to meet the proposals which have been made from this side of the House half way, and consent to the adjournment of the debate. My right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford asked leave to withdraw his Amendment. He did so under circumstances of misapprehension as to the state of the facts. That state of facts is not even now quite clear. Had my right hon. Friend not offered to withdraw his Amendment, it was an understood thing on both sides of the House that the debate on it should have gone on to-night and to-morrow night, and that the Government could not have brought the direct proposal of their Vote to an issue before Monday. Why, if the proposal to withdraw the Amendment of my

right hon. Friend be assented to, do not the Government consent to adjourn the discussion of the Vote until to-morrow? The Government would be clearly advanced in the consideration of the Vote; and I further think it should be postponed, so that the question which the noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) has addressed to our Ambassador at St. Petersburg should be answered, and which might probably materially contribute to clearness of appreciation of the position now under discussion.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, he thought the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken would be fair and reasonable if—and only if—the Opposition were prepared to drive things to extremity and to refuse the Vote of Credit should the answer be unfavourable. A disposition had been shown to blame Mr. Layard, who had endeavoured to do his duty to the best of his ability. Hon. Gentlemen opposite ought to suspend their judgment in regard to Mr. Layard. It would be unfair—especially when communications were interrupted—to condemn him without receiving his explanation. Let them wait and see whose information was accurate. ["Hear, hear!"] He meant that they should wait before they condemned Mr. Layard; because it was quite possible that the Russian military commanders, irrespective of higher orders, might have pushed on their troops, that the facts which Mr. Layard narrated so positively might have taken place, and that Prince Gortchakoff might have been in ignorance of them. He did not say that that was the case; but it was quite possible. In all seriousness he asked the Opposition whether they were prepared to push things to extremities and to refuse this Vote. If the Opposition were prepared to do so, there must be but one alternative—let Ministers place their resignations at the foot of the Throne. Were the Opposition prepared to face that alternative? If they were, let them go on; but if they were not, he contended that hon. Members opposite were bound by every Constitutional consideration to stay their opposition and to give this Vote of Credit to the Government their unanimous support.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER did not see that there was any ground for post-

poning the debate. He hoped the House would proceed with the discussion on the proposed Vote of Credit.

MR. SANDFORD asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he was aware that any telegraphic communication existed between St. Petersburg and the Russian Army south of the Balkans; and, whether the Russian Government had any means of knowing the movements of the Russian Army?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I do not know.

SIR JOHN HAY said, the telegram which had been communicated to the House, and which had come through the Russian Ambassador, was merely a repetition of the statement originally made by Prince Gortchakoff and already on the Table of the House—that orders to suspend hostilities had been sent to the Russian Generals in Europe and Asia, not by telegraph, but by courier. We had received, on the one hand, a communication from the English Ambassador at Constantinople, by way of Bombay, dated the 5th; and we had, on the other hand, the re-assertion from St. Petersburg that certain orders had been sent to the Russian Generals, not by telegraph, but by messenger, which could not be received until two or three days had elapsed. The Russian Generals might not yet have received the orders in question; and, therefore, the statement of Prince Gortchakoff, so far as his knowledge went, might be correct; while the information received from our Ambassador at Constantinople might also be true.

MR. COURTNEY would suggest that, as there appeared to be considerable uncertainty as to whether the statement made by our Ambassador at Constantinople or that made from St. Petersburg was the more accurate of the two, they should now adjourn the debate for 24 hours, on the distinct understanding that it should terminate to-morrow.

MR. PEASE concurred in the suggestion made by the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken. If the news that had reached us from our Ambassador at Constantinople were true, the House would have before long to take some grave action. If the House believed that Russia had forfeited its pledges in respect of the occupation of Constantinople, the Vote which it would give would be a very different one from

what would otherwise be the case. The information which had reached us was not at all satisfactory. We had no reason to believe that our Ambassador at Constantinople had deceived us by the information he had sent; but, on the other hand, we had the most solemn assurance that the Russian Government could give, that his telegram was without foundation. In these circumstances, he hoped that Her Majesty's Government would consent to adjourn the debate. If Her Majesty's Government would consent to this course being adopted, he, for one, should be prepared to say that if it should turn out that the information was correct, and that Russia had forfeited her pledges, we should show a united front in this country.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he heartily echoed the language which had been addressed to them by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen), which exhibited a natural eloquence inspired by a deep patriotic feeling. The occasion was a serious one. Both sides of the House must perceive that the position of affairs was deeply critical. He therefore trusted that both sides of the House would give Her Majesty's Government their united support in their difficult position.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: If I may be allowed, by the courtesy of the House, to address one or two more observations to it, I will venture to say that, in my opinion, the appeal which has been addressed to the Government, that the debate should be adjourned, is by no means an unreasonable one. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer and his Colleagues are perfectly justified in saying that the information which was received last night, and which was believed all this morning, and which was only summarily contradicted within the last half hour, has not made any serious difference in the view with which they laid this Vote upon the Table. The right hon. Gentleman, however, refused to take into account the effect which that information may have upon the feelings and the opinions entertained on this side of the House. It is a fact, however, that the truth or the falsehood of that information will most materially affect the view of the Government proposal taken on this side of the House. The right hon.

Gentleman, therefore, will perceive, upon consideration, that it is hardly fair for him to press hon. Members on this side of the House to arrive at a decision with regard to that proposal in the present uncertain state of our information. By Her Majesty's Government accepting the reasonable suggestion which has been made, no time need necessarily be lost. At the same time, I am most unwilling—if the Government refuses to entertain the plea for delay which is made on this side of the House—that a Vote should be given which may lead to grave misconceptions in various quarters, and I should also be extremely unwilling to be a party to a vote for purely obstructive purposes, and for the purpose merely of delay. Should Her Majesty's Government, therefore, persist in refusing what I must still regard as a reasonable request, I shall not be prepared to support the Motion for the adjournment. In that case I think the only course open to hon. Members on this side of the House is to continue the debate, although in doing so they will necessarily be placed in a position of considerable difficulty, in consequence of the uncertainty of the information which has reached us. I, therefore, suggest that, in the event of Her Majesty's Government not yielding to the appeal which has been made to them, we should continue the debate as though the proposal for the withdrawal of the Amendment had not been made. The suggestion I have made possibly may not meet with the approval of my hon. Friends; but it is the one which appears to me to be the best we can adopt under the circumstances.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I trust that the House will permit me to make a few remarks in answer to the noble Lord. We on this side quite understand the position of the right hon. Member for Bradford. He desires to withdraw his Amendment, and, independently of all other considerations which influenced him, there was the fact that since the terms of that Amendment were framed circumstances have altered, even in his own view, so as to render that Amendment inapplicable. That Amendment he desires to withdraw, and no doubt the House will consent to such a step; but then where do we stand? On resuming the debate we should continue to discuss the origi-

*Mr. Pease*

nal Motion that you, Sir, should leave the Chair, and upon that direct question or upon any other Amendment which hon. Members might think fit to propose, there would still be room for debate should hon. Members wish to continue the discussion. I should wish to point out to the House that the step which we are now asking you to take is not the final stage in these proceedings; and that even if we were to get the Vote to-night—which I do not know we should in the event of there being a full debate on the question—still there would be ample opportunity for further discussion upon the Report, or at other stages of the proceedings. Our position is this. We have from the first considered this a proper Vote to propose, and nothing which has occurred since has changed our view or our position with regard to it. It is perfectly true, as the noble Lord has pointed out, that what was supposed to be accurate information has had a certain influence upon hon. Members opposite and upon others, and they say—"Let us have a little more time, in order that we may see whether this particular statement is well founded or not." But what I would point out to hon. Members is this—that, in the present crisis which has arisen in the East, we must expect events to happen and rumours of all sorts to get afloat, the reports of which will come in from day to day; and, therefore, hardly a day can pass without bringing to us intelligence which may give occasion to hon. Members to say—"Let us pause and take time to inquire into this state of affairs before we proceed further." It is, therefore, unreasonable to ask us to postpone this discussion in order that information may be obtained on an interesting question, which, however, is to my mind quite unconnected with the view which Her Majesty's Government take of the necessity of this Vote. I must further say that the particular form in which these suggestions for the adjournment of the debate has been made is open to objection, on the ground that it almost assumes that of raising the question whether our Ambassador at Constantinople or Prince Gortchakoff is speaking that which is true. Now, I do not think that is a question which ought to be raised here, and certainly no vote of this House ought to turn upon it. The Vote which this House

has been asked to agree to is not intended to be offensive to any Power whatever—certainly not to Russia—and it has only been asked for in order that this country may have its resources perfectly at its command, with the view of strengthening it in critical circumstances, and at a time when it may have occasion to use that strength. If we are to make the vote turn upon the veracity of one side or the other—"No, no!"—but it is so; at all events, it may appear to be so, and it will be unfortunate if we adjourn this debate expressly for the purpose of investigating anything of that sort. I am fully convinced that when Mr. Layard's communication comes to be explained, it will appear that he has perfect justification for whatever he has stated. No one, even if he has not our means of knowledge, can fail to perceive the enormous difficulty of Mr. Layard's position. And at the present moment, when we actually know nothing of what is going on at Constantinople, it would be most unfair to condemn him. On the whole, the course which I think we ought to pursue is to proceed with the debate. The reason I have not pressed the House to arrive at a speedy decision with regard to the Government proposal is in order that we might hear the opinions of hon. Members on the subject, and if we adjourn this debate we shall not have the opinions of those hon. Members. If we were to agree to the adjournment of the debate, we should probably be told on resuming it that, after all, we must give those hon. Gentlemen an opportunity of expressing their views upon the question; and, therefore, to consent to the adjournment would be merely to consent to so much time being wasted. At the same time, I hope the House will not unnecessarily delay arriving at a decision on the question before them.

Mr. GOSCHEN thought that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not put the question of the adjournment quite upon the right footing. The question at issue, and which it was sought to have determined before proceeding with the debate, was not as to the truthfulness of our Ambassador at Constantinople or as to that of Prince Gortchakoff; but what were the facts? The point upon which hon. Members on that side of the House wished to be satisfied was, whether the Russians had really advanced

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upon Constantinople notwithstanding the armistice, and not whether Mr. Layard's information was correct. If the Government refused to permit an adjournment, hon. Members on that side would have to carry on the debate without knowing that which would materially influence their minds. He trusted it would be seen out-of-doors that, when it was clearly shown that Russia had broken faith, the Opposition would be prepared to take a very different course from that which they had hitherto adopted.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: I put it to the House that the squabbles of the Opposition on this question are hardly worthy of the reputation of the House. Why cannot hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite follow the advice given them by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen)? It was patriotic advice which the Member for that important constituency submitted to their approval. Observe the position in which you are placed. An opportunity is afforded to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) to withdraw his Amendment. Many on the opposite side of the House are too glad of the opportunity to withdraw from the position in which they have unfortunately been placed. And when this opportunity is presented, I am surprised that Members sitting on the front Opposition bench should try to raise the question of a little further adjournment in order to consider this question. I feel bound, for a moment, to refer to the observations that were made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone). I was surprised at the remark which he made with regard to Mr. Layard. The insinuation he threw out as regards former representations of his that were said to be inaccurate was unworthy of my right hon. Friend. Mr. Layard served under my right hon. Friend, and the insinuation that was evidently intended to be conveyed was that the information which he now gave was erroneous, as he had given information, on a former occasion, which, in the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman, had proved to be false. With respect, also, to the remarks that fell from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), I must, too, take exception. Of course, whenever he refers, as he frequently does, to the Crimean War, his remarks are always

marked by that eloquence and fervour for which he is so distinguished. But he ought not to have said in this House what fell from him to-night. I have said before—and I repeat it now—that, whether right or wrong, that war was undertaken with the almost universal assent of the public opinion of this country. He said he hoped at all events that the Government would hold their hand, and were not going now to rush into a war with Russia. We all hope so too. But he said that he could not help referring to the ignominy, failure, and disaster of that war. Such a remark, I hold, was not worthy of him. I heard Ministers speak at that time, and I was a witness of the compliment which the Sovereign paid to the troops on their return home; and, so far from imputing ignominy and failure as the result of that war, I think the officers and men who shed their blood for their country were worthy, after the lapse of 25 years, of some better compliment than to be told by the right hon. Gentleman that those exertions and those sacrifices amounted to nothing less than ignominy, failure, and disaster. I do hope that the Opposition will see the error of their ways. I am certain of the good intentions of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford. But the Opposition are in a horrible scrape. As the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) very truly observed, they withdrew their Amendment on information given to the House which has proved to be erroneous. ["No, no!"] I beg pardon—on information which may possibly prove to be erroneous. Well, if I had been the right hon. Member for Bradford, I would have said—"It having been proved to the satisfaction of the Government that the information is untrue, I will stand to my guns and go on." I always thought him a chivalrous man. But even now, when we give him a golden bridge, he says—"No, let us postpone the debate till to-morrow." And the right hon. Member for Chester (Mr. Dodson) tries, also, to argue that it would go on till Friday, that the Government could not get their Vote till Monday, and what objection could there be to withdraw it for 24 hours? That will not do. As the hon. Member for Newcastle said, for once give up your Party faction; give a Vote to the Government when they ask it, and let us at

once go into Committee and discuss it there on reasonable terms.

MR. GLADSTONE said, as he had been misunderstood by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Robert Peel), he might be misunderstood by others. What he (Mr. Gladstone) had stated respecting Mr. Layard was that our Ambassador at Constantinople had transmitted rumours which had proved totally groundless, and that the fair inference was that he had shown an unfortunate credulity; but that the information now transmitted was not a rumour at all, but a most particular and careful statement, which appeared to be in direct conflict with another statement that had been received through the Russian Ambassador—the result being to place matters in a position of great difficulty and danger.

DR. KENEALY observed that the House had before it two conflicting authorities as to events at Constantinople, and they ought to endeavour to determine which of the two was to be preferred. It seemed to him that as between the information sent by Mr. Layard and that transmitted from St. Petersburg all the rules of evidence should lead them to the conclusion that the telegram from Mr. Layard was the more reliable, for he told them that a part of the defences of Constantinople were occupied by Russian troops. He thought the House should rely upon the statement of our Ambassador, as Mr. Layard was nearly on the spot, Prince Gortchakoff many hundreds of miles away.

MR. W. M. TORRENS: I own I am one of those who cannot conceal from myself a feeling of weariness that these proceedings should have assumed so much of a Party character. I differ from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) as to the way in which he asks the House to consider our dilemma—for dilemma it certainly is. Let me call the attention of the House to the state of facts. In my judgment it is not the duty of the House to decide upon the accuracy, the discrimination, the fidelity, and the strict propriety of language as between our own Ambassador, placed in a situation of the most tremendous peril and difficulty, and that of a foreign Ambassador at our Court. I make no imputations; but I am bound to remember facts. I am bound to remember that

that foreign Ambassador is an Ambassador who, when Khiva was invaded, thought himself justified in going to the noble Earl (Earl Granville), and giving him the assurance of his Government that they did not intend to appropriate that territory. So much for the historical accuracy that we are now asked implicitly to rely on. But there is a far more serious question for the House of Commons to consider to-night. It is not, in my judgment, a mere alternative as to whether Count Schouvaloff is correct, or Mr. Layard's telegram is correct. There is a worse and third alternative behind. It may be true that both these communications are true, and that would be the worst of all. If at the present moment we understand from the Government that they are uninformed of the terms and details agreed upon between the Plenipotentiaries—if the Government are still in the dark as to what has been agreed upon—if it be true that Prince Gortchakoff has justified Count Schouvaloff in saying what he has said—*à fortiori*, it is perilous to Europe and to this country if, consistently with an armistice, Constantinople is about to be occupied. If that be true, let me tell the Chancellor of the Exchequer what I have never said before—that whatever the consequences may be, whatever the claims and ties of Party may be, there are Gentlemen on these benches, thank God! who, regardless of Party, will certainly vote, not £6,000,000 to the Government or to the Queen, but £26,000,000.

MR. RITCHIE said, he desired to point out that the letter read by the Chancellor of the Exchequer contradicted some rumours of which the House knew nothing. The communication from Mr. Layard read by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was entirely new matter, whereas that from the Russian Ambassador simply repeated what they had already heard from St. Petersburg under the date of February 4th. There was, therefore, no conflict between Mr. Layard and the Russian Ambassador, as the two communications might well relate to two different states of circumstances.

LORD ELCHO said, it appeared to him that there were two interests at stake in this discussion—one was the interest of the country, and the other was the interest of the Liberal Party. As regarded the interests of the country, he humbly

begged to hold that it was desirable that the debate should be brought to a conclusion as soon as possible, and that Her Majesty's Government should be put in possession of those funds necessary for maintaining the honour of the country in reference to Eastern affairs. With reference to whether these telegrams were or were not correct, and whether the Liberal Party should withdraw their Amendment, these were matters for their consideration. But the House should persevere with the Motion in the interests of the country, leaving Gentlemen opposite to take what course they might think desirable. With reference to the telegrams, he thought there was one point with regard to the report Count Schouvaloff had received which was deserving of notice. It was not positively stated that the orders issued from St. Petersburg had been obeyed. All that was said was that orders had been given, and the assumption was led up to that they ought to be obeyed. But he did not gather that Prince Gortchakoff was in a position to affirm that the orders had been obeyed by the Generals.

SIR HENRY JACKSON, on the Question of adjournment, submitted to the Leaders of the Party to which he belonged that it would be a misfortune for the House to divide on this question, seeing that whatever happened the money would be voted. A very proper protest had been made on the Liberal side of the House against the general policy of Her Majesty's Government; and whatever might have been thought of the expediency of the particular mode in which the question had been raised, he thought there would have been a very large and nearly unanimous Party vote in support of the Amendment. But to-day the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had come down to the House, and, acting from a motive which he (Sir Henry Jackson) highly respected, had withdrawn his Amendment. They had accordingly no longer to consider what the effect of this withdrawal would be; and the only ground on which it was suggested their determination ought to be changed was the unfortunate conflicting telegrams which had been received. All he could say in reference to these telegrams was this, that whenever this country found itself in a crisis, and whenever it seemed that some determined action

was about to be taken, we had a Russian telegram assuring us there was no danger. He hoped—and had no reason to doubt—that the last information they had received was true; but, considering that a protest against the policy of the Government had been made, that hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House had expressed their opinion that it was through the vacillating policy of the Government that the present state of things had arisen—[“No, no!”]—that might or might not be the correct view of the matter, but it was the view which had been expressed, and which he himself entertained—considering how the debate had been protracted; that this money would be voted, and seeing that all parties agreed that we were in a very critical position, would it not be the best thing for the House at once to go into Committee in order that the responsibility—and the whole responsibility—of having asked for this money and spending it, if it was to be spent, might be cast upon those who had asked for the Vote?

Lord ESINGTON denied that if the House divided hon. Members opposite would, as stated by the hon. and learned Member who had just spoken, give a unanimous Party vote. [Sir HENRY JACKSON: I said a nearly unanimous vote.] He could point to some of the Representatives of the largest and most important constituencies in England sitting on the benches opposite who would not vote for the Amendment. There was the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen)—who he was glad to congratulate upon the honourable and patriotic course he had adopted—and also the hon. Member for Hull (Mr. Norwood), who represented a large and important constituency, there was the hon. Member for Finsbury, and others, who would support the Vote. He challenged and disputed the statement which the hon. and learned Member had made as to the unanimous feeling on the other side. What he wished to say was this—the Government asked for this money upon their own responsibility, and upon the Government let the responsibility rest. It was the proper place for it to rest. If the money was wanted, it was wanted at once. It was required in order to make due and adequate preparations for any contingency that might arise. It was now more than a fortnight since it was asked

for; and he hoped that, following the examples to which he had referred, all petty Party considerations would be dropped, and that hon. Gentlemen opposite would place in the hands of the Government the means of doing that which was best for the interests and honour of the country.

MR. CHILDERS, if the House would bear with him, would state his views of the present position of matters. His noble Friend had suggested that after the withdrawal of the Amendment of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) they should have 24 hours to consider before adopting definitely and finally the Vote proposed by Her Majesty's Government. His right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford had distinctly asked the House to allow him to withdraw his Amendment, and that, it was presumed, would be granted, and the Amendment would be disposed of. Then, his noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington) had suggested that instead of having a division, which would not in the slightest degree indicate the opinion of the House, the matter should stand over until to-morrow—"No, no!"—he was merely repeating what his noble Friend had said. His noble Friend had asked for 24 hours' delay, so as to close the matter to-morrow; and he rose on behalf of his noble Friend, who had already spoken and could not speak again, to say that if the Government would not give them 24 hours to consider the matter; upon them must rest the responsibility—[*Ministerial cheers*—]—and his noble Friend would not persist in asking for 24 hours' delay.

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU said, the real question immediately before the Committee was short and very simple. Everyone knew that the Vote would be carried by an overwhelming majority. The only question, therefore, was—"Shall the money be voted in Committee that evening and reported to-morrow, or voted on Saturday morning and reported on Monday?" Now, let every man look at that in a business-like manner, as he would treat his own private affairs. If the telegram from Mr. Layard was not correct, would the public service suffer in the slightest degree whether the Vote was passed 24 hours earlier or later? It would make no difference whatever. If, on the other hand, the telegram from Mr. Layard was cor-

rect, then the detriment to the public service and the danger to the country would be enormous if they postponed this Vote for 24 hours. The responsibility on the head of any Member sitting on the front bench, or on any other bench in that House, was enormous if he opposed the money Vote merely for the sake of postponing it.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, it appeared very likely that the debate would proceed in some form or other, and he desired to ask the First Lord of the Admiralty a Question. They had not yet heard the right hon. Gentleman upon the Eastern Question. He wished to give him an opportunity of making a few remarks. He wished to ask him whether, after the alarming telegram arrived from Mr. Layard which had thrown them all into a state of consternation, the right hon. Gentleman had given orders to the Fleet to go anywhere. One more Question—if the right hon. Gentleman had given that order, had he sent a telegram to recall it? He would vote for the adjournment being pressed to a division.

MR. BULWER thought they might say of the hon. Baronet—*Nihil tetigit quod non ridiculum fecit*. For himself he could not see what these conflicting telegrams, assuming that they did conflict, had to do with the matter before the House. Assuming Prince Gortchakoff's supposed assertion to be true—that there had been no movement of the Russian forces in the direction intimated—the House was in the same position as they were before Mr. Layard's telegram arrived. If, however, the telegram of Mr. Layard correctly represented the situation, then, *a fortiori*, the Vote ought to be pressed on.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: I think I have authority to speak on behalf of a great number of Irish Members when I say that we resolved not to take part in this debate, as we thought it a Party question. If, however, the House is of opinion that we were not only not going to vote upon the Amendment, but also to let the House go into Committee without any notice of it upon our part, the House will be greatly mistaken. For my part, I have always felt that if this Vote is granted the House will have to go into Committee of Ways and Means to consider how the money is to be provided. I have already stated

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my opinion that the Irish people are unjustly taxed; and although they are bound to support the integrity of this Empire, yet additional taxation upon the people of Ireland will not be readily agreed to by us in support of a war policy.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT wished to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question in reference to the telegram which he had received from Russia. The Earl of Derby had in "another place," in answer to a Question, stated that the Governments of Germany, France, and Austria had not received similar information to that which had reached the hands of Her Majesty's Government, and he wanted to know whether that was so—whether the Government of this country alone had received this information?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I have no doubt, if my noble Friend has stated that, it is so; but I have no knowledge on the subject.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

MR. RYLANDS: I must say, after the remarkable scene we have just witnessed, that in rising to take part in the discussion, I cannot do it with any satisfaction to myself; but I think I am bound to protest against the conduct of Her Majesty's Government, who are apparently prepared to take advantage of the surrounding circumstances and announcements in forcing on this Vote without due consideration. The telegram received from Mr. Layard is covered with great doubt and suspicion, not only by the Russian Ambassador denying the material parts of the announcement; but also by the fact that the other Ambassadors in Europe have received no intelligence of the event. I felt confident that the information given to us would prove, as on other occasions, a statement not authorized and justified by the facts of the case. Why, Sir, I have seen in the Blue Books—as other hon. Gentlemen must also have seen—repeated statements from the Ambassador at Constantinople intended to alarm Her Majesty's Government, and through Her Majesty's Government the people of this country. What is the fact? We know that Mr. Layard went to Constan-

tinople, and was sent there because he had a strong prejudice against Russia, and a strong feeling in favour of Turkey; and from the time when Mr. Layard first went to Constantinople until the present moment I believe he has continued—as shown in the despatches—to make the Turks rely upon the friendly assistance of the English Government, and it seems to be his main object, so far as he can, in producing by his advices the same line of action on the part of the British Government and a corresponding feeling against Russia. My hon. Friend the Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn), alluded this afternoon to a statement in *The Daily News*, and asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether that statement was true. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, put it aside as an anonymous communication. But it is not an anonymous communication, in the strict sense of the words. It was published on the authority of one of the most respectable journals in this metropolis. It is not the first time I have heard in this House the correspondence of *The Daily News* denied. I remember that in a most important crisis in the history of this unfortunate affair, we heard intelligence of a nature that horrified Europe and produced a feeling of distress amongst hon. Members. When we heard of these frightful events, which were so horrible that Europe cast its eye from the contemplation of them; I say, when we had the intelligence of these atrocities, which were unparalleled in the history of Europe, upon the authority of the correspondent of *The Daily News*, the Prime Minister got up and told the House that they were "exaggerations and coffee-house babble." I am sure the Chancellor of the Exchequer will not say what he does not believe, and when he finds that a correspondent of *The Daily News* gives in such a manner and with so many particulars, and with such circumstantial evidence, the statements which were laid before the readers of *The Daily News* this morning, can he say that these are anonymous communications, and should be treated with indifference? I, for one, am prepared to believe that the statement is substantially true; and I must say it will raise a serious charge, not only against the Prime Minister, but against the Ambassador at Constantinople, and one which can

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no more be treated with indifference by the Treasury Bench than they were able to treat the atrocities with indifference. The information which the correspondent of *The Daily News* gives is just the information which the public have a right to expect. No one can have followed carefully the circumstances of recent history, no one can have marked the course of proceedings in Turkey and Russia, without coming to the conclusion that, in the first instance, up to the time of the Conference, and secondly in the progress of the war, the voice of the Prime Minister of this country gave encouragement to Turkey, and that the Government placed at Constantinople an Ambassador who is ready to give still further encouragement. The effect has been to buoy up Turkey. Now we have in *The Daily News* an absolute statement of fact. A correspondent of *The Daily News* had a conversation with Server Pasha, Minister of the Foreign Affairs of Turkey, and the Pasha made to him a statement in which he says—

“I have hitherto been a partizan of England, of English policy, of the English alliance. I believed there were ties of sympathy, friendship, and of interest between the two peoples that necessitated an alliance. I believed in England to the extent of compromising myself and my Government. I see that I have been mistaken; that I was deceived, or (correcting himself) that I deceived myself. I now abandon the English alliance. I no longer believe in English policy, the English Government, or the English people. I accept the Russian policy and alliance. I am a partizan of them. I believe in the Russian policy. I am more Russian than the Russians themselves.”

Another informant of the correspondent says—

“We were encouraged to go to war by England, and even to continue the struggle when our better judgment told us we had better make a peace on any terms. We would have made a peace before the fall of Plevna that would have satisfied Russia, but for the counsels of the English Government. I do not refer to the official notes of Lord Derby. They were explicit and clear. If we believed them we had nothing to hope from England; but it is not official notes diplomatists believe in most. It is ‘officious’ notes. It is words whispered in the ear. It was the private conversation of Lord Beaconsfield with Musurus Pasha, of Mr. Layard with Server Pasha and with the Sultan, that led us on and deceived us. Why, I assure you that no longer than three weeks ago Mr. Layard still assured us England would come to our aid; that we had only to fight on; that all would come right in the end. I allow you to repeat what I am now saying. Mr. Layard said to me—‘Do you think I, as a friend of Turkey, was

sent here for nothing? Do you not see that it was to encourage you, and offend Russia? Believe me. Have courage. Make no peace. Fight to the end.’ Mr. Layard spoke in the most open manner. The language held by him is well known to all the other Ambassadors at Constantinople. It was no secret. He was even indiscreet, he encouraged us so openly. I would remark that Mr. Layard was by no means the man that should have been chosen for the difficult mission he has to fill in such troublesome times. I can only urge in his behalf that he himself was honestly deceived; that he deceived us the more readily because he himself was so completely deceived. Musurus Pasha represents Lord Beaconsfield’s language to him in private as almost as strong, though far more cautiously expressed than that of Mr. Layard. Server Pasha has documents which will prove beyond doubt all I say, and which will be published after the war.”

The House have before them that statement. I do not for a moment doubt that there may be some misconception of Server Pasha in that statement; but I must say it is perfectly consistent with what we have heard from other sources. It is perfectly consistent with the speeches of the Prime Minister; it is perfectly consistent with the despatches of Sir Henry Elliot and the views of Mr. Layard, and I say, therefore, we have a right to conclude that the statement of the correspondent of *The Daily News* contains a considerable amount of truth with regard to the action of the Government and our Representative at Constantinople. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary said in the House that if we examined the Blue Books we should find that Russia has made no complaint of our departure from the policy of neutrality. I admit that the statement of the Home Secretary is correct. Russia has made no complaint in diplomatic language of our breach of neutrality. But what I venture to say is this—that the whole course of proceedings in connection with Constantinople has been a course in which our Representative there has shown a disposition to befriend Turkey, and obstruct the policy of Russia. But when you talk about diplomatic despatches as being the means of judging the course adopted by Her Majesty’s Government, I say that you are only dealing with one limited mode of judging of the policy and public intentions expressed by Her Majesty’s Government. It may be true that you have not these expressions of opinion in diplomatic documents; but there can be no doubt that the speeches of the Prime Minister

expressed the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and clearly showed that the sympathies of the Government were entirely in accord with Turkey, and that they have throughout looked with the greatest possible suspicion on Russia. I do not intend to indulge in any personal attacks upon the Earl of Beaconsfield, and so follow the bad example of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), who the other night spoke in such a way as to degrade and lower the character of debates in this House. His speech in attacking the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) was felt by hon. Gentlemen sitting on the Ministerial benches to be as objectionable as we thought it. I may be allowed to say, as one who has watched the career of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich during the last two years, that I believe a large proportion of the people of England look up to the right hon. Gentleman with admiration and gratitude, and I believe that when the history of this period comes to be written, the course which has been adopted by him on this and other questions, and the great national objects he has secured, will secure him the gratitude of future generations, and will be unimpaired by the uncalled-for attacks of the hon. Gentleman opposite to whom I have referred. If you take the Earl of Beaconsfield's speech at Aylesbury in 1876, and his Mansion House speeches in November of the same year and in 1877, extending over a period of 15 or 16 months, I venture to say there is the same character in the whole three speeches, and that character has been one of hostility and suspicion towards Russia. And, in fact, his speech in the Mansion House of November, 1876, taunted Russia in a manner not at all creditable, seeing that at that moment the English Government had received from the Emperor of Russia the most solemn assurances, and consequently he ought to have been treated differently. I am not going to say that the Prime Minister had the wilful intention of carrying the country into war with Russia. I am not prepared to make such a charge. I believe with the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, that if the Prime Minister had intentionally and wilfully wished to drag the country into war, it would have been a criminal state

of mind, and I cannot believe that such a character is possible; but this I will say, that if the object of the Prime Minister had been to sting the Emperor of Russia into an act of retaliation which would be calculated to rouse the country into a feeling which would facilitate war, then nothing could be calculated more to bring about such a result than his three speeches on the occasions I have named. If you look at the Andrássy Note, you will find that that Note was grudgingly accepted by Her Majesty's Government, and it was brought under the notice of the Porte in such a form that it was rendered nugatory. There was the Berlin Memorandum, which was agreed to by the three Emperors, and concurred in by France and Italy. The Berlin Memorandum gave at the time the promise and hope that the Porte might see that it was necessary to make an entire change of policy, and submit to the conditions imposed upon her. But when that Memorandum, if adopted, might have secured the submission of Turkey, and so have prevented war, the Prime Minister boasted in this House that the Government had refused the Berlin Memorandum, and the Government actually refused it with curtness and disrespect, and so isolated themselves from the rest of Europe. This was a course taken by the Government which led to unfortunate results. The British Government sent the Fleet to Besika Bay, and at the same time strengthened the garrisons in Malta. The Government evidently took this step in regard to the Berlin Memorandum, in order to show that they were prepared by the power of our Fleet to support Turkey. Then came the Conference of Constantinople, and there was a ray of hope that Turkey might submit to the reasonings of the Powers of Europe, having been summoned like a criminal to the High Court of Justice. England was represented at that Court of Justice by a Nobleman whom we all respect—a Nobleman of the highest character—a Nobleman of marked ability—and before this tribunal Turkey was judged by her misdeeds, and a verdict given which it was hoped Turkey would accept and submit to. The Russian Ambassador agreed with our Representative in reducing the terms to the lowest possible minimum in order to prevent war, and secure some mitigation of the evils prevalent in the Turkish

Provinces. And when Turkey had resisted the decision of the Conference with contempt, and the Plenipotentiaries Extraordinary left Constantinople with some expression of dissatisfaction, our Ambassador was allowed to remain behind and give her soothing words and to tell her that she might rely upon us, and that her independence and integrity was a cardinal point to be considered by us and protected. There was a chance of peace again when the Protocol was proposed by Russia, which was to show that the decision of Europe should not be set aside with contumely. But the action of the Government again interfered to render the Protocol nugatory. And then followed war as a matter of course. It has been urged in favour of the Government that in the midst of foreign complications they have not allowed England to be dragged into war. Peace is no doubt the greatest British interest of this country, and not only so, but it is also for the interest of England that Europe should be at peace. If the Government had been decided in their policy, and had not vacillated and been two-voiced, this war might have been prevented, and such results procured that the bloodshed which has taken place might have been averted. Now, just when the war was nearly completed, the Government made another frantic effort, and gave orders for the Fleet to proceed to the Dardanelles; fortunately, however, the Fleet was brought back. If such a course had been adopted, I have no hesitation in saying that it would have been a breach of the Treaties under which we professed to act, and would consequently have been a blunder and a crime. And yet, in the face of this failure of their policy, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General on Tuesday night said that the conduct of the Government is universally approved. Why, there is not a fair or moderate man on either side of politics who does not say that it is owing to the conduct of the Government that we do not know where we are. When the House is asked for a Vote of £6,000,000 it is bound to consider it in view of the past policy of Her Majesty's Government. One objection urged against the course the Opposition have taken is that they are attempting to stop the Supplies. That is the cry which is attempted to be got up; but it has

fallen dead, though there is a distinguished Member of the Cabinet who is well known for his ability in manufacturing cries. My complaint against the Government is that in asking for this Vote they have given no sufficient reasons for it, and if they ask for it on any grounds, those grounds shift from day to day. It is, in fact, an attempt to obtain money under false pretences. When Parliament met on the 17th January we were told in the Queen's Speech that if hostilities should be unfortunately prolonged, some unexpected occurrence might render it necessary to adopt measures of precaution. There has been no unexpected occurrence during the prolongation of hostilities, such as was alluded to in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne, except that hostilities were not prolonged, so that pretence disappeared; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer came down to the House and told us that he was asking us for this money, because of the suspicious delay in the signing of the armistice, and because of the advance of the Russians towards Constantinople. Then we were informed that the armistice was signed, and the Russians had stopped their advance; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer does not alter his demand, but supports it with another pretence. It is this—that we ought to give the Government this money to mark our confidence in the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers, and to enable our Ambassador to attend the approaching European Council “armed with the strength of a united people.” But this is as great a pretence as was the other, and I say so on this ground—Do they really want the united voice of the country? and what proof have they shown of wanting it? Was it a proof shown in the House the other night, when the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, in a speech couched in the spirit of the greatest magnanimity, although he objected to the Vote, proposed that we should unite in such an Address to the Crown as would give the impression abroad that there is a united feeling in the country? But that proposal of the right hon. Gentleman was received with contumely, and the moderation of his language was followed by the vehement invectives of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin). It was then shown that the Conservatives in



the House were more desirous of getting a Party triumph than they were of securing for the Government such an expression of confidence as would arm them with the strength of being the Representative of the united people of Great Britain. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General the other night charged us who oppose this Vote as guilty of being actuated by the spirit of faction; but among the Conservative Party I saw in their reception of the moderate proposal I have alluded to, a much stronger evidence that they are influenced by factiousness. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for War, in his speech the other night, said if the Government were to accept the Vote of Confidence instead of the £6,000,000, they might probably be considered mere children in the school of politics. "At the present moment," said the Secretary of State for War, "the nations of Europe are preparing to attend the Conference armed to the teeth, and we know what large forces they possess." Now, is it not a ridiculous proposal, and does it not place us in a position discreditable in the face of Europe, that we should propose to put ourselves, by a Vote of £6,000,000, on an equality with the great Powers of Europe armed to the teeth? If you rely upon force can that force be secured by an expenditure to be completed within six weeks out of a Vote of £6,000,000, and the balance to be then handed back? The Secretary for War went on to say that a single spark would involve Europe in flames that might in an instant envelope all we hold dear to an extent we do not imagine for a moment, and we heard from the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, that if we became acquainted with all that was known at the Foreign Office, that knowledge would be so alarming that not one voice would be raised against the Government proposal. Well, I have had a good deal to do with the investigation of Foreign Office bugbears; I have known cases where the Office has claimed to have information unknown to the rest of mankind; but that information I have subsequently found to be partly incorrect and partly behind that possessed by the Press. If all these sources of alarm were known at the Foreign Office, we should have had some intimation of them from the

noble Lord in "another place," and they would not have been left for an interpolation in a speech from the Under Secretary in this House. This morning we have seen in the newspapers the report of the speech made by the Emperor of Germany at the opening of the German Parliament. We know the position Germany occupies in Europe—that it stands as the centre of Europe, and acts as it were as a balance weight. We know perfectly well that the German Emperor is well alive to all the circumstances of the present situation in Europe, and as well or better informed than we are of the intention of Russia. Though he has the most direct and personal interest in the events now taking place in the East, we find in his speech to the German Parliament he gives the most re-assuring expressions of his confidence that matters will be settled in a peaceful fashion. It is an unfortunate aspect of this Vote that, like all the other measures of the Government, it is a compromise between the two sections of the Party who support the Government. To the moderate section of the Party it is explained that it is of very little importance, really, whether the Government have the money or not, for it will not be spent; while to the other section it is said it does matter—this Grant will be a substantial act of the British Government, it will be an indication of an active policy, it will be another menace to Russia of the same character as the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum, or the sending of the Fleet to Besika Bay, and the ordering of the Fleet to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles. It is a manifesto that the Government do not trust Russia, and we must, therefore, be provided with material of war for any event. There is another thing that will serve to show the folly of this Vote. You cannot suppose for a moment that, if England does arm, that the other European Powers will not arm also. You have already heard an echo of the speech made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, when announcing his intention to ask for the Vote of £6,000,000. The latest intelligence from Russia tells us that Russia is mobilizing considerable bodies of troops. I do not know how far it may be true, or if it is true, but I should not be surprised if it is true. You look with suspicion upon Russia, and do you think that she will

not look with suspicion upon you? You say that the word of Russia is not to be relied on, and will not Russia in return be suspicious? We cannot take up this cry to arm without creating a distrust in Europe, and without inducing other Powers to arm too; and in the end we shall be in the same position of strength relatively as we are now, and with the addition of the great misfortune of having given to Europe the example of our reliance upon brute force when taking part in a Council of Europe, rather than upon the higher moral influence we should bring to the settlement of international difficulties. I have seen no reason for supporting this Vote, and not even the telegram we received this evening led me to suppose there was any wisdom, prudence, or necessity in proposing it. We cannot have listened to the outcries proceeding from the benches opposite during this debate, without perceiving that if the Government should deal with the Vote as they did with the Fleet when they sent it into the Dardanelles—that is, recall it—there would be a revolt among their legions, and the Government would be unable to stem the rising tide of disaffection among their followers who desire not only a more spirited foreign policy, but who would not be satisfied without what I consider a paltry Party triumph. We shall no doubt be defeated, and defeated by a large majority; but it makes no difference to me that I shall vote in a minority; for, at all events, I think we shall show, by the proposition made from this side, and by opposing the Vote, that the great Liberal Party, whilst ready and willing to support everything for the welfare and the honour of the country, wish that the Representative of Great Britain should enter the Conference—if the Conference meets—without bluster and provocation—that in the Conference our Representative, whilst upholding all reasonable British interests, should not be actuated simply by a selfish purpose; but should express those kindly feelings towards other nations which men recognize in that high command—"Do unto others as you would they should do unto you." We wish to throw away suspicion, and above all we wish that from the blood-stained battle-fields, and the dreadful carnage which Europe has so long looked upon, new and independent nations may

spring; that the people who have so long striven against the incubus of Turkish tyranny may be released from that thralldom, and enter upon a new career of prosperity and happiness.

MR. BAILLIE COCHRANE said, he had intended to enter somewhat fully into the Eastern Question; but after the withdrawal of the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), he thought it would be more agreeable to the House that the debate should close as soon as possible. He regretted the delay that had already taken place, which he thought had been most detrimental, and might itself have led to the difficulties which the House had just been discussing, and therefore he should only say a very few words. He deeply regretted the violence with which the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had expressed himself, for very little good could be done by such language. With regard to the two accounts which had been put before the House as to the state of affairs in the East, he deemed it possible that they might both be true. It should be remembered that there were two Russias. One was led by the Czar, whose word, he doubted not, was given in good faith. There was another one—the military Russia; and he (Mr. Baillie Cochrane) feared lest the Emperor should be forced on by the will of the army to take a course which he himself might not approve. He could not, he might add, believe that our Ambassador at Constantinople would send a telegram which was not founded on fact, while Count Schouvaloff, the distinguished Representative of Russia in this country, would, he felt equally satisfied, not have made any statement which he did not think was well founded. With regard to the pushing forward of the Russian Army after the armistice, it was perfectly possible that orders had been given by the Czar that the advance should cease, but that the general had been forced on by the will of the Army. He would appeal to the House and to hon. Gentlemen opposite whether, in a great crisis like the present, after the statements which had been made that evening, and after the Amendment had been withdrawn, it would not be more dignified and more in accordance with the feeling of the country that this discussion should be stopped? He, for one,

though anxious to enter fully into the discussion, declined to do so under the circumstances; and he hoped that the hon. Gentlemen opposite would adopt the same course, and thus allow the House of Commons and the country to be unanimous in support of the dignity of this great Empire.

MR. ANDERSON said, the appearance of the Treasury bench and those behind it seemed to indicate that orders had gone round from the Government to prevent any other of their followers from speaking, and that impression was strengthened by what had just been stated by the hon. Member for the Isle of Wight (Mr. Baillie Cochrane) as to his desire that the debate should close as soon as possible, and by the fact that the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), who had also intended, he believed, to address the House, had suddenly left his place on receiving unexpected intelligence of the death of the Pope. He thought, however, there were good reasons why the debate should not be allowed to close. He could not, in the outset of his observations, refrain from adverting to one of the speeches which had been delivered the previous night, and which afforded strong evidence that the proposed Vote ought to be opposed from the Liberal side of the House. He alluded to the speech of the junior Member for Oxford (Mr. Hall). That speech was a most violent speech, full of vituperations of Russia, and he had no hesitation in saying that if the sentiments which it contained had come from a Prime Minister, or from an occupant of the Government bench, their utterances might have set Europe in a blaze. Such sentiments as those to which he referred were quite unworthy of a Member of the House of Commons. Coming from the hon. Gentleman by whom they were expressed, they would probably have no weight in Europe; but, at the same time, they could not be passed over in that House, for every anti-Russian sentiment in the speech in question, however violent in language, had been most vociferously cheered, even from the Treasury Bench. That was an indication of the meaning of the Vote, and showed the spirit in which Her Majesty's Government would meet the Representatives of the other Powers. They would go into the Conference with a strong

leaning towards Turkey, and in order to get the best terms for her, irrespective of whether or not those terms were the best for the Christian Provinces and for Europe. The other night the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) had suggested a compromise on this question, and it rather surprised him that the Government did not at once accede to that compromise. Had the Government acceded, he believed that it would have been generally approved of on the Liberal side of the House, for the sake of showing a united Parliament, always presuming, of course, that its terms had been tolerably well defined as to what the policy of the Government was to be. For himself, however, he confessed that he would have agreed to that compromise with considerable reluctance, for this reason—that it would have required the expression of a certain amount of confidence in a Ministry presided over by a noble Lord in whom he, for one, had no confidence. The compromise, however, had been refused, and the Government had resolved to play out the comedy to the end, even after it had become something in the nature of a farce. Ministers asked for money, which some of their Members said they did not really require, and would not expend. Ministers asked for money, but they did not explain the precise purpose they had in view in making the request. He, for one, was not prepared to agree to a Vote under such circumstances. If millions were to be voted away in this unconstitutional and reckless manner, it was time for the Representatives of the people to make a stand, and he approved of the observation of the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), that it would be better, if there should be a respectable minority, that there should be an appeal of some sort to the country, rather than that hon. Members should seem to approve of a Vote which they could not really sanction.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. ANDERSON, resuming, said, the Government had spoken loudly about neutrality, or what they had called conditional neutrality; but was it neutrality to send the Fleet into the Dardanelles

*Mr. Baillie Cochrane*

before any of their conditions had been violated? That had undoubtedly been done by arrangement with one of the belligerents, while the proceeding had been kept secret from the other. He was glad that the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had made an attempt to count out the House, for the Chancellor of the Exchequer and other Members of the Government were now present and might perhaps reply to him. The instructions to the Fleet commenced "most secret," and the Chancellor of the Exchequer had explained that the reason why those words were inserted was that the Russians might have interfered with the operation if it had not been kept strictly secret. The Home Secretary, however, had said that the object in view was only to protect British life and property, and that the waterway was to be kept open only that the British ships might be able to get out again. But, if that were all, why the words "most secret?" Russia could never contemplate preventing that, and the words "most secret" seemed to mean just the usual insulting distrust of Russia, and the contradiction between the explanations of the two right hon. Gentlemen (the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary) needed explanation. But even if the Government had been neutral in action, the speeches of the Party by whom they were supported had certainly not been neutral. Insinuations and suspicions of the most unfounded kind had been thrown out against Russia. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had set an evil example in that respect, and he had been followed by the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, who spoke in a still more offensive tone. The right hon. Gentleman had not hesitated to state that speeches had been made in the country which breathed a "lying spirit," and even now those words had not been explained or withdrawn. Such language was most improper, and came very badly from the Home Secretary, or from any Member of a Cabinet, which had not been pervaded by a spirit of straightforward honesty in all its communications. ["No, no!"] Hon. Members opposite said "No, no!" but he meant to prove his statement. Well, on the 2nd January, as they all knew, Lord Carnarvon made a speech in regard to the East. That speech was delivered

at a critical time in public affairs, and it did a good deal to re-assure the people. The country had been gradually losing its faith in the Government, and Lord Carnarvon's speech did more than any one or anything else could have done to rehabilitate Ministers at that time. They now knew that Lord Beaconsfield in the Cabinet next day condemned Lord Carnarvon for making that speech, and they also knew that for weeks the Prime Minister had taken all the benefit which that speech was calculated to confer upon the Government, without once attempting publicly to repudiate sentiments which had done him so much good. Was that a frank and straightforward mode of dealing with the country? In his opinion, Lord Carnarvon had acted the part of a thoroughly honest politician, and Lord Beaconsfield had not. Again, on the 17th of January, Lord Beaconsfield, in his place in Parliament, made a speech by which he endeavoured to convince the country that the Cabinet was united; but all this time he had Lord Carnarvon's resignation in his pocket. The Prime Minister told Lord Granville on that occasion that he could not bring forward any evidence of disunion. He had the words beside him, and if the House allowed him he would quote them.

MR. SPEAKER pointed out that it would not be in Order to quote speeches made during the current Session in the other House of Parliament.

MR. ANDERSON, resuming, said, he would then merely state the purport of the words, which was to taunt Lord Granville with being unable to produce evidence of disunion, while he himself knew that he had that evidence safe in his own pocket; but the whole purport of Lord Beaconsfield's speech was to prove a union which he knew did not exist. He had given a few examples of the way in which Lord Beaconsfield dealt with the country, and he did not think they were very creditable. Yet, with all those matters unexplained, the Government came forward and asked for a Vote which was to be interpreted as one of Confidence. Why ask for such a Vote if they were not conscious that they had already forfeited confidence? Was it that they felt they required a whitewashing for driving out Lord Carnarvon, and nearly frightening out Lord Derby? He, for one, was not prepared

to give them such a Vote. The country had lost confidence in them. ["No, no!"] But if they thought otherwise, their proper course was to appeal to the nation. They might get the vote of a large majority in the House, but they would not be any nearer the confidence of the country than they were now. The present Parliament was not elected with reference to this Eastern Question. In the Election of 1874 "Bible and Beer" was the watchword. A dissolution of the House of Commons would be about as inconvenient to himself as to any Gentleman present, and perhaps it might be that he might not appear there again. Possibly that might be a gain to hon. Members opposite, but private feelings should not be considered in a great public crisis. So far as he could judge the expressions of public feeling which had been given by meetings and Petitions, he thought the opinion of the people was in favour of the course which the Opposition had pursued in this matter, and Government should appeal to the constituencies, if they really expected that Vote of Confidence by the country which they desired to obtain. He had looked at the Petitions which had been presented to the House on this question up to last Saturday, and he found that there were 229 Petitions in favour of neutrality, bearing 11,285 signatures; 89 Petitions, with 8,175 signatures, against the Vote, and only 1 Petition, bearing 54 signatures, for the Vote. As to public meetings, the result of gatherings which had been held in large constituencies, such as the one which he represented, showed that confidence in the Government did not exist in the country. He must say for himself he regarded Lord Beaconsfield as the most dangerous Minister who had ever led a Cabinet since he could remember anything of politics. The present Premier had done more to lower the political principle of his Party, if not of the country, than any Minister ever did to any country since Machiavel, who had done it for all the world. He had taught that there was no principle higher than expediency, and no policy better than tact, and himself being a master of expediency and tact, the young men of his Party, who followed and worshipped him, were dazzled by his success, and got to look with leniency—perhaps even with approval—

upon such deviations from what was absolutely straightforward as those he had pointed out. But he thought the Government, with Lord Beaconsfield at its head, was not only a disingenuous Government; it was also a blundering Government. He would not go back to tax them with being the sole authors of the late war, though he held a strong opinion on that point; but he would give another instance that occurred the other day. There could be no doubt the question of our position in the Mediterranean was essentially important in connection with this Eastern complication. It was important that we should be on friendly terms with other naval Powers in the Mediterranean. And he did not think there was any Power which held so high a place there as Italy. There was no other European country whose friendship we should more carefully seek. It was a great Constitutional Kingdom, and was rapidly advancing as a European Power. It had a great seaboard, splendid harbours, and a considerable and increasing Navy. In Italy England used to be an honoured name, because in the time of her sorest trial British statesmen had aided and encouraged her aspirations, and the British people had gloried in her success. But now Italy was getting to hate us just as other Continental peoples did. What did Her Majesty's Government do to consolidate friendship between the two countries? The other day the King of Italy died. He was her first Monarch, the very founder of that *Italia unificata* under which Italy was undergoing a renaissance, and his sudden death was a great blow to the people. What steps did our Government take to express sympathy with the Italian people in their loss? The Queen's Speech was to be delivered on his burial day—probably it was being uttered when the late King was being consigned to the tomb—but there was not a word of sympathy in it at the sad event. No notice whatever was taken in it of the death of Victor Emmanuel, though he had been one of our closest Allies, and though his Armies had fought side by side with ours, and had shared the bloody glories of the Crimea. But, as if that slight were not enough for Her Majesty's Government to put upon Italy, they did something more. When other countries, much less closely allied with

Italy than we had been, were sending royal Princes to the funeral of the departed Monarch, our Government sent a Lord-in-waiting. That appeared to the Government to be the most fitting tribute of respect we could pay to a great Ally; but it had made a deep impression amongst the Italian people. Rumour had it that the Lord-in-waiting was hissed at the railway station, and got the cold shoulder from everyone. Her Majesty's Government then found out that they had committed a gross mistake, and the Queen attempted to make matters right by bestowing on the new King the vacant Garter that had belonged to his father; but, as if to take away all grace from the act, this was only done after the Garter had been offered to and refused by Lord Beaconsfield.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: One word, as the statement of the hon. Member for Glasgow might have some effect on foreign opinion. The Garter sent to the King of Italy is sent on a wholly different footing from that which is set free by the death of one of the ordinary Knights of the Garter, and has nothing whatever to do with the honour which was offered to Lord Beaconsfield. Not only so, but it had been decided to send the Garter to the King of Italy long before any offer was made to the Prime Minister.

MR. ANDERSON said, he was delighted to hear what had just been stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and he was glad that the right hon. Gentleman had had an opportunity of making such an explanation to the House, for the explanation greatly altered the value of the atonement. Notwithstanding what had been said, he was afraid that it would take a long time to remove the bad impression created in Italy by the omission from the Speech and by sending only a Lord-in-waiting to the funeral. The Government made a mistake when they despatched a Lord-in-waiting while other countries sent Princes to the funeral of Victor Emmanuel. Where were all our Princes at the time? Were they all so busy at home that none of them could have been got to do a little service of that kind in return for the large sums which they received from the country? Well, the House of Commons was asked to vote confidence in a Government whose policy they never

knew until some blunder divulged it; and certainly he could not give his approval to such a Vote while Lord Beaconsfield was at the head of affairs. It had been suggested the other night that the Prime Minister should be muzzled. He would say, shelve the noble Earl. Allow him to enjoy that ease which he had fairly earned after a life of hard work, and put at the head of the Government some statesman who would command confidence, and whose utterances the country could implicitly trust. Till then he must decline to be a party to any Vote of Confidence in the Government.

MR. A. MILLS said, the speech of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson) had wandered altogether from the subject before the House, and he (Mr. Mills) regretted much the attack he had made upon the Prime Minister, which he considered to be most unjust in every respect. If he were asked to justify the appeal which Her Majesty's Government had made to the House for this Vote, he should found their justification upon the fact that, for the last 18 months, their policy had been assailed, and that they were now about to go into a peace Conference, in which it was essential that they should enter supported in the face of Europe by the authority and the confidence of Parliament. There were special reasons why Her Majesty's Government should be supported in that Conference by the voice of the nation as represented by Parliament. The Russians did not understand our system of government, nor the freedom on which we prided ourselves, and they seriously misapprehended the extent and the depth of the agitation which had been kept up against the Government recently. Despotically governed countries could not perceive the difference between a shallow and brawling stream of agitation and the real and deep feeling of the country on this question; and therefore it was important that Her Majesty's Government should enter the Conference supported by a Vote of that House, carried, if not unanimously, at all events by an overwhelming majority. Thus armed, Her Majesty's Government would be able to counteract, in some degree, the schemes of despotic Russia, who, while professing to be the champion of oppressed nationalities, was possessed of a great

power of crushing. He was not going to make an attack upon Russia, but having travelled in the country and studied its antecedents and history, the last term he should think of applying to her was that which had been used by the hon. Member for Gloucester, who had characterized Russia as the "champion and deliverer of oppressed nationalities." Among the trophies exhibited to those who visited the Kremlin at Moscow were the ancient gold crowns of Kazan, Siberia, and Astrachan, which were once independent, but were now merged in the domains of the Emperor; nor could they forget that Finland, whose freedom had been guaranteed, had been brought under Russia's iron rule; and that Poland had been trampled upon. For the last two centuries Russia had been the enemy of freedom in Europe. He was not a Russophobe, and he was not afraid of Russia's marching an army 1,500 miles from the Caspian Sea to India, especially when he remembered that the Commissariat had not greatly distinguished itself, and that she would not be very welcome in India when she got there. England would be able to vindicate herself in the Congress with regard to India, the Mediterranean, and the Suez Canal, though she would have to watch her interests and those of Europe in all these respects. He thanked God that we had not stood side by side with Russia against Turkey, because now we could go to the Conference infinitely stronger, in a moral sense, than if we had aided her in her victory over the Turks. The most important question before the Congress would be the future government of the Christian subjects of the Porte, and it was ridiculous to suppose that Russia, coming in the somewhat novel garb of a missionary of Christian civilization, would be able to accomplish more for Bulgaria than a free country like England would be able to do. Opponents of the Vote had said that public opinion out-of-doors was against it, but he thought that those who had watched the recent course of events in the country would hold a contrary view. It was comparatively easy to

of the country, and they had spoken out strongly in support, not only of the Vote now asked, but of the general foreign policy followed by Her Majesty's Government. Only last Monday in Exeter a large open-air meeting of 6,000 persons was held, at which resolutions were passed expressing confidence in the policy of the Government, which they described as a policy of peace. He denied the charges often made against the Conservative Party—that, in the first place, they formed a docile majority, and, in the second, that they were afraid to test the opinion of the country. He claimed for them as much independence of thought and action as was to be found on the Liberal benches, and affirmed that they were perfectly ready to submit their opinions to the test of public opinion through the means of an appeal to the constituencies. He deprecated the attacks that had been made upon Mr. Layard—an absent man, who was ably discharging duties of great delicacy and difficulty. In conclusion, he must express his satisfaction that the Amendment had been withdrawn, and trusted that, if a unanimous decision was not arrived at, the Vote would yet be agreed to by a majority so overwhelming as to convince European nations that the English were, so far, at least, as the great question now before Parliament was concerned, a united people, living under the rule of a Queen whom they loved.

MR. C. S. PARKER said, the hon. Member had expressed distrust of public meetings as a test of public feeling, and had announced his own readiness to face the ordeal of an appeal to the country. One reason why he (Mr. Parker) ventured for a few moments to address the House was that he had just gone through that process of appealing to the country. In Scotland three borough elections within the last week had given results strongly in favour of the policy of the Opposition. On the other hand, in the great Scottish county which he had once the honour to represent, though the majority was reduced, the Conservative candidate had been returned, that county, therefore, ranking on the

would try to do so. The end which both sides of the House had in view was that this country should present to Europe not only a united Cabinet, which it now had, but a united Parliament and a united nation. What were the means proposed towards that end? A Vote of £6,000,000 was asked. In what aspect were they to regard that Vote? They were told by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that they ought to regard it in two aspects—partly as a Vote of Confidence, and partly as what was immediately needed for the public service. The right hon. Gentleman had explained that he meant, of course, not a Party Vote of Confidence in the general policy of the Ministry, or even in their foreign policy; but a practical expression of confidence to the extent of trusting the Government in present circumstances with the sum of £6,000,000. But those circumstances were already changed. The march of events had been too swift for their protracted, slow debates. When the Vote was first asked, Russia and Turkey were at war; now an armistice was signed. He must confess that his own mind had not been greatly affected by the announcements made this evening—by either the statement from Constantinople or the contradiction from St. Petersburg. He did not think they were of sufficient importance to have warranted the withdrawing of the Amendment, though he was not sorry it had been withdrawn, as it was framed under other circumstances, and its wording did not suit the present state of the case. Last year, before the war began, both parties were agreed as to peace being the end in view; but they had different ways of securing it. The policy of the Government for obtaining peace was to maintain the *status quo* with certain improvements. They desired an improvement in the condition of the Christian populations, but it was by means of an ameliorated *status quo*. The policy on the Liberal side was to recognize that these insurrections, if stimulated by Russia or other Powers, nevertheless had their origin in gross

between Russia and Turkey. When that war broke out, a new declaration of policy was, of course, required. The Government then announced a policy of neutrality, and to that he did not object, nor even to the phrase which the Prime Minister so often repeated of conditional neutrality. So far, not only the Cabinet, but, with few exceptions, the country was united. But a difference arose when they came to discuss the conditions, under the excitement caused by the rapid advances of Russia. Before Lord Derby's resignation came out, he (Mr. Parker) happened to be closely challenged upon this subject by the electors of the City of Perth, and he said that in his opinion it was no use talking in general terms about neutrality. The question was, whether the occupation of Constantinople should be prevented by diplomacy only, which he quite desired, or by force of arms? He had a clear opinion that it should not be prevented by force of arms, and his chief reason was this. Supposing Russia guilty of such gross bad faith as not only to enter, but to endeavour to retain, Constantinople, Austria and England together, with probably the assistance of Germany, would very soon turn her out again, and that belief had kept his mind calm through all the excitement. If Russia acted in the manner apprehended, we were strong enough to deal with her. But now once more all was changed. He assumed that the present armistice would soon be a peace. The question was, what was to be the policy of the Government at the Conference for discussion of the terms of peace? The Solicitor General last night pointed out the difficulty of the Government making any detailed statement on this matter. But who had asked for details? The Solicitor General spoke of questions that were for the Queen's Ministers alone, and not for the House of Commons. It was, no doubt, impossible that the Government should state in detail what they would do in Conference. But they could at least relieve the House from apprehensions. What hon. Gentlemen on that—the Opposition—side wanted was.



*blanche* for all the rest, or was this House to know something more about the matter? When we entered this Conference, we should, if possible, not do so with a tone of extreme jealousy against Russia. Some distrust of that Power might be justifiable, but he deprecated the language used by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in moving the Vote as offensive towards Russia. He told them that it was reported a Russian Prince was going to rule over Bulgaria, that Russia might demand as territorial compensation Smyrna and Salonica, and that such arrangements might give Russia such a voice in the Conference that no other would be heard. As regarded the general feeling of constituencies in this country, his experience was that they were all disposed to stand up for British interests, and to put those interests prominently forward; but besides British interests they were concerned with British sympathies and British duties. What were our sympathies in this case? There were two Russias, and also two Turkeys. As regarded one Russia and one Turkey, our antipathies, he feared he must say rather than our sympathies, were divided. The people of this country had an antipathy to the Government of Turkey, and to the system of misrule that had so long flourished there, and were therefore glad to see it fall; but they had sympathy with the Turks, as a gallant nation fighting for their country. So, again, we had a strong antipathy to Russian ambition and military aggression; but we felt a sympathy for the motives which led the great masses of the people of Russia so willingly to die for their country and for the emancipation of their neighbours of the same blood and of the same religion. And was it not also a British duty now to take active part in that emancipation? It was to be regretted they had ever separated themselves from the European concert, and perhaps the most instructive portions of the Blue Books were those which showed the protests which came from all parts of Europe against our breaking up the concert of Europe. So much for the policy to be pursued. And now a few words on the question of Supply. Before the House proceeded to vote £6,000,000, it would be necessary to require from the Government some reason why so large a sum was wanted.

*Mr. C. S. Parker*

As, on a similar occasion in 1870, only £2,000,000 were asked for, he hoped some further explanation would be given why £6,000,000 were asked for now. And here he had a remark to make. It was scarcely generous of the Secretary of State for War to speak of the 20,000 men raised in 1870 being immediately dismissed again, nor was it the fact that they were so dismissed. Of course, some of the men taken suddenly on an emergency were not such as it was desirable to retain when they could be spared; but the general result of the Army administration at that time was that there was now a better Reserve to fall back upon than ever before. That was why no vote of men was needed now. Besides, if the right hon. Gentleman thought the reduced numbers in time of peace insufficient, why had he not increased them? The general total of the Army in 1873—the last year of the late Government—was, in round numbers, 188,000; in 1874 it was 186,000; and in 1875 and 1876 it was 184,000. In conclusion, he would state what he considered to be the practical course to be adopted. His name had been mentioned the other day as being pledged with regard to this Vote of Credit. He had avoided pledging himself on most subjects, and he had avoided pledging himself on this question. Before the rupture of the Cabinet, before the advance of the Russians on Gallipoli and Constantinople, he had held this language—that he, for one, should regret to mix up the money question with the question of Confidence, and he should be disposed, on the responsibility of the War and Naval Ministers, to vote any moderate and reasonable sum. But when two Cabinet Ministers resigned rather than be parties to sending the British Fleet to the Dardanelles, then he was inclined to oppose this Vote of £6,000,000. Now we were entering upon a time of peace, and in such circumstances, he thought the Government were called upon to give to the House and the country satisfactory assurances as to their general intentions at the Conference. If they would do this, he would be disposed to vote all necessary Supplies; but he could assure them that if they were to come into as close contact as he had done recently with the electors, they would know it was desirable to explain, also,

why so large a sum was asked for as £6,000,000.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, he rejoiced in finding that the House was gradually approaching to such unanimity on this question as would give force to the action of Her Majesty's Government in any European Conference that might be summoned. He was anxious to state why he had, to the best of his ability, supported the Government on this occasion, after having felt compelled to differ from them in the great division of the last Session. He supported them now on precisely the same ground, and for the same reasons, which had induced him to differ from them last Session. At that period the Government seemed to him to be disposed to set aside and ignore as exaggerated the information upon which Lord Derby, in his despatch of the 21st September, 1876, impugned the conduct of the Turkish Government in European Turkey, on account of the savage measures they had adopted for the suppression of the outbreak in Bulgaria, measures which had revolted the feelings of civilized Europe, and rendered it impossible for Her Majesty's Government to sanction or countenance the course which the Turkish Government were adopting. Many arguments were used for the purpose of showing that Her Majesty's Government had been deceived with regard to the extent of the Bulgarian outrages; but he felt that, whatever deduction ought to be made from the heavy account against the Turkish Government, enough remained to render it impossible for Her Majesty's Government to justify the conduct of the Turkish Government; and that these outrages left in the hands of Russia a justification for the course which she subsequently pursued, and that if she were left to pursue that course alone, the probability was that there would be a sanguinary war. His anticipations had been fulfilled; and remembering that Her Majesty's Government were a party to the Conference of last year, that the recommendations of that Conference were repudiated by the Porte, and that, in consequence of that repudiation, Russia, in defiance of all remonstrances, entered upon this lamentable war; remembering, in fact, that the result of the Conference had been a war that had shocked humanity, he rejoiced that Her Majesty's Ministers

now saw that it would be unbecoming and useless on their part to be again represented in a European Conference, unless they were in a position to give weight to their representations, and back the decisions of the Conference by force. That, then, was the justification, in his opinion, for the proposal of this Vote. In the Conference of last year, England did nothing in the sense of preparing or of recommending that the decisions of the Conference should be enforced. She resisted every proposal to enforce the decisions of the Conference by coercion; and what was the result? Why, that Russia, by herself, had undertaken to enforce those decisions; and, having made all the sacrifices which were entailed by a great war, Russia was now in a position to affirm that the decisions of the Conference had fallen short of what must now constitute her requirements. We were in danger of the policy, which we had sanctioned in that Conference, being carried beyond the desires and expectations of the Government and the country, unless recourse was had to another Conference, which should correct the defective work of the last Conference. England must be prepared to take her share in upholding the decisions of the Conference now contemplated by force. It was manifest that this country could not afford to leave the settlement of the great Eastern Question in the hands of any one foreign State, especially if that State had been a party to the war, and proved the victor. How was that difficulty to be overcome? Arbitration was, no doubt, a blessed means of contributing to the preservation of justice and of peace; but arbitration was but a poor creature, unless she had a policeman at her back. That was the lesson to be learnt from our experience of the last Conference. Now, however, this country was about to go into another Conference, and, he hoped, on better terms. His (Mr. Newdegate's) understanding was, that Her Majesty's Ministers proposed this Vote that they might join the Conference, prepared to enforce its decisions. He was aware that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) held a different opinion. Their mutual constituents knew that they were both anxious for peace. They also knew that the right hon. Gentleman and he (Mr.

Newdegate) differed with respect to the means by which that object was to be best secured. The right hon. Gentleman approved of the conduct of Russia, in applying coercion to the Porte; but the right hon. Gentleman appeared to forget that Russia would require compensation for the sacrifices she had made, and that the compensation she demanded might affect the interests of this country. He (Mr. Newdegate) could not forget that Russia, after co-operating with England, with respect to, in Turkey, the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, concluded a private arrangement with the Porte, by which Russian ships of war were allowed to pass the Straits of the Dardanelles, whilst those of England and other Powers were excluded. An historical fact like this ought not to be forgotten. It must be remembered that there was within the vast Russian Empire more than one Russia. There was the Government of the Czar, who, he firmly believed, was wise enough, at the commencement of the war, and even before it, to desire peace. Then there was the Pan Slavist Russia, which was animated by the dominant ambition of a race who looked forward to the time when there should be a vast union that would cover a still larger portion of the world than the Russian Empire already commanded. Finally, there was the professional soldier, ever anxious for employment in a country under the constitution of which other fields of action were restricted. Allowance must, therefore, be made for the difficulties of the Russian Government. Intrinsically, a despotism was always weaker than a Constitutional Government. Instead of being, as some supposed, exempt from the necessity of compliance with intrigue or popular agitation, there was no form of Government so frequently dominated and controlled by internal commotion. Knowing this, he held that, if England would act a friendly part towards the Russian Government, she must be prepared, on every matter where the respective interests of the two Empires might come into collision, to take her own part, so that the Emperor of Russia might be able to say to his people—"If you take such or such a course you will trench upon the interests of a great nation which has proved itself fully able to hold its own in the face of any foreign Power." He (Mr.

*Mr. Newdegate*

Newdegate) rejoiced at the course which had been taken by the Leaders of the Opposition in regard to this Vote. Instead of their course being actuated by mere Party or factious motives, it was a course that was highly honourable to them. There was not a word spoken by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich as to the exceptional character of this Vote; there was not a word spoken by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), whose speech had not been fairly reported, in which he did not concur. The precedent cited for the present Vote was that of 1871; but that was a most questionable precedent, and if they sought for further precedents, they must go to the Vote for the armament on account of the differences which arose between this country and Spain on the subject of Nootka Sound in the year 1790. What happened then? The Government of Mr. Pitt came down to the House and asked for a Vote of Credit for £1,000,000, to prepare an armament with which to redress the wrongs done to some British subjects, whose settlement in Nootka Sound had been seized by a Spanish frigate. The Government of Mr. Pitt asked for £1,000,000, and the Spanish Government saw fit to yield to the demands of England. But what had been the expenditure meanwhile? Not £1,000,000, but more than £3,500,000. The object being accomplished—as he trusted it would be in the present instance by the Vote of £6,000,000—instead of expending £1,000,000 only, which was the sum asked for, £3,500,000 were spent, and in the following year Mr. Pitt came down to the House, and admitted that the precedent he had set was an evil one, and from that hour he never asked for a Vote of Credit without submitting what was equivalent to an Estimate. In the present instance the House was asked to vote Ways and Means before Supply. He had seen it stated in the newspapers, and heard it said in debate—"Oh! this is a mere matter of form." But the Forms of Parliament had substance in them—that had often been proved in perilous times. For years the House had adhered to the principle, that it must know what was the object of a particular expenditure before voting money for it; and that was the reason why Supply

was always taken before Ways and Means. The Forms of the House ensured the power of the House, and rendered it the appropriate guardian of the safety, the economy, and the peace of the country. When, therefore, he gave his vote for this £6,000,000, without an Estimate, he did it under protest that it was an exceptional Vote. He was a pupil of Mr. Pitt. Mr. Pitt obtained the Vote of Credit, to which he had referred, in 1790, and the next year reverted to the ancient practice of Parliament, and never again asked for a Vote of Credit without submitting an Estimate. The Opposition had so nobly done their duty in these debates that an historical incident had recurred to his mind. After the general peace, Alexander the First, of Russia, during his visit to this country, came down to the House of Commons to witness its proceedings, and when he left the House he said—"I wish, when I go back to Russia, I could establish an Opposition." And that was a feeling which, he believed, had arisen in the breast of many a despotic monarch. It seemed to him as singular that advanced Liberals like the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham should desire to see the power of Russia extended over European Turkey. ["No!"] Well, that was the inference he had drawn from what he had observed. He remembered reading the late Mr. Cobden's famous pamphlet in praise of Russia, which was published in the year 1835; and he remembered one illustration which Mr. Cobden gave of the advantages of that Government, and of its respect for commerce, and this was, that the commercial classes of Russia were exempt from corporal punishment. Still it was surprising to find advanced Liberals so much in favour of the Russian Government. For himself, he had the greatest possible respect for Russia, and was most anxious that England should be on good terms with her; but he certainly should not like to be a Russian subject, of whose condition he knew something. Her Majesty's Government, responding to the powerful and benevolent voice of the Emperor of Germany, were about to enter into a Conference, which would, he trusted, act in the sense of arbitration, with means of coercion to enforce its decrees, and would, he hoped, lead to another Treaty as

endurable as that of Vienna in 1815. They had seen the Treaty of 1856 and the Treaty of 1870 virtually abrogated by one of the parties to them; and the hon. and learned Member for Oxford City (Sir William Harcourt) spoke disparagingly of the Treaty of Vienna. He (Mr. Newdegate) could hardly understand how anyone could speak disparagingly of a Treaty which was the outcome of a mighty war, which had secured peace to Europe for 35 years. It was true that Treaties were mortal, like their framers. But no nation's interests were so bound up with peace as those of England; and who would venture to say that the Treaty of Vienna, in the conclusion of which she took part, was not a blessing to the world, and especially to the Continent of Europe, when that Treaty had secured unbroken peace for 35 years? God grant that the Treaty which would probably result from the Conference now to be held might have as beneficial and durable an effect! Sure was he of this—that Her Majesty's Government, in proposing not only that England should enter the Conference, but be prepared to take her share in enforcing its decrees, were adopting a wise and salutary course—a course which promised to secure a solid and lasting peace.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON had heard a great deal said about Party feeling and the course taken by the Opposition. He had been several years a Member of that House, and upon the discussion of all great and important questions there had been imputations made against the proceedings of the Opposition, and on this occasion the hon. and learned Solicitor General had imputed to Members sitting opposite to him that if they had not been certain that the Amendment to the Vote would fail they would not have supported it. Such imputations ought not to be indulged in, and he trusted they would hear no more of them, but rise to the importance of the occasion and give their opinions according to their conscientious convictions. He hoped all there were Englishmen before they were Whigs or Tories, and that they would only be influenced by considerations which affected the national interests and the national honour. He was not one of those who shared in the new-born affection for Russia which had sprung up in the breasts of many hon. Members sitting on that side of the House. He

thought that there would be little to choose between the influence of Russia and the influence of Turkey on the Christian populations of the East. He did not believe that those populations would be one jot better under Russian than under Turkish rule. We could not shut our eyes to the effects, comparatively recent, of Russian policy upon those Christians who were outside the Russian Church. But it was entering into a narrow and miserable sphere of discussion if we were to treat this great European question—for it was the greatest European question that had arisen within our memory—upon a comparison between one despotism and another. If he had a fault to find with Her Majesty's Government, it was that they had suffered this question of humanity and civilization to drift into the hands of the greatest of wrong-doers, who would now get all the credit for ameliorating the condition and advancing the civilization of the populations of the Principalities. He last year took an active part in denouncing the Bulgarian atrocities, but he did not think that what was done was to end in empty sound. That was, however, the case, and they had allowed the question to be dealt with by a military despotism, and Russia to achieve the work of emancipation, while this country was content to play a secondary part in the matter. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate) had cited two precedents for this money Vote—that of 1870 and that of 1790. The case of 1870 was not analogous, and had been disposed of by the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), and the hon. Member for North Warwickshire was unfortunate in citing the precedent of 1790. That case was not analogous, because, in the first place, Mr. Pitt came down and stated the immediate practical purposes to which the money was to be applied; and, in the second place, because the money proved insufficient. He apprehended that these £6,000,000, if granted, would also prove insufficient.

MR. NEWDEGATE explained that what he had said was that in 1790 Mr. Pitt refused to give an Estimate, whereas in 1791 and on every subsequent occasion he gave Estimates.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON said, that Mr. Pitt stated in 1790 the grievances which were to be redressed, but that was not

done by Her Majesty's Government. He had searched the records of Parliament and had been unable to find a precedent for this Vote. The matter was not one of mere form, and it was the duty of the House of Commons to guard the public purse, to watch carefully every public expenditure. But what had Her Majesty's Government done now? The Chancellor of the Exchequer asked the House to give to the Government £6,000,000, which they said they would expend with wisdom. They had not followed the example of Mr. Pitt, nor had they stated the specific purposes to which this money would be applied. They said they asked for this money in order that our hands might be strengthened at the Conference. What was meant by strengthening our hands at the Conference by voting £6,000,000 unless the Government meant that this money should be spent for war purposes—unless they meant to threaten Russia or some other Power, or to threaten all other Powers who would not agree with us? We had been treating Russia as a friendly Power, but now the Government proposed that they should be armed to the teeth when they went to the Conference. To enter the Conference armed would be tantamount to saying to Russia—"We do not trust your word." ["Hear, hear!"] An hon. and gallant Admiral said "Hear." He might be expected to have warlike feelings, but we had to deal with statesmen on this question. The object of a Conference was to effect a pacific adjustment of things, but this was nothing but a war Vote—a Vote to enable us to flourish our arms in the face of Russia. If this money had been asked 15 months ago he could have understood it; but now that Turkey was prostrate at the feet of Russia, and we ought to treat on equal terms with that Power as to the national interests as well as for the good of Europe, we should be entirely stultifying ourselves if we provoked that war which it was the object of all of us to avoid. If the British Fleet had been sent to Gallipoli simply for the purpose of protecting unfortunate people at Constantinople who might be involved in case of tumult, why was not Russia informed that that was the object of sending the Fleet, if we were acting in a friendly and not in a hostile spirit to her? Russia had as

*Mr. Serjeant Simon*

much right to send her troops to Constantinople for the protection of people as we had to send a Fleet for a similar purpose. He thought the two telegrams which had been read that night were reconcilable. He did not join with hon. Members on his side of the House in their attacks on Mr. Layard. If it was supposed that Mr. Layard was hostile to the national interests, let him be removed from Constantinople; but as long as he was retained in this country's service, we ought to treat him with confidence. Mr. Layard might have been misinformed. The Russian Ambassador seemed to assume that the Russian military forces had been stopped, but it might turn out that the orders had not been obeyed, and Mr. Layard after all might be right. But how did we know that it was not one of the terms of the armistice that the Russians should protect the Turks against their own soldiers, or that the Sultan did not require protection in the disastrous position of events? The question now before the House, however, was one that far transcended in gravity any Vote of Confidence upon a money grant. There was a great European crisis before them, and it was for them to consider whether they would take part in the creation of a new chapter in the history of the world. It was beyond all question that there was in the moral life of a Christian an elasticity which they did not find in that of the other races subject to Turkey. He was not seeking to decry the religious faith of any people; but with respect to the forthcoming Congress, he hoped our course would be one worthy of the traditions and character of the British nation, and would be a course tending to lift the enthralled and subject-races of Turkey out of the slough of despondency and depression in which they had been plunged, and give them a chance of taking their place side by side in the rank of civilized Europe.

MR. J. R. YORKE said, that owing possibly to the march of events, the tone of hon. Members of the Opposition had been very much modified, and it remained for the hon. and learned Member for Dewsbury (Mr. Serjeant Simon) to raise the question whether England ought not to have gone to war with Russia before. It was an unfortunate characteristic of this nation to be late in these matters. Although

the Mahomedan faith had produced great qualities in the Turks, and although it had shown great defects, he did not think it was necessary, in the presence of the great misfortunes which had overwhelmed Turkey, to raise a discussion on that point. Several years ago, he himself called attention to the state of affairs in Turkey; but, coming from so humble a Member as himself, the Motion did not attract attention. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) did not come down to take part in the debate, and it proved fruitless; nobody contended that the Turks were immaculate; but he maintained that the various Provinces of Turkey would bear comparison in point of security to life and property with Spain, or Italy, or any country in which the Executive was not quite strong enough to give adequate protection to its subjects. The independence and integrity of Turkey was a thing of the past, and they were endeavouring to make the best of a bad business. The difficult problem now awaited the Government of trying to reconcile in the Conference British interests with Russian predominance. The remains of Turkish power now only existed on sufferance, and they must contemplate a period, possibly not very remote, when, our attention being called away, the Russians would step in and finish their present work. Having that problem to deal with, the Government had come to the House to ask to have their hands strengthened, and under ordinary circumstances any Government would have that power confided to them without much hesitation; but, in the present case, a different course was pursued. What were the reasons of the Opposition for refusing that confidence? The first was, that the Cabinet was divided; but, however that might have been, they were now divided no longer; and it must be remembered that, although any 12 men might be quite agreed as to their policy, it was almost morally impossible that they should not sometimes differ as to the best mode of carrying that policy into effect. There was a division among the Twelve Apostles, and one of them once withstood another to the face because he was to be blamed. The second was, that Lord Beaconsfield had never concealed his wish to plunge this country into war. He had read all

Lord Beaconsfield's speeches, and though he had never been much prejudiced in favour of the noble Lord's policy, he had never any just grounds on which to base such an argument. It appeared to him that in those speeches the noble Lord had frequently alluded to contingencies, in which the honour and interests of this country might be difficult to reconcile with the interests of peace, and never concealed that in such a case he would be found on the side of the former. Another charge made against the Government was, that they were determined to grant only a minimum amount of liberty to the Christian subjects of the Porte. On that point he would say that he did not believe in giving people liberty all at once, for to make good use of liberty required education, and the present social and financial condition of Greece did not give us much reason to be satisfied with our first experiment in giving liberty to subject-populations. Now that the Russian lion had conquered, all the jackals were coming in for their share of the spoils. In that position of affairs the right hon. Member for Greenwich stepped forward, and, advising them to let bygones be bygones, asked them to make a new start, and to unite together in giving—a most extraordinary suggestion to come from him—a general Vote of Confidence in the Government, to be passed by both Houses of Parliament. In the course of his speech, the right hon. Gentleman had made two or three valuable admissions—one of which was that a virtual guarantee had been given against the presence of the Russian army in Constantinople. But what did we know about the conditions of the armistice? Only that evening the extraordinary imbroglio which had occurred was owing to the fact that we had no certain information with regard to the preliminaries of peace. It might turn out that one of the conditions of the armistice was that the Russians should occupy Constantinople with the consent of the Turks. The right hon. Gentleman, in the course of his speech, had said that there was no word for which he had so great a dislike as for prestige. He would, however, point out to the right hon. Gentleman that prestige stood in the same relation to power that bank notes did to sovereigns, and that as long as a nation had prestige, it had an influence

which might otherwise have to be asserted by armaments. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman was opposed to Russia's obtaining possession of Bessarabia, and had admitted that Russia had no natural interest in the Danube, expressing a hope that Her Majesty's Government would in the Conference support the free navigation of that great river. But he saw objections to his suggestion that, though Bulgaria should be made autonomous, it should be made to pay a considerable tribute. He had observed that this tribute had always been a matter of difficulty. At the time of Servia declaring war she was two years behind in the payment of tribute, and the arrangements with regard to tribute had been a continually recurring source of irritation between them and Turkey. He should be sorry to see an extension of such a state of things, because it would leave a sore which before long would tend to renewed difficulties. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had well stated what would be the result of attempting to include the whole of the Bulgarian people in such a tributary Province, seeing that it would be necessary to include territory stretching almost as far as the *Ægean Sea*. It was desirable that the House should grant that Vote without much further delay. He hoped that the money would not be actually wanted, but there would be no harm in having it in hand. It would be an emphatic protest against the unprincipled agitation which had been excited throughout the country, and a pledge given in answer to those who asserted that England was divided. He trusted, therefore, that the House would pass that Vote in the way to give it the maximum effect in the direction that was required. One of the Cabinet Ministers had stated that the English people did not understand foreign politics, and never had there been a truer word spoken. Unfortunately, they were not on that subject under the best tutors. The very virtues of Englishmen made it difficult for them to understand the course of foreign politics. What had occurred that night was a specimen of the difficulty experienced in such transactions when they sought to follow diplomatic arrangements. There was only one other matter to which he wished to allude—that it was not the interest of

Russia to make a lasting peace; but he trusted that the efforts of Her Majesty's Government would be directed to that object, and he believed that if they could go into the councils of Europe strong in the support of the House of Commons, and in the support of their countrymen, as would be proved by the passing of the Vote now under consideration, they would have every chance of concluding an arrangement which, if not everlasting, would, at any rate, be solid and durable.

MR. COURTNEY said, that the difficulty of discussing the question was much enhanced by the various emotions through which the House had passed. It might also be thought almost foolhardy to form an opinion on the subject, considering the ignorance with which opinions were often formed; but he, nevertheless, desired to direct the minds of hon. Members to some points which had not yet been fully discussed. In the first place, the real reason for the Vote was explained by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he first made the Motion that the House should go into Committee. He had then said that the war had ceased, and that negotiations for a Conference were proceeding. But he wished to ask hon. Members whether they fully understood upon what principles the Government would go into that Conference, with what associates, and with what aims? He thought that it could not be imputed to them that they were less Englishmen because they gave no Vote of unbounded Confidence. On the contrary, they scrutinized the demands for that very reason, because they were jealous of the interests of their country, and because they loved it beyond any other consideration. The charge of the want of patriotism was as old as the days of Jeremiah. In every country, in every century, in every generation, it had been possible to get hold of some man accused of being untrue to his country, but whom succeeding generations declared to be an honest patriot; he had been sorry, then, when the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) had announced himself as an Englishman first, and then a Liberal. If a man called himself a Tory it was because he believed that he was advancing the interests of his country; and another, for the same reason, might be a Liberal. Not long ago a dis-

tinguished man—now, alas! no more—was violently denounced, because he ventured to object to a war upon which his country seemed resolved to embark—denounced in language which *The Pall Mall Gazette* and *The Daily Telegraph* appeared now to be re-echoing. It was M. Paul de Cassagnac who asserted that M. Thiers was no lover of France, because he opposed the war with Germany, M. de Cassagnac wanting it to be believed that he himself was the true patriot. The present was simply an analogous case to that, and it was by the Cassagnacs of the Press that the opponents of the Government were being assailed. The real question, however, was with respect to the armistice. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had asked for the sum of money, and had asked the House to grant it in the confidence that it would be used properly, and he had also spoken of a united nation; but he asked in what spirit did the Government mean to attend that Conference? Was it in a spirit of heat and passion, or were they rather to be trusted? He ventured to think that the debate would excite the very strongest arguments for distrust. All the Ministers had said, almost in so many words, that they were going into the Conference to put themselves side by side with Austria, to take their stand on the Treaty of 1856, and to compel Russia to accept its conditions. These, he felt sure, were aims of which the people of England would not approve, and he owed it as a duty to his constituents to resist such a policy. He could not possibly admit that this was in any sense a united nation. That epithet was conspicuously untrue of its attitude towards the Eastern Question; and, in his opinion, the power and authority of a united nation with which it was proposed to endow the Ministry did not exist. It was quite impossible to doubt that a great portion of the Kingdom looked back at the Crimean War with abhorrence, and had no wish to abide by its results; while many others would, if they could, re-produce that war, were it not for the general feeling of the country. There was, then, no such unanimity as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer imagined, except, perhaps, on one solitary point, the resolve—namely, that the Dardanelles Straits either remained



as they were at present, or that they should be open to the Fleets of all nations. Every Englishman was agreed that no nation should have a privilege. What was the present position of affairs in the East? The war between Russia and Turkey might be assumed to be practically over, and the former was undoubtedly entitled to all the rights of the conqueror. As against the Porte, Russia was entitled to insist upon the exclusive right to passage through the Dardanelles and to annex any portion of Turkish territory she might choose. But in attempting to obtain for herself the exclusive right to the passage of the Dardanelles Russia would come face to face with the mortgagees of that Strait, and with those who had acquired easements in those waters, and in such a case Russia would have no more power over them than the Porte itself possessed. Russia, under the Treaty of 1856, was bound to respect the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire; and if those Treaties were still valid, the moment she entered into the Conference she would find herself debarred from obtaining exclusive power over the Dardanelles or over any portion of the Ottoman Empire, because the Sultan had debarred himself from the same thing. The Government had shown that they considered the Treaties valid, and they could not at once approbate and reprobate a document, as the lawyers said. And on entering this Conference, with whom were we to find ourselves allied? Austria was going into the Conference to prevent the autonomy of Bosnia and the independence of Serbia and Roumania; and England's position was that the Dardanelles should be open or shut to all nations. These two Powers were joining together, one with one object, and the other with another; and did not this offer a great temptation to the two to join their forces and to say—"You help us to secure what we want, and we will help you to secure what you want?" If the Government claimed the co-operation of Austria, or if Austria claimed the Government's co-operation under the Treaty of Paris, and Austria said—"We are jointly and severally bound to help each other," in this state of circumstances, how could either refuse to acknowledge the claim of the other? Suppose that the Russians remained in their present situation and Austria and

England combined against them, and the Austrian troops came upon them from one side and the English ships attacked them on the other. They would be placed in a very uncomfortable position. [*Ministerial cheers.*] Oh! then you are anxious for an easy war. You, the Party of peace, wish—

Mr. SPEAKER: I would remind the hon. Member that one of the first Rules of our debates is that hon. Gentlemen should address themselves to the Chair.

Mr. COURTNEY said, he must apologize to the Speaker and the House for having momentarily departed from the rule of debate. Hon. Members opposite became excited the moment the prospect of an easy and successful war presented itself; and when he saw their excitement and also the excitement prevailing among the democracy, he confessed he was astonished to hear hon. Members speak of the peril of war as past. The peril past! Why, the coming Conference was full of peril. Point after point might arise in it of a nature to incite the Government and the people of England to war. Suspicion first, anger next, resentment the third day, and then a fiery determination to overcome your antagonist. That was the history of the origin of all wars, and he felt bound to say that he had no confidence in the people or the Government of England that they would not be led from one false step to another until they found themselves in some position from which they could not retreat without dishonour, or advance without great danger. See how easily Her Majesty's Ministers had stepped into the false step of sending the British Fleet to the Dardanelles; and had they not that very day been the slaves of an unfounded rumour? The only hope he and those who agreed with him had was, in being true to themselves and in not flinching for one moment, however small their minority might be, from endeavouring to avert the perils which lay before them. He believed the Conference would be held at Vienna, Russia having waived her objections to Vienna, and he was afraid if that proved to be true we might find our special Representative in association with Sir Henry Elliot, instead of being in a position to assist in obtaining the freedom of Bulgaria and of the Greeks. For the sake of his country he deeply regretted this, for she ought to shake herself free from

Mr. Courtney

Austrian and Turkish influences. There was only one interest which we had to guard, and that was the keeping open or the keeping shut of the Dardanelles. Let them go to the Conference with that object alone. If they went for anything else let it be to neutralize Austria and to uphold the settlement proposed by Russia of the question of the subject-races. To keep the Dardanelles open they had no need of any force but their own. In conclusion, he expressed a hope that the Government would engage in no entangled alliances, and that, in going into the Conference, they might possess the strength that came to the Representative of a united people.

MR. GRANTHAM said, that patriotism was a thing that was much abused, and under the name of patriotism many of the horrors that disgraced the pages of history had been perpetrated. It was in the name of patriotism that Robespierre performed the deeds of a monster, and in the name of patriotism the First Napoleon waged his cruel wars. He rose to make some remarks on what they had heard and seen that night. He was grieved to see that, after the Opposition had determined at the eleventh hour to do what they could to support Her Majesty's Government, when they believed the hour of peril was at hand, some hon. Members opposite had repudiated the conduct of their Leaders, and had refused to join with them in presenting a common front to the Power which was believed to be our enemy. But he was the more grieved at what fell from one who sat on the front Opposition bench. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had dared to get up in his place—[“Oh, oh!” and *cheers*—yes, dared to get up in his place—believing that we were on the eve of war with Russia, and say if we were embarked in a war with Russia it was owing to statements which had been made on the Ministerial side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman said that, if similar statements had been made in a Russian Parliament with reference to England, nothing could have prevented a war between the two countries. That was not a statement which any Englishman ought to make in such a time and when we were in such great peril of a war with Russia. No doubt some strong things had been said on the Ministerial side of

the House; but who was it that had forced them to say those things? Who had taunted them month by month with upholding Her Majesty's Government in their policy of not submitting calmly to the will and dictates of the Emperor of all the Russias? Hon. Members opposite. Who was it who went about, north, south, east, and west, condemning Her Majesty's Government for the policy they had pursued, and advocating a Russian policy as against the policy of the Government? It was the Members of the Party opposite, and he thought, therefore, he was justified in protesting against the language used by the right hon. Member for Birmingham, and in saying that it had become necessary to speak out plainly the truth in regard to the aggressive policy of Russia in times past as well as present. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had asked that the settlement of this question should be postponed for 24 hours; but, if that had been done, they would have been the first to go into the country and say the Government, by postponing the matter, showed there was no pressing necessity for pushing it forward. He—and he spoke for many hon. Members on his side of the House—rejoiced that the Government did not consent to that suggestion. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) had talked about union, and asked that the Vote should be withdrawn. It was true that union was generally considered strength; but there were unions which brought no strength to those who were united, and which showed nothing but disunited and divided counsels. If we went into the Conference united with those who had for the last two years been advocating the policy of Russia, we should not have presented to the nations of Europe a united front. Hon. Members opposite seemed to forget that England's prosperity could not be separated from England's greatness, and that we could not be commercially great and politically small. We had to maintain the interests, not of England only, but of India and of our Colonies and dependencies all over the world. It was impossible for England to go into the Conference unarmed and unable to give effect to her words. She could not go with nothing but moral force, and neglect her physical strength. She must go into the Con-

[Fifth Night.]

ference armed with her own strength and her own might. Were they prepared to take a lowly and humble position? Unless England was prepared to take the position of Holland, she could not afford to cease to do as the other nations of Europe did. Taking this Vote of £6,000,000, it did not amount to more than 2s. per head of the population. He would ask if there was anyone in the country who did not value the honour and interests of England as worth more than 2s.? A great deal had been said about the conduct of the Government; but, although Englishmen might be hasty in their political dislike, they were not ungenerous; and, when the history of the present crisis came to be read, it would be found that the British people were pervaded by a feeling of generosity and gratitude towards Her Majesty's Advisers for the steps they had taken to protect the interest and uphold the dignity of the nation which scarcely any other Government had received.

MR. E. J. REED said, he hoped the House might soon arrive at that state of feeling—although the speech to which they had just listened afforded little ground for such hope—in which they might be able to discuss this great question on some more satisfactory basis than the miserable one of personal re-primination. If it were true, as the last speaker had assumed, that war was imminent or even probable, was it, he would ask, seemly that they could find nothing else to discuss than inaccurate statements or errors of judgment? When, in the earlier part of the evening, he appealed to the House to get this money question out of the way, he did so with the wish that they might at once enter upon the discussion of the momentous question before them, on which so much depended in the future. He did not wish to cast the slightest reflection upon the right hon. Gentlemen on the front Opposition bench; but he regretted, he might add, that a money Vote had been made the ground for a discussion bearing upon international interests; and the moment he saw the terms of the Amendment he had felt that it would serve to consolidate opinion on the other side of the House, and turn popular feeling in favour of the Government, because it was the natural disposition of the people of this country to do nothing which might appear ungenerous to those

who at a great crisis were entrusted with the conduct of their affairs. At the same time, he felt it would have the effect of putting the real question at issue aside, and although they might not approve of the heat with which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) expressed his opinions, he alone had attempted to call back the attention of the House to the main Question. Her Majesty's Government was placed in a most trying position, and the greatest difficulty of the situation was that they had to discuss their foreign policy in a free Parliament and in a free Press; for, much as the people of England justly prided themselves on these institutions, the effect of them was to force the Government to show its hand to the other Powers of the world. He could give two illustrations of his idea. In May last the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary made his famous speech, in the course of which he stated that the approach of the Russian Army to Constantinople would not be viewed with indifference by the British Government. What had been the effect of that? Why, the Turks evacuated Adrianople, and practically allowed everything to go by the run after the capture of Plevna and the passage of the Shipka Pass. Let them take another case. On the first night of the Session, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the Government did not intend to propose any money Vote until the Russian conditions of peace were known, and he noticed the wise reluctance which the right hon. Gentleman exhibited to repeat the statement more explicitly when questioned on the subject by the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone). He was obliged, however, to answer, and the consequence was that the Russians at once became aware that no action was to be taken until the terms of peace were announced; while we, finding that they were withheld, jumped to the conclusion that that was being done purposely by Russia. That suspicion had not proved correct, and in consequence we had done a great deal of injustice to Russia. It turned out that the Turkish Delegates had not signed the terms of peace, and this fact was the cause of the delay. But the mere fact of the Chancellor of the Exchequer having announced that we should do nothing till the terms of peace were known probably

had the effect of persuading Russia that the power of England was paralyzed until she—Russia—chose to disclose those terms, and great excitement and danger had consequently arisen. It should be remembered that in a time like the present the Government had many such difficulties to encounter. He also objected to many of the hostile criticisms pronounced against the Government. If they came to this House to inflict every possible injury on the Government, how could they expect it to deal calmly with the great and weighty affairs that lay upon it? How could they expect it to go into the Conference with success if it was worried with every incident that could be brought against it? When they heard anyone talking about the paramount influence of Lord Beaconsfield in the Cabinet, and his war proclivities, they ought, instead of blaming the Members of the Cabinet, to thank them for curbing those proclivities if they existed, and endeavouring to turn the influence of the country in the direction of the peace which all Parties in the State alike desired. He objected to anything like cavil; to anything like violent criticism; to anything like personal imputations at a time of great national crisis, and that not because he would say a word in favour of any war-like policy by the Government; on the contrary, his reason was to prevent the Government being driven into a war policy. What had happened to-night? The right hon. Member for Bradford had come down to the House this afternoon, and in the face of certain telegrams from Constantinople had withdrawn his Amendment; and but for the timely arrival of the letter from Count Schouvaloff to the Government, the House would, in the moment of excitement, have given a vote with something like the appearance of a war Vote. He would infinitely prefer giving the vote calmly. He would put the responsibility upon the Government. Give them the money and get rid of the so-called Constitutional doctrines which had been now discussed for a week, and then the House would be free to ask the most careful consideration of the Government to this Eastern Question, and to tell the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to embody in the European Conference the indications he had pointed out the other night. The great reason why we were going into the Conference was to

carry out the work of emancipation, and if we did not take care, the Government would find itself acting against the liberties of Bulgaria and the other Provinces of Turkey. Well, why should they not be able to discuss these questions calmly, and drop personal attacks upon each other? There was nothing which gave him greater pain than to see men attacking greater men in this House, and seeking to climb to fame upon their shoulders, from whichever side those attacks proceeded. There was not a man who could look back on the career of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, and of the right hon. Member for Birmingham, who would not admit that they stood amongst the most eminent men of the age. If they did make errors, let the errors be pointed out, instead of assailing them with violence and pretension. He merely wished to show that we had arrived at a moment when, he believed, it was essential for the Opposition side of the House to give to the Government as much confidence as they could, not for the purpose of putting us into war, but for the purpose of keeping us out of war. He was sorry to see so much disposition to go lightly into war with Russia. He was not by any means an out-and-out admirer of Russia, and there were things in that country which he did not approve of; but, at the same time, they all knew—every man of culture and every man of travel knew—that, with all the historic faults of Russia, with all her historic crimes, and with all the present faults of Russia, she was a progressive country, and was desirous of following in the path we had trod. He believed there were men alive who would see Russia a Constitutional country, with a free Parliament; and it had already a Press freer than many men suspected. But the question of the moment was not whether Russia was a good or a bad Power. The question was, on the side of what interest was the power of England to be engaged? He would agree to the Vote; but these eternal altercations, these eternal debates, did not promote the public interest. All the time this crisis lasted he would give the Government all the support he could, and he would do everything he could to prevent them from entering upon a wrong course. The Government was far less likely to go wrong if treated with fairness and generosity on that side of the

House than if treated in an opposite spirit. He had confidence in the Government, and he believed there was not only one man, but there were many men in the present Cabinet who would use their utmost exertions to keep the country out of war, and he believed there were many men on the other side as sensible as those on the Opposition side were, and who would look upon it as a deep and damning degradation to go into the Conference for the purpose of re-enslaving the people of Bulgaria.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that of all the extraordinary speeches delivered in that House during this debate, the speech of the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. E. J. Reed) was the most extraordinary. The latter part was a direct answer to the first. In the latter part, the hon. Member expressed a hope that one day despotic Russia would establish free Parliamentary institutions, whereas, in the first part, he had told them that in times of difficulty and danger Parliamentary institutions were a source of embarrassment. This was what was said at the time of the Crimean War; but it was because Parliament did not do its duty at that time and insist on discussion that they drifted into a war from which they derived an inheritance of woe. He did not mean to say that they had not also derived great glory to the country in connection with the war. ["Divide!"] Hon. Gentlemen opposite were determined not to listen to anything which did not exactly tally with their own views. ["Oh, oh!"] He did not object to their murmurs, but he did in the face of Europe protest against such conduct. Every word spoken in the House of Commons at this moment, no matter what was the position of the Member who spoke it, was telegraphed throughout Europe. [*Laughter.*] The spirit of levity displayed upon the Conservative benches would be telegraphed throughout Europe, as well as the arguments in support of what they called a spirited policy. He protested against the doctrine laid down by the hon. Member for Pembroke as to Parliamentary government. He maintained that the House had a right to know and criticize the conduct of the Government.

MR. E. J. REED said, the hon. Member entirely misunderstood him. He did not intend to make the slightest complaint of Parliamentary government.

*Mr. E. J. Reed*

What he had said was that the system of Parliamentary government, although most excellent and valuable in itself, unavoidably added to the difficulties of a Government at a time like this.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, it seemed to him that this meant that if a free Parliament criticized the policy of the Government they embarrassed the Government; but he believed, on the contrary, that such criticism was a great source of strength to the Government. The hon. Member for Pembroke seemed to have been engaged in so many Russian operations that he had apparently imbibed Russian principles, and wished to shut the mouth of the House of Commons. If the present Government were embarrassed by the action of hon. Members opposite, it was because nobody knew what the policy of the Government was. Having referred to the account that had appeared of an interview which a correspondent of *The Daily News* was reported to have had with Server Pasha, and which account he believed to be true, the hon. Member urged that the House should not pass the Vote under pressure, because hon. Members did not know the exact circumstances of the case. He had heard it stated that Prince Gortchakoff's telegram was all a piece of chicanery. If that was so it would raise a grave issue, because it would show that they could not depend upon the word of the Foreign Minister of Russia. If it were true that Russia was deceiving us, the people of this country would be found united as one man in resisting her policy; but we had no proof that such was the case. They wished to know for what cause Parliament had been brought together, and whither they were going? He would go further, and say this—that much as they must respect the talents of the noble Lord at the head of the Administration, every human being knew that he was a master of the science of language, and that he habitually used language which did not fully reveal his own meaning or his own object. That was one reason why he doubted whether they should vote this sum precipitately to-night. Nor could it be forgotten that the noble Lord had an Oriental tendency of mind. If they took the writings of the noble Lord—if they took all his acts—they were tinged with much that was essentially un-English. They were tinged with that

tendency to believe that human events were to be influenced by surprises, by magnificent spectacles, by new titles, by new orders of chivalry—by all those things which went to make up that could only be called the Oriental mind. [*Cries of "Question!"*] That was the question which they had to debate, and which nothing would prevent him from discussing. He thought the Government should postpone the debate until they really knew where they were, and until they knew whether the despatch of Prince Gortchakoff represented the actual truth. The Government would soon know what the real state of affairs was, and would have an opportunity of uniting the House in a way which they would not be able to do to-night. For these and for other reasons stated by other Members, he hoped the Vote would not be pressed that night.

Mr. WALTER said, that as he was one of the small number of Members of that House who considered that question with as an entire absence of Party bias as it was possible to imagine, he should like to express, in a very few words, the impression which the debate had produced on his mind. After an experience of nearly 30 years, he could truly say he had never listened to a debate which had given him so much pain. If he were asked to describe it in a sentence, he should say it was a war debate tempered by telegrams. The general tone of the debate and the circumstances which had led to it had, to his mind, been most unsatisfactory. There was something peculiarly unfortunate and unpropitious in the circumstances in which they were called together at an earlier period of the year than usual, in the reasons given for the summoning of Parliament, and in the manner in which these reasons had been fulfilled. It was not his intention to have voted for the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), which was an unfortunate Amendment. It did not really express the circumstances in which they were placed; it was directed to a wrong issue; and it could not have led to a satisfactory result. The Motion for the Vote had been unfortunate, both as to time and manner. When Parliament was called together they were told that, in the event of certain unforeseen contingencies, the Vote might be called for. Nothing unforeseen had occurred. The

only thing which was absolutely certain to occur was a Conference. Of all the uncertainties which had existed from time to time with regard to this war, the only thing absolutely certain was that a Conference would be the end of the whole business. It was to meet, not any unforeseen occurrence, but a Conference, which must have been foreseen, that this Vote was asked for. We were to go into this Conference in a temper which took its colour and its tone from the most irritating debate he had ever heard in Parliament. That, by itself, was a most unfortunate circumstance. The amount of the Vote was a thing not worth discussing; but had he been in a position to advise the Government, he should have advised them not to ask for any Vote at all, but to act upon their own responsibility. He thought any Government would have been justified in the circumstances in which they were placed—in an attitude of expectation, of suspense, and of watchfulness, ready, if necessary, to make a spring at once—in taking the money they wanted, and claiming an indemnity from Parliament. He thought that would have been a far wiser course to have taken. It would have relieved them, at all events, from the awkward position in which they were now placed in asking for this Vote, in order to go into a Conference, which might have the appearance either of an act of defiance towards Russia, or of an act of retaliation against the Opposition for certain injudicious speeches delivered during the Recess. He remembered to have read a story somewhere of some notorious character, fond of fighting, who used on going into a tavern to take off his sword and throwing it on the table, say—"Lie there, and I pray God I may not have occasion to use you." That was pretty much the attitude of the Government in asking for the Vote of £6,000,000. With regard to the way in which he should vote upon this occasion, he felt very much in the position of the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. E. J. Reed) and others who had spoken, who felt that while they were exceedingly unwilling to offer any active opposition to a Vote of Confidence in the Government in such an emergency, yet felt that something was due to their own sense of responsibility, when the Vote was asked expressly for going into a Conference, in which the honour and interests of this country were deeply

involved. There were some points upon which he should have liked to have had more information. There were points, no doubt, upon which they were all agreed. The acquisition of Constantinople by Russia, and the navigation of the Dardanelles, were questions upon which there was scarcely any difference of opinion among Englishmen; but with regard to those more remote questions in which we had little immediate concern, such as the amount of freedom to be accorded to Bulgaria, Montenegro, or Herzegovina, Englishmen were likely to be divided. He would not willingly vote one shilling, or say that one drop of English blood should be shed in order to curtail the liberties of these Provinces, while he would vote anything that might be asked to secure the former objects. The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary, in the course of his speech, said that the paramount British interest was the peaceful settlement of this question. So far he agreed with the right hon. Gentleman; but he went on to say that a peaceful settlement might not be arrived at, and he phrased it rather vaguely. He (Mr. Walter) should like to hear something more definite with regard to the arrangements to be made for the Turkish Provinces. He wanted to know how far, by the expenditure of money or military operations, the Government were prepared to curtail liberty in those parts? The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer dropped a very significant hint with regard to which he should like to have some more information. He said England's weak point was the length of its line of communication, and anything that jeopardized that line of communication with its dependencies must be a source of anxiety. He did not know whether the right hon. Gentleman meant by that that the policy of England was against the opening of the Dardanelles. If so, he should differ from the right hon. Gentleman. He believed that the policy of England was on this occasion to open the Dardanelles, and claim for herself and give to all other nations the right of free navigation. Though he should decline to go to war for that object, he should equally decline to expend any English money or blood in opposing it. He should like to know something about the policy of the Government on that point. He would say

*Mr. Walter*

a word or two upon the really grave question about which all this discussion had taken place—namely, the policy of England with regard to the Turkish Empire. He differed entirely from the hon. Member for West Norfolk (Mr. Bentinck), and others who had spoken in this debate, with regard to the effects of this war upon the Ottoman Empire. He deeply deplored the necessity for the war, which had been one of the most horrible waged in modern times, yet he rejoiced unfeignedly at the result of it. He was one of those who never believed in the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire; and when the Crimean War was talked of, he should like to read to the House a very interesting and remarkable passage which was written by an illustrious personage, whose name had been alluded to in this debate. It was contained in a book which had been referred to by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), and the publication of which was supposed to be intended to have some bearing upon this question—a bearing rather hostile to Russia and friendly to Turkey. He would like to read a short extract from a very remarkable memorandum drawn up by the late Prince Consort in October, 1853, with regard to the Crimean War. After saying that, setting aside all Turkish considerations, England and Europe had an interest that Turkish territory should not fall into the hands of Russia, and that they should in the last extremity even go to war to prevent such an overthrow of the balance of power, he wrote—

“But this would be a war, not for the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but merely for the interests of the European Powers and civilization. It ought to be carried on unshackled by obligations to the Porte, and will probably lead to the peace which must be the object of that war, to the obtaining of arrangements more consonant with the well-understood interests of Europe, of Christianity, liberty and civilization, than the re-imposition of the ignorant, barbarian, and despotic yoke of the Mussulman over the most fertile and favoured portion of Europe.”

That memorandum was communicated to Lord Palmerston and Lord Aberdeen. Lord Palmerston, it was stated—and he grieved to say it—scouted the idea altogether, and said that the improvement of the Christian populations meant simply the expulsion of 2,000,000 of Mahomedan inhabitants. But Lord Aberdeen did not believe in the improvement of

Turkey; he held that her whole system was radically vicious and inhuman, and he quoted Lord Stratford de Redcliffe to that effect. He (Mr. Walter) thought the House would believe now that the Prince Consort and Lord Aberdeen were right, and Lord Palmerston wrong; and it was to give effect to the wishes and views of the Prince Consort and Lord Aberdeen that he hoped the Government would go into this Conference. Whatever else might be the result of the Conference, he believed that the present settlement could not be final; and that the best chance for its being lasting for a certain time—a peace, lasting in such a sense, that when the next stage came, it might come without another dreadful war such as that which we had lately seen—would be in leaving to Turkey only such an amount of territory and importance as should be consistent with its preservation as a territorial Power in Europe, and for the sake mainly of keeping Constantinople open till a worthier successor might be found. He believed the best settlement would be that what was to remain of European Turkey should be placed under the protection of the European Powers, with such guarantees for good government as could be obtained. He hoped the time might come when that fertile country would be inhabited by a free and Christian population. The House might, perhaps, recollect the lines of one of their greatest poets—

“The City won for Allah from the Giaour

The Giaour from Othman's race again may wrest;

And the Serai's impenetrable tower

Receive the fiery Frank, her former guest. . .

But ne'er will Freedom seek this fated soil,

But slave succeed to slave through years of endless toil.”

He trusted that this gloomy prediction would not be fulfilled; but that, at no distant time, that splendid territory would be occupied and governed by a free and prosperous people.

MR. RICHARD: Sir, I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
“That the Debate be now adjourned.”  
—(Mr. Richard.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I do not rise at this moment for the purpose of making any lengthened speech, but for this purpose—I wish to ask the House whether they

would not consent now, after five nights' debate, to let us take one stage in Supply in regard to this Vote? The questions which have been raised are so large and so interesting that debate upon them might run to almost any extent. Undoubtedly many questions have been raised during the debate on which I might like to speak at some little length, and on which I have no doubt other hon. Members would like to speak also. But I cannot help feeling that time is precious, and I also feel the responsibility on the part of Her Majesty's Government, which makes me now repeat the suggestion made earlier in the evening—that there are other stages in the course of the proceedings on the Vote in which there will be an opportunity for further remarks which any hon. Member may wish to make. I would, therefore, most earnestly press upon the attention of the House that we should now be allowed to take the first stage of the Vote; that you, Sir, should leave the Chair, and that we should take a Vote in Supply. In the other stages of the Vote there will be ample opportunity for discussion. I venture to say that this is a matter of considerable importance. I think that anyone who listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Pembroke (Mr. E. J. Reed) must have been struck by the good sense of that speech. It really put matters in a clear light before us. The hon. Member wishes the general policy of the country to be discussed, and I think it ought to be discussed. But I think the House sees that it will not do to be continually putting off the decision of this question. The merits of the proposal have been explained, and have been fully discussed. No doubt there are points which may require further discussion in detail in Committee; but I think there can be no doubt that the matter has been brought to such a point that it is fair and reasonable that we should vote upon it. I can assure the House that the Government deem it a matter of such serious importance that there shall be no further delay than can be helped in obtaining the Vote. I must take exception to one of the remarks of the hon. Member for Berkahire (Mr. Walter) in describing the circumstances under which we met, and I think he quotes from memory rather inaccurately from Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech from the Throne. According to the hon. Member's view of



the circumstances under which we were called together, the Speech from the Throne announced that Parliament would only be appealed to in case of some unexpected occurrence. Now, that was not the language of the Speech from the Throne. The Speech from the Throne was to this effect—that should hostilities unfortunately be prolonged, some unexpected circumstance might render it necessary for Her Majesty to take steps for the protection of British interests, and that such steps could not be effectually taken without adequate preparation. That is precisely the position in which we now stand. As my hon. Friend fully explained the other day, the measures that we are prepared to take, and that we must take, must occupy some time. We take it that much time has elapsed since we made our proposal, and that no further time ought to be wasted; and, therefore, we earnestly trust that the House will proceed to decide upon this Vote. There is one matter of a personal kind which has been mentioned more than once this evening, on which it is necessary for me to say a word. In the beginning of the evening the hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) put a Question to me with regard to a correspondence in *The Daily News* to-day, and subsequently, the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) made some lengthened and severe remarks upon it; and I believe other Members referred to that correspondence. I stated I had seen there was such a correspondence, but had barely noticed it, as I had been very much engaged during the day; but after I had my attention more particularly called to it, I thought it right immediately to send word to Lord Beaconsfield, to whom the matter applied, to ask him whether there was anything he desired to state to the House on the subject? I have received this note in reply—

“My dear Chancellor of the Exchequer—I have only to say that the statement is an infamous fabrication.”

In saying that, Sir, of course, the noble Lord speaks for himself only. I feel not the slightest doubt, with regard to Mr. Layard also, that the statement is altogether untrue; but, of course, Mr. Layard is not here to speak for himself; and I do feel, with reference to the remarks in consequence of that paragraph and also with reference to other remarks

that have been made in the course of this evening, it is our duty, on behalf of a public servant placed in a difficult position, to protest against such attacks upon his character. The position of England towards Turkey has been one of considerable difficulty—it has been one which has often led to misrepresentations. But all the difficulty of the situation and all the exposure and misrepresentations may be said to have been concentrated upon the head of our Ambassador at Constantinople; and I think we ought not to be too ready at the first blush to catch up any stories that may be going to his prejudice. We should remember he is one who has served Her Majesty for a great number of years, that he is a man who has done his duty, and who commands the confidence of the Sovereign. Full and fair play in all cases ought to be given to Mr. Layard with reference to any matter of this sort. There is one other matter to which I must allude with reference to a subject on which we were speaking in the beginning of the evening. I was asked whether it was true that Lord Derby had stated in the other House that communications had been received from some of the Great Powers of Europe which did not confirm the statements that had been received from Mr. Layard? I find it is true that from several of the Powers communications have been received saying that they have no news confirming the statements of Mr. Layard; but, in each case, they state that their latest despatch from Constantinople was one or two, and, in one case, I believe, three days earlier than that from Mr. Layard. Therefore, they have no communication of so recent a date; and when we consider that we have these delays in direct telegraphing between Constantinople and the rest of Europe, it will account for what I have stated. Now, having stated so much, I would again repeat my earnest entreaty that the House would allow us to go into Committee and to take this Vote to-night.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Mr. Speaker, I do not rise for the purpose of following the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer into all the topics upon which he has touched, except to say that I am scarcely prepared to acknowledge that he has quite made out his case, that the grounds

upon which he now asks the House to go into Committee on this Vote are the same as those which were stated in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech. If that is the case, it is rather a remarkable circumstance that the right hon. Gentleman, in the speech in which he proposed this Vote, should have dwelt so much upon a subject which was not mentioned in the Speech from the Throne—namely, the influence which such a Vote would give to the voice of England in the Councils of Europe. However, there will, no doubt, be other opportunities for discussing the proposal. With reference to the suggestion which has been made, that the Government should be allowed to proceed one stage in this matter, I am sure there would be a general feeling of inclination on this side of the House to comply with what appears to be a reasonable request. But, unfortunately, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer finds it necessary to ask that we should practically take two steps—that the Speaker should leave the Chair, and that we should take the Vote. I can quite understand the reason of that demand; because, according to our rules of procedure, if the Motion for adjournment is negatived, this debate may still be renewed on the next occasion when the Motion is made that the Speaker leave the Chair. No doubt that would be very inconvenient; and I quite agree with the Chancellor of the Exchequer that it would be most desirable we should make one step in advance in these proceedings. The discussion to-night has been virtually a continuation of the debate upon the Amendment of my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster); and, although that Amendment has been withdrawn until we have advanced a stage, it is impossible that it should be otherwise. Hon. Gentlemen who had not the opportunity of making speeches while the Amendment was before the House, naturally desire to take advantage of the opportunity now offered them. In that way the original debate has been virtually continued, though without the vigour and point which must have marked it had the Amendment been still before us. I hope that the Motion for adjournment will not be persisted in; and I think I may with some confidence appeal to hon. Gentlemen that

they will to-morrow, when the Motion is made that the Speaker leave the Chair, allow that Motion to be agreed to without further discussion, so that the proposals of the Government may be debated in Committee, which is virtually the next stage in these proceedings. I think, however, that it would be hardly possible for the House, without abdicating one of its most essential and important functions, to consent to pass the Vote in Committee to-night without more discussion. Indeed, to do so, would scarcely be fair to hon. Members who are at this moment absent, and who could not be aware that that course would be proposed by the Government. I hope it may be possible, without further obstacles being put in the way of the Speaker leaving the Chair, to have full discussion in Committee on the proposals of the Government. The House is aware that I myself have not troubled it with many observations since the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer was made. Perhaps the House would hardly think it respectful that I should refrain from stating my views with reference to the propositions which have been submitted to us before the conclusion of the discussion; but I have felt very strongly, indeed, since the withdrawal of the Amendment, that the present would not be a convenient opportunity for me to do so. If hon. Members will consider the position between this and to-morrow, I hope they will come to the same conclusion as that at which I have arrived—that a continuation of the debate on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair could not be productive of much advantage. But I also hope that the Government will not consider it necessary to urge and press upon the House to take the Vote in Committee to-night. Such a proposal would hardly, I think, obtain the consent of this side of the House.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he desired shortly to state the decision which a few hon. Members below the Gangway had come to. He spoke for himself and a few more when he said that, in his opinion, the position had not materially changed since the day when his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) moved his Amendment; and he did not see why, if the circumstances warranted him in moving it on that day week, those

who were then supporting him should take a different course now, and allow the Speaker to leave the Chair. They had had two different stories told them that night; but, speaking for himself, he would say that even if that which was considered to be the worst and most alarming telegram should turn out to be true, it would make no difference to his position as to this Vote. He was not one of those who was in the least afraid of seeing the Russians at Constantinople, and he said boldly he would rather see the Russians there than the Turks. Before he sat down, he thought he ought to say one word about the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne (Mr. J. Cowen). No man had a higher respect for the independence and spirit of his hon. Friend than he had, but he certainly thought he stepped a little beyond the bounds of fair Parliamentary warfare when he said that he, as an Englishman, should support this Vote. Were they to be talked to in that way? This was a question of whether they should vote certain Supplies to the Government, lay certain burdens on the people, and simply because of an intellectual difference—for that was all it was—with hon. Members opposite, were they to be told they were not acting as Englishmen? They were all Englishmen, and patriots too. He did not want this Vote to be misunderstood, and he would affirm distinctly that he should give a patriotic vote, because he considered peace to be the greatest interest of this country. They could not persuade him that this Vote was anything else but a war Vote. He felt as sure of that as that he was standing there. The Government said they did not mean war, and yet they asked for the Vote in order to provide materials, stores, &c. He was not such a Jesuit as to be able to draw the fine distinction between preparation for war and war itself. Preparation for war meant war. The Vote was a war Vote, and therefore a senseless Vote. Who were they going to war with? They were not going to war along with Turkey, for Turkey was virtually wiped out. They were certainly not going to war in company with Russia—hon. Gentlemen opposite would never allow that—they must then be going to war against Russia and Turkey united. There was no other natural construction to put

upon the Vote. He maintained that it was his duty as a patriot and an Englishman to take the first opportunity that arose of voting against the principle which was embodied in this demand for money, and that occasion was when the Speaker put the Question that he leave the Chair. When that Question was put, he should consider it his duty to go into the Lobby against it.

MR. C. WILSON said, the Government were proposing by this Vote to take one step further in the direction of that war into which, judging from the temper of the House, not only on the opposite side but also on this, they were likely very shortly to be landed. He merely wished to raise his voice against the course which Her Majesty's Government were pursuing, and to say that the constituency which he represented had recently in a public meeting, which was not of a political character, passed a resolution against the Vote of Credit, and against any course which might have a tendency to drive the country into war. He sincerely trusted that the hon. Member for Carlisle would persist in his opposition to the adjournment of the debate, and he would cordially support him.

MR. HOPWOOD said, he had had the honour and the pleasure of listening to many of his Friends on the other side of the House, and they had only been asked to afford him their courtesy for a very few minutes in the early part of the evening, when he rose to express a doubt as to the truth of the information which had been conveyed to the House. He did not mean to make any personal charge against Mr. Layard. He merely wished to say this—that the information had been sent him either through credulity, or carelessness, or some other cause; but he had no intention whatever of impugning Mr. Layard's personal honour. He thought the communication made to the House contained statements upon which they could not implicitly rely, and he had urged that within the last week or two there had been a perpetual cuckoo-cry of Russia advancing. He, therefore, expressed a hope that they would not be led away by the information given to them. He had now one word to say in reference to the adjournment of the debate. The actual position of things was this—they came to a conclusion a night or two ago that this

*Sir Wilfrid Lawson*

debate should go on until Saturday morning—that was agreed to on all hands—and nothing whatever had occurred since, that in the least degree justified a departure from that understanding. Having discussed the adjournment this evening, they came to the conclusion that the Vote was not to be taken to-night, and two-thirds of the House were under the belief that a division would not be taken. Now, the Leader of the House rose in his place and suggested that it should. One or two hon. Members, to his own knowledge, had gone away under the impression that there would be no division that evening, and it was contrary to Parliamentary usage to break through an understanding which had been come to with the House. He, therefore, submitted that the Motion for adjournment should be pressed.

MR. TREVELYAN earnestly trusted that no hon. Member on his side of the House would support the adjournment. The question had now been sufficiently discussed in its present state. Hon. Members on the Opposition side had supposed that this Vote was not a Vote which ought to be passed, and they believed they ought to have an opportunity of making a firm and decided protest against it. But if the great majority of the House wished Supplies to be granted to the Government at a great crisis, there were many hon. Gentlemen on the Opposition side who did not wish to place themselves in the position of appearing to give factious opposition. Still, he hoped when the Motion was put that the Speaker leave the Chair, a decided and determined protest would be made against the Vote.

MR. MUNDELLA said, it would be impossible to proceed with the Business in such a grave and solemn crisis if hon. Gentlemen opposite comported themselves so little like gentlemen. ["Oh, oh!"] It had been suggested that he should withdraw that expression, which he did, and he would say in a manner so unbecoming the dignity of Parliament. He had simply risen to make an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman opposite (the Chancellor of the Exchequer). He thought the Motion for the adjournment should be withdrawn, and that, if the Vote was taken, it should be taken on the Question directly whether the Speaker

leave the Chair. But, of course, that would be an understanding with the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Vote should not be proceeded with to-night. ["No, no!"] He had understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he would not proceed with the Vote to-night, and he therefore wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether that was the understanding if the Motion for adjournment was withdrawn?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought the noble Lord opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) had exactly appreciated the situation. The point which had been pressed upon the House by Her Majesty's Government was that the House should allow one stage to be taken at least, and he had made certain proposals which the noble Lord thought implied two stages. But he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) had replied that if they did not take the stage indicated, the Government might find itself to-morrow just in the position where it was to-day, on the Motion that the Speaker leave the Chair. He did not wish at all, though he was anxious to get on with the Business, to take any unfair advantage of the House, and he should especially be very sorry to lose the observations which the noble Lord had promised to make to-morrow night. As suggested by the noble Lord, this would be a reasonable course to adopt—namely, to come to a general understanding, that if they had a division upon the Question, "That the Speaker do now leave the Chair," they should, immediately after going into Committee of Supply, agree to report Progress, without taking a Vote of money to-night. In that case there would be no opposition to-morrow on the Speaker leaving the Chair, and discussion could be taken in Committee. That was an understanding which he thought would meet with the approval of the House.

MR. RICHARD, upon that understanding, intimated his willingness to withdraw his Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair," put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 295; Noes 96: Majority 199.

[*Fifth Night.*]

## AYES.

|                           |                           |                          |                           |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|
| Adderley, rt. hon. Sir C. | Cunninghame, Sir W.       | Holt, J. M.              | Plunket, hon. D. R.       |
| Agnew, R. V.              | Cust, H. C.               | Home, Captain            | Plunkett, hon. R.         |
| Alexander, Colonel        | Dalrymple, C.             | Hood, Capt. hn. A. W.    | Powell, W.                |
| Allsopp, C.               | Davenport, W. B.          | A. N.                    | Praed, C. T.              |
| Anstruther, Sir W.        | Deedes, W.                | Hope, A. J. B. B.        | Praed, H. B.              |
| Archdale, W. H.           | Denison, C. B.            | Issac, S.                | Price, Captain            |
| Arkwright, A. P.          | Denison, W. B.            | Jenkinson, Sir G. S.     | Puleston, J. H.           |
| Arkwright, F.             | Denison, W. E.            | Jervis, Colonel          | Raikes, H. C.             |
| Assheton, R.              | Dickson, Major A. G.      | Johnson, J. G.           | Read, C. S.               |
| Astley, Sir J. D.         | Digby, Col. hon. E.       | Johnston, W.             | Rendlesham, Lord          |
| Bagge, Sir W.             | Douglas, Sir G.           | Johnstone, Sir F.        | Repton, G. W.             |
| Bailey, Sir J. R.         | Duff, J.                  | Jolliffe, hon. S.        | Ridley, M. W.             |
| Balfour, A. J.            | Dyott, Colonel R.         | Kavanagh, A. MacM.       | Ripley, H. W.             |
| Barne, F. St. J. N.       | Eaton, H. W.              | Kennard, Colonel         | Ritchie, C. T.            |
| Barrington, Viscount      | Edmonstone, Admiral       | Kennaway, Sir J. H.      | Rodwell, B. B. H.         |
| Barttelot, Sir W. B.      | Sir W.                    | King-Harman, E. R.       | Rothschild, Sir N. M. de  |
| Bates, E.                 | Egerton, hon. A. F.       | Knight, F. W.            | Round, J.                 |
| Bateston, Sir T.          | Egerton, Sir P. G.        | Knightley, Sir R.        | Russell, Sir C.           |
| Bathurst, A. A.           | Egerton, hon. W.          | Knowles, T.              | Ryder, G. R.              |
| Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.  | Elliot, G. W.             | Lawrence, Sir T.         | Sackville, S. G. S.       |
| Beach, W. W. B.           | Elphinstone, Sir J. D. H. | Learmonth, A.            | Salt, T.                  |
| Beaumont, W. B.           | Emlyn, Viscount           | Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.   | Samuda, J. D'A.           |
| Bective, Earl of          | Eslington, Lord           | Lee, Major V.            | Sanderson, T. K.          |
| Benett-Stanford, V. F.    | Estcourt, G. S.           | Legard, Sir C.           | Sandford, G. M. W.        |
| Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.   | Fellowes, E.              | Legh, W. J.              | Sandon, Viscount          |
| Bentinck, G. W. P.        | Finch, G. H.              | Leighton, Sir B.         | Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G. |
| Beresford, Lord C.        | Freemantle, hon. T. F.    | Leighton, S.             | Scott, M. D.              |
| Beresford, G. de la Poer  | Frashfield, C. K.         | Leslie, Sir J.           | Selwin-Ibbetson, Sir      |
| Beresford, Colonel M.     | Gallwey, Sir W. P.        | Lewis, C. E.             | H. J.                     |
| Birley, H.                | Galway, Viscount          | Lindsay, Col. R. L.      | Severne, J. E.            |
| Blackburne, Col. J. I.    | Gardner, J. T. Agg-       | Lindsay, Lord            | Shute, General            |
| Boord, T. W.              | Garnier, J. C.            | Lloyd, S.                | Sidebottom, T. H.         |
| Bourke, hon. R.           | Gibson, rt. hon. E.       | Lloyd, T. E.             | Simonds, W. B.            |
| Bourne, Colonel           | Giffard, Sir H. S.        | Lopes, Sir M.            | Smith, A.                 |
| Bousfield, Colonel        | Gilpin, Sir R. T.         | Lowther, hon. W.         | Smith, F. C.              |
| Bowen, J. B.              | Goddard, A. L.            | Lowther, J.              | Smith, S. G.              |
| Bowyer, Sir G.            | Goldney, G.               | Macartney, J. W. E.      | Smith, rt. hon. W. H.     |
| Bright, R.                | Gordon, Sir A.            | M'Garal-Hogg, Sir J.     | Somers, Lord H. R. C.     |
| Brise, Colonel R.         | Gordon, W.                | Majendie, L. A.          | Stafford, Marquess of     |
| Broadley, W. H. H.        | Gorst, J. E.              | Makins, Colonel          | Stanhope, hon. E.         |
| Brooks, W. C.             | Goulding, W.              | Mandeville, Viscount     | Stanhope, W. T. W. S.     |
| Browne, G. E.             | Grantham, W.              | Manners, rt. hn. Lord J. | Stanley, hon. F.          |
| Bruce, hon. T.            | Greenall, Sir G.          | March, Earl of           | Starkey, L. R.            |
| Bruen, H.                 | Greene, E.                | Marten, A. G.            | Starkie, J. P. C.         |
| Brymer, W. E.             | Gregory, G. B.            | Mellor, T. W.            | Steere, L.                |
| Bulwer, J. B.             | Grey, Earl de             | Merewether, C. G.        | Stewart, M. J.            |
| Burghley, Lord            | Hall, A. W.               | Mills, A.                | Storer, G.                |
| Burrell, Sir W. W.        | Halsey, T. F.             | Mills, Sir C. H.         | Sykes, C.                 |
| Buxton, Sir R. J.         | Hamilton, Lord C. J.      | Monckton, F.             | Talbot, J. G.             |
| Cameron, D.               | Hamilton, Lord G.         | Montagu, rt. hn. Lord R. | Taylor, rt. hon. Col.     |
| Campbell, C.              | Hamilton, Marquess of     | Montgomery, R.           | Tennant, R.               |
| Cartwright, F.            | Hamilton, honi. R. B.     | Montgomery, Sir G. G.    | Thornhill, T.             |
| Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.   | Hamond, C. F.             | Moore, S.                | Thynne, Lord H. F.        |
| Chaine, J.                | Hanbury, R. W.            | Moray, H. E. S. H. D.    | Tollemache, hon. W. F.    |
| Chaplin, Colonel E.       | Hardcastle, E.            | Mowbray, rt. hon. J. R.  | Torr, J.                  |
| Chaplin, H.               | Hardy, rt. hon. G.        | Mulholland, J.           | Tremayne, J.              |
| Charley, W. T.            | Hardy, S.                 | Muncaster, Lord          | Trevor, Lord A. E. Hill-  |
| Close, M. C.              | Harvey, Sir R. B.         | Naghten, Lt.-Col.        | Turnor, E.                |
| Cobbold, T. C.            | Hay, rt. hn. Sir J. C. D. | Newdegate, C. N.         | Verner, E. W.             |
| Cochrane, A. D. W. R. B.  | Heath, R.                 | Noel, rt. hon. G. J.     | Wait, W. K.               |
| Cole, Col. hon. H. A.     | Hermon, E.                | Northcote, rt. hon. Sir  | Walker, O. O.             |
| Coopa, O. E.              | Hervey, Lord F.           | S. H.                    | Walker, T. E.             |
| Corbett, J.               | Heygate, W. U.            | O'Leary, W.              | Wallace, Sir R.           |
| Cordes, T.                | Hick, J.                  | O'Neill, hon. E.         | Walsh, hon. A.            |
| Corry, hon. H. W. L.      | Hildyard, T. B. T.        | Onalow, D.               | Walter, J.                |
| Corry, J. P.              | Hill, A. S.               | Paget, R. H.             | Warburton, P. E.          |
| Cotton, W. J. R.          | Hinchbrook, Visct.        | Palk, Sir L.             | Waterhouse, S.            |
| Cowen, J.                 | Holford, J. P. G.         | Parker, Lt.-Col. W.      | Watney, J.                |
| Crichton, Viscount        | Holker, Sir J.            | Pateshall, E.            | Welby-Gregory, Sir W.     |
| Cross, rt. hon. R. A.     | Holland, Sir H. T.        | Pell, A.                 | Wellesley, Colonel        |
| Cubitt, G.                | Holmesdale, Viscount      | Pemberton, E. L.         | Wells, E.                 |
|                           |                           | Pennant, hon. G.         | Wethered, T. O.           |
|                           |                           | Percy, Earl              | Wheelhouse, W. S. J.      |

Whitelaw, A.  
Williams, Sir F. M.  
Wilmot, Sir J. E.  
Wilson, W.  
Wolff, Sir H. D.  
Woodd, B. T.  
Wroughton, P.  
Wynn, C. W. W.

Yarmouth, Earl of  
Yeaman, J.  
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.  
Dyke, Sir W. H.  
Winn, R.

## NOES.

|                         |                        |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| Acland, Sir T. D.       | Hutchinson, J. D.      |
| Anstruther, Sir R.      | Ingram, W. J.          |
| Backhouse, E.           | James, W. H.           |
| Balfour, Sir G.         | Jenkins, D. J.         |
| Barclay, J. W.          | Jenkins, E.            |
| Barran, J.              | Johnstone, Sir H.      |
| Baxter, rt. hn. W. E.   | Leatham, E. A.         |
| Beaumont, Major F.      | Lefevre, G. J. S.      |
| Bell, I. L.             | Leith, J. F.           |
| Blake, T.               | Lloyd, M.              |
| Bright, J. (Manchester) | Lush, Dr.              |
| Brocklehurst, W. C.     | Macdonald, A.          |
| Brogden, A.             | Marling, S. S.         |
| Brown, A. H.            | Middleton, Sir A. E.   |
| Brown, J. C.            | Monk, C. J.            |
| Burt, T.                | Morgan, G. O.          |
| Cameron, C.             | Mundella, A. J.        |
| Campbell, Sir G.        | O'Connor, D. M.        |
| Chamberlain, J.         | O'Connor Don, The      |
| Cholmeley, Sir H.       | Palmer, C. M.          |
| Clarke, J. C.           | Parker, C. S.          |
| Cole, H. T.             | Pease, J. W.           |
| Colman, J. J.           | Pennington, F.         |
| Courtney, L. H.         | Philips, R. N.         |
| Cross, J. K.            | Potter, T. B.          |
| Davies, D.              | Price, W. E.           |
| Davies, R.              | Ramsay, J.             |
| Dickson, T. A.          | Rathbone, W.           |
| Dilke, Sir C. W.        | Richard, H.            |
| Dillwyn, L. L.          | Robertson, H.          |
| Dodds, J.               | Samuelson, B.          |
| Earp, T.                | Samuelson, H.          |
| Fawcett, H.             | Simon, Mr. Serjeant    |
| Fay, C. J.              | Sinclair, Sir J. G. T. |
| Ferguson, R.            | Stevenson, J. C.       |
| Fletcher, I.            | Stewart, J.            |
| Forster, Sir C.         | Tavistock, Marquess of |
| Gladstone, W. H.        | Taylor, P. A.          |
| Gourley, E. T.          | Tracy, hon. F. S. A.   |
| Gower, hon. E. F. L.    | Hanbury.               |
| Grant, A.               | Trevelyan, G. O.       |
| Harrison, C.            | Vivian, H. H.          |
| Harrison, J. F.         | Waterlow, Sir S. H.    |
| Havelock, Sir H.        | Whitwell, J.           |
| Henry, M.               | Wilson, C.             |
| Hibbert, J. T.          | Young, A. W.           |
| Hill, T. R.             |                        |
| Holms, J.               | TELLERS.               |
| Holms, W.               | Lawson, Sir W.         |
| Hopwood, C. H.          | Anderson, G.           |
| Howard, hon. C.         |                        |

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £6,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, in

increasing the Efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey."

Committee report Progress; to sit again To-morrow.

## HYPOTHEC (SCOTLAND) (NO. 3) BILL.

On Motion of Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, Bill to abolish the Law of Hypothec in certain cases in Scotland, ordered to be brought in by Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, Lord DOUGLAS GORDON, Mr. LAING, and Mr. JAMES BARCLAY.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 101.]

## COUNTY COURTS JURISDICTION (NO. 2)

### BILL.

On Motion of Sir EARDLEY WILMOT, Bill further to extend the Jurisdiction of the County Courts, ordered to be brought in by Sir EARDLEY WILMOT and Mr. FORSYTH.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 102.]

## POOR LAW AMENDMENT ACT (1876)

### AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MELLOR, Bill to amend the twenty-third Clause of "The Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876," relating to Friendly and Benefit Societies, ordered to be brought in by Mr. MELLOR, Mr. MEREWETHER, Sir CHARLES FORSTER, Mr. PHIPPS, Mr. COWAN, and Mr. HIBBERT.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 103.]

## DEBTORS ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MARTEN, Bill to amend "The Debtors Act, 1869," and "The Debtors Act (Ireland), 1872," ordered to be brought in by Mr. MARTEN, Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN, and Sir HENRY JACKSON.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 104.]

## ARMY (ROYAL ARTILLERY AND ENGINEER OFFICERS' ARREARS OF PAY).

Ordered, That the Select Committee of last Session on Royal Artillery and Royal Engineer Officers' Arrears of Pay be re-appointed:—That the Committee do consist of Seventeen Members:—Lord ESSLINGTON, Mr. GRANT DUFF, Lord GEORGE HAMILTON, Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, Sir WALTER BARTHELOT, Mr. FAWCETT, Sir JOHN HAY, Mr. MUNTZ, Mr. WILLIAM HOLMS, Mr. CARPENTER GARNIER, Mr. DENZIL ONSLOW, Major O'BEIRNE, Mr. MILLS, Sir GEORGE BALFOUR, Sir HENRY WOLFF, Mr. COURTNEY, and Colonel JERVIS:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.—(Colonel Jervis.)

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 8th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Viscount Canterbury, after the death of his Father.

PUBLIC BILL—*Committee—Report*—Linen and Yarn Halls (Dublin) \* (11).

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE ARMISTICE—DESPATCH OF THE FLEET TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD HAMMOND, on rising to put a Question of which he had given private Notice to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, said, that if their Lordships permitted him to do so, he would wish to say a few words on a subject respecting which there was much misconception. He referred to the waterway of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus. The first Treaty bearing on this point—a Treaty only between Great Britain and Turkey—was the Treaty of the Dardanelles, the date of which was January 5, 1809. Article 11 of that Treaty stated—

“As ships of war have at all times been prohibited from entering the canal of Constantinople—namely, the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Black Sea—and as this ancient regulation of the Ottoman Empire is in future to be observed by every Power in time of peace, the Court of Great Britain promises on its part to conform to this principle.”

The next Treaty bearing on the question was the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi between Russia and Turkey, and dated July 6, 1833. The secret Article of that Treaty was in these terms—

“The Sublime Ottoman Porte, in lieu of the succour which in case of need it is bound to afford, in conformity with the principle of reciprocity of Patent Treaty, shall confine its action in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia to closing the Strait of the Dardanelles—that is to say, to not allowing any foreign vessel of war to enter therein under any pretence whatever.”

That Treaty came to an end in eight years. The next Treaty referring to the matter was the Quintuple Treaty between England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia on the one part, and Turkey on the other, and dated July 15, 1840. Article 4 of that Treaty, after providing for the

provisional protection of the Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles by the four Powers against any attack of Mehemet Ali, such measure being considered as exceptional and as adopted, at the request of the Sultan, solely for the purpose specified, thus proceeded—

“That, saving that exception, the Sultan declares his firm resolution to maintain for the future the principle inviolably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and, as long as the Porte is at peace, not to admit any foreign vessel of war within the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles.”

[At that time there was considerable discussion with France as to affairs in that part of the world. France was not a party to that Treaty. In fact, she was almost assumed to be hostile to the Allied Powers in respect to it. The Article went on to say]—

“On the other hand, the other contracting Powers engage to respect this determination of the Sultan's, and to conform themselves to the principles above set forth.”

An arrangement was effected by which the accession of France was secured, and on the 13th of July, 1841, there was a Treaty between the five Powers and the Porte, Article 1 of which stated—

“His Highness the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and in virtue of which it has at all times been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, and that so long as the Porte is at peace, His Highness will admit no foreign ships of war within the said Straits.”

The five Powers, on the other part, “engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.” So matters went on until the eve of the breaking out of the Crimean War; but on October 4, 1853, Lord Stratford, in concurrence with the French Ambassador, and in consequence of the state of excitement at Constantinople, which gave serious reason to apprehend an outbreak, of which the Rayahs or Europeans would be the first victims, and which would even menace the Sultan's Throne, the Ministers of the Porte sharing the alarm, summoned, as did also the French Ambassador, two ships of war to Constantinople. In approving this course, Lord Clarendon said, September 23, 1853—

"Under ordinary circumstances, and as long as the Sultan does not declare war against Russia nor demand the presence of the British Fleet, we must scrupulously observe the Treaty of 1841, and your Excellency's original instruction in this respect remains in full force. But when it appears that the lives and properties of British subjects are exposed to serious danger and that the Turkish Government declares itself unable to avert that danger, it is clear that the Treaty has no longer a binding force upon us, and that urgent necessity supersedes its provisions. Your Excellency is therefore instructed to send for the British Fleet to Constantinople, and, in conjunction with the Admiral, to dispose of it in the manner you deem most expedient for protecting British interests and the personal safety of the Sultan; and Her Majesty's Government have no doubt that the Turkish Government will without hesitation furnish the necessary firmans for that object."

Baron Brunnow, in a note dated September 13, 1853, said—

"That if it was true, as he learned, that the Sultan has summoned within the Straits foreign ships of war while peace continued to exist and had not been declared by any public, patent, formal act to be broken, he would assert that the Sultan had failed in an engagement imposed on him by a Treaty which he (Baron Brunnow) had signed, and that to his great regret he was bound at the same time to declare that the British Government, by complying with the invitation of the Sultan, contrary to that engagement, without previous deliberation with the other contracting parties had not acted in conformity with the principle which the Treaty of July 13 imposed on the Powers the obligation to respect."

To this Lord Clarendon replied on the 1st of October, 1853—

"That from the day on which the Principalities were occupied the Treaty, in accordance with its own provisions, has been suspended, and it rested with the Sultan and with Her Majesty's Government to determine at what time and for what purposes the British Squadron should enter the Dardanelles."

"The Porte has ceased to be at peace from the moment when the first Russian soldier entered the Danubian Principalities, and from that moment the Sultan had a right to invite the British Squadron into the Straits, and Her Majesty's Government had a right to send the British Squadron into, and, if necessary, through the Straits."

"Her Majesty's Ambassador had called up a portion of that Squadron not to favour an object on the part of the Divan of opposing fresh obstacles to the work of conciliation, but exclusively from apprehensions of local dangers to British life and property."

The Treaty of March 30, 1856, respecting the Dardanelles was identical in its provisions with that of 1841. Prince Gortchakoff, in his Note of October 31, 1870, denouncing the neutralization

clauses of the General Treaty of 1856, said that—"the so-called Straits Treaty closed the Straits only in time of peace to men-of-war." The Treaty of March 13, 1871, Article 2, said—

"The principle of the closing of the Straits of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus, such as it has been established by the separate Convention of March 30, 1856, is maintained, with power to His Majesty the Sultan to open the said Straits in time of peace to the vessels of war of friendly and allied Powers, in case the Sultan should judge it necessary in order to secure the execution of the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, March 30, 1856."

It was clear that the closing of the Straits to ships of war of foreign Powers was only applicable to a state of things when the Sultan was at peace. He was not so now, and therefore we were free to go up with or without the consent of the Sultan, and specifically for the protection of British subjects and property; and therefore he now asked his noble Friend (the Earl of Derby) this Question, Whether any adequate provision had been made, or would be made, for the protection of the lives and property of British subjects at Constantinople, in the event of any popular outbreak by which they might be endangered?

EARL GRANVILLE: After the noble Earl has answered the Question of the noble Lord, perhaps he will allow me to ask—although it is a little irregular—if he will be good enough to state whether he has received any further information either from our Ambassador at Constantinople or our Ambassador at St. Petersburg, in addition to that which he gave to the House yesterday?

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, my noble Friend who spoke first has only anticipated, by his Question, a statement which I was about to make to your Lordships, and that statement will include also an answer to the subsequent inquiry of the noble Earl (Earl Granville). I am not in a position to throw much light on the situation which was explained to your Lordships yesterday. But I have obtained from Mr. Layard the terms of the Armistice. They are, or will be, in a few minutes, laid on the Table, and will be in your Lordships' hands to-morrow. One condition of that Armistice is that the Turkish Forces are to evacuate the fortifications mentioned in it within seven days. It is not entirely clear to me, from the language used, what fortifications are included;



but Mr. Layard ends his telegram by a statement to the effect that the "Turks have commenced the withdrawal of guns from Constantinople lines." It would seem, therefore, as I suggested yesterday might be the case, that the advance of the Russians has been not in contravention, but in pursuance of the conditions which were agreed on, and it also appears that the statement made by me on Mr. Layard's authority was correct—namely, that one of the conditions of the Armistice was, the abandonment, by Turkey, of the lines which protect her capital. My Lords, there is no evidence that I know of that the Russians intend to enter the city itself, though they have given no assurance beyond those which are before your Lordships' House, and which are entirely conditional, that they would not do so; but it is obvious that as matters stand they can do so whenever they please, and that Constantinople is absolutely undefended. Well, my Lords, we have to consider, in that state of things, what are the probable, or the possible, results, and what steps it may be our duty to take. We have various communications—some very recent—and one to-day from Mr. Layard, in which he states in strong terms the danger that will exist of disorder and anarchy in the event of a Russian advance to the city. There can be no doubt that the public excitement in Constantinople is great, and that it is not likely to diminish. I am afraid I must also add that, in consequence of the policy of neutrality pursued by us during the war, it could not be expected that the same friendly feeling should exist towards us as was formerly entertained there, and that our influence there is not what it was in former years. On the one hand, any disorder in the city would be in itself a reason for Russian occupation; on the other hand, the fear of such occupation tends to produce disorder. We have many British subjects there, many vessels under the British flag, and many interests of various kinds to defend; and, after full consideration, we have thought it right that a detachment of the Fleet—not the Fleet itself—should go up to afford protection in case of need—first to our own subjects, and next, if it be required, to others who may be in danger from an excited population. My Lords, we have been anxious in taking this step to avoid all appearance of me-

nace or hostile demonstration; and we have, therefore, this day communicated to the neutral Powers our intention of taking it, and invited them to join by a similar proceeding on their part. Telegrams in this sense have been sent to Paris, to Rome, to Vienna, and to Berlin. We have also instructed our Ambassador at St. Petersburg to explain the object in view of which we have acted. I am not at present in a position to state what course has been taken by the other Powers; but I know that at least one foreign Government has, within the last 48 hours, applied to the Porte for a firman, empowering it to enter Turkish waters. My Lords, we are aware that there is a certain responsibility involved in taking this step; but we cannot forget that there is also a responsibility which attaches to the opposite course—the responsibility of leaving undefended those whom we are bound to protect and whom it is in our power to protect without difficulty or risk. My Lords, so long as the Armistice was unassigned, so long as military operations continued, it was at least open to argument—and to me the argument seemed conclusive—that to send any naval force to Constantinople was an unwise and dangerous policy. It might be regarded by the Turks as an encouragement to continue a resistance which had become hopeless; it might be taken by Russia as an act of hostility, or, at least, of defiance; and it might be considered by the people in this country as a first step towards a war which all but a very small section would deprecate. My Lords, I do not think these objections apply now. There is no Turkish resistance to encourage; there are no military operations in which we should even seem to be taking part. The great issues of the war are to be referred to European decision. The crisis is not over; far from it; and it is possible that the circumstances may be more difficult and more grave than they are at present; but matters have passed into a new phase. If this step had been taken unexplained, or when Parliament was not sitting, and prompt explanation was impossible, it might have led, no doubt, to misconception and alarm. But, with the explanation I have given, I think your Lordships will be satisfied that we do not propose to depart, in any respect, from our long-avowed and

steadily maintained policy. In fact, if we had intended war, it would have been, not merely impolicy, but madness, to wait until the forces of Turkey were crushed in order to enter upon it. My Lords, we have lost not a day—hardly an hour—in explaining our course to Parliament, and thereby to the country, and to Europe; and we believe it will not be misunderstood.

EARL GRANVILLE: May I ask the noble Earl whether Her Majesty's Government have received permission from the Porte for the entrance of the detachment of the Fleet; and, if not, whether they have issued any instructions to the Admiral, in the event of such permission being refused? My Lords, in reference to what has fallen from the noble Earl, I will say but a word or two. There is no doubt that the step which Her Majesty's Government have taken is a grave one. Of that, I repeat, there can be no doubt. But, speaking on the impulse of the moment, I wish to express my satisfaction that, as it has been taken, measures have been adopted to guard it by giving to it as much as possible a European character; that the object of it has been clearly defined in a friendly communication to Russia; and that the noble Earl has explained to this House, and therefore to the country, an act of so much gravity in so perfect a tone and manner.

EARL DE LA WARR: Will my noble Friend state what is the duration of the Armistice?

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: Will my noble Friend state the terms of the Armistice? I understand they have been communicated to the other House.

THE EARL OF DERBY: I regret I have not with me the Paper containing the summary of the terms of the Armistice, but it will be in your Lordships' hands to-morrow morning. In reply to the Question of my noble Friend behind me (Earl De la Warr), the duration of the Armistice is indefinite; but if I am right in my construction of its terms, it may be determined at the expiration of three days. But that is probably nothing more than a formal notice. With regard to the very important Question of my noble Friend opposite (Earl Granville), it will be in the recollection of your Lordships that some time ago we applied for and obtained a firman from the Sultan for the passing of our Fleet through the

Dardanelles. That firman, in consequence of circumstances which have been stated to your Lordships, was not acted upon; but the Porte conveyed a request to us that in any future case sufficient notice might be given, to prevent the possibility of any misunderstanding or confusion in the instructions to be given to the commanders of the forts. We assume that firman to be still in existence, and have given notice of our intention to act upon it; but have not applied for any fresh leave for the passage of the Fleet.

House adjourned at a quarter before  
Six o'clock, to Monday next,  
Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 8th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee  
—£6,000,000, Supplementary Estimate.

## QUESTIONS.

### THE EASTERN QUESTION—BLOCKADE OF THE BLACK SEA.—QUESTION.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the blockade of all Russian harbours in the Black Sea has been raised; if so, if he can state if it is the intention of the Russian Government to remove during the armistice the torpedoes which have been laid at the mouths of the Danube, Odessa, and other blockaded harbours, and allow the export of wheat and other commodities; and, further, if he will endeavour to arrange with the Turkish authorities that British vessels entering the Black Sea during the armistice shall be allowed to trade to and from belligerent ports?

MR. BOURKE: In answer to the first part of the Question, I have to state that we have received the terms of the Armistice from our Ambassador at Constantinople to-day, and according to those terms it appears that one of them is that the blockade of the Black Sea

ports is raised. We have also heard that it is the intention of the Russian Government to remove the torpedoes from the mouths of the Danube. With regard to the navigation of the Danube generally, we have heard that it is the intention of the Russian Government to superintend for the present the navigation of the Danube. With regard to Odessa and the other ports, as the blockade is raised, we suppose there will be no difficulty for British ships going in and out of the blockaded harbours, and I think that Answer will answer the Question with regard to the export of wheat and other commodities. My Answer to the last part of the Question is that, as the blockade has been raised, there will be no difficulty for British ships trading with the belligerent ports; but upon all these subjects I have mentioned, Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg has been instructed by telegraph to communicate any information which he may have from time to time upon the subject to the Government.

#### INDIA—MADRAS—COMMISSION ON THE SALT DUTY.—QUESTION.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If there is any objection to place upon the Table a Copy of the Report of the Commission on the Salt Duty of the Madras Presidency, together with the Correspondence which led to the appointment of that Commission?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in reply, said, there would be no objection to lay the Report on the Table.

#### MERCHANT SHIPPING ACTS, 1854 AND 1876—THE "CALENICK."—QUESTION.

SIR COLMAN RASHLEIGH asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he could state under what Clause or regulation in the Merchant Shipping Acts, 1854 and 1876, or by what authority, did the Board of Trade (without giving notice of survey to the owners) sent their principal shipwright surveyor to Hamburg, and did there cut up and injure the British sailing vessel "*Calenick*," of the port of Fowey, Cornwall; and if such survey was not unlawful, and contrary to the Laws of this Realm, the said vessel being in foreign waters?

*Mr. Bourke*

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY: Sir, the *Calenick* was abandoned at sea and brought by salvors safely into the port of Hamburg. The Board of Trade thereupon instituted an inquiry as to the abandonment, and the Wreck Commissioner adjourned the inquiry in order that the owner might employ counsel, and that a survey of the ship might be completed, which, with the knowledge and without any objection on the part of the owner, the Board instructed their principal shipwright surveyor to undertake. The ship was merely tested in the ordinary manner, not cut up. Section 14 of the first of the two Acts which the hon. Member rightly refers to will make it clear to him that there was nothing done unlawfully.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—RUSSIA AND TURKEY.—QUESTION.

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is now able to inform the House if a Treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, has been concluded by General Ignatiew and Serva Pasha at Adrianople between Russia and Turkey, and, whether he can state the provisions of that Treaty to the House?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, we have no information whatever of any such Treaty having been concluded.

#### THE BALTIC SEA.—QUESTION.

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether communications have been received from the Cabinets of Stockholm and Copenhagen as to designs of Russia and Prussia on the Baltic; and, whether (as stated from foreign sources) Russian troops are being concentrated on the Baltic and Danish troops have been moved to the land portion of Sleswig?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No such communications, Sir, have been received. Her Majesty's Ministers at Stockholm and Copenhagen have reported that there is no foundation for the rumour that Russia has suggested to Sweden and Norway that the Baltic should be made a *mare clausum* against Powers not possessing Baltic seaboard, and no information has been received with regard to the movement of troops to Sleswig.

# DEATH OF POPE PIUS IX.—SITTINGS OF THE CONCLAVE.—QUESTION.

MR. O'CLERY asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If, having regard to the intelligence of the demise of the Pope Pius IX., Her Majesty's Government would issue instructions to the British Ambassador at Rome to use his influence, in conjunction with the French, Austrian, Spanish, and Belgian Ambassadors, to secure the inviolability of the Vatican and the free exercise of the rights of the Sacred College during the Session of the Conclave?

MR. BOURKE: I have to inform the hon. Gentleman Her Majesty's Government have no reason to believe that the inviolability of the Vatican and the free exercise of the rights of the Sacred College during the sitting of the Conclave are in danger. When that danger arises, if it ever does arise, it will be time for Her Majesty's Government to take the subject into consideration.

# SOUTH AFRICAN CONFEDERATION—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK.—QUESTION.

MR. A. MILLS asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any recent intelligence as to the Kaffir insurrection has been received by the Government from the Cape of Good Hope?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Sir, the latest information which we have from the Cape is contained in a telegram, dated January 15, which has been recently received from Sir Bartle Frere. He states as follows:—

"Situation not materially changed since last week. Operations in progress in three directions, under Colonel Lambert and Commandants Frost and Brabant, for suppressing Gaika rebellion in colony. In supporting Lambert's operations, Colonel Glyn, with small force of 24th and 88th, under Major Owen, defeated large body of Gaikas and Galekas, after well-conducted action. We had only four wounded. No material change in news from Natal."

# THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE ARMISTICE—DESPATCH OF THE FLEET TO CONSTANTINOPLE—ENTRY OF THE FLEET.—QUESTIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I wish, Sir, to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he will allow me, Whether it is in his power to give the House any

information which, as I understand, Her Majesty's Government have received as to the conditions of the Armistice, and as to the reported advance of the Russian troops to Constantinople?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Mr. Speaker, the Government have received a telegram to-day from Mr. Layard, containing a summary of the Articles of the Armistice. The Articles are not given at full length, and of course, there must be some important points involved in the details; but the heads of the Articles given are such as I will now read, with the permission of the House. The Papers containing them will be laid on the Table this evening. The Armistice contains 10 Articles, and is between Russia, Roumania, Servia, and Turkey—The 1st Article provides that three days' notice shall be given before resuming hostilities. It also provides that Russia should communicate the Armistice to Montenegro. The 2nd Article provides for the restoration of any guns or territory which may be taken after the signature of the Armistice. The 3rd, which is an important Article, contains the details of demarcation of a neutral zone for Russia, Turkey, and Servia. The details are not given to us, but the House will see as I proceed that the Article is important, and also that some portions of the neutral zone may be gathered from subsequent information. The Article runs thus—"Details of the demarcation, &c., of a neutral zone for Russia, Turkey, and Servia. Most of Bulgaria, Roumelia, and Thrace, as far as the lines of Constantinople, and" (I think) "Gallipoli, to be in Russian hands. No fortifications are to be kept in the neutral territory, or new ones constructed." That seems to mean that any fortifications on neutral territory are to be dismantled and disarmed. "A joint commission is to determine the line of demarcation for Montenegro and Servia, and the Russians are to occupy Bourgas and Midia on the Black Sea for the purpose of obtaining supplies, but not war material. 4. Beyond the lines of demarcation the armies are to withdraw within three days of the signature of the Armistice. 5. The arms, &c., of the Turks evacuating the fortifications are to be sent by routes and to places specified." That is to say, the Turks on evacuating the fortifications mentioned in the 3rd Article are to remove their

arms, &c. to particular spots; if that cannot be done, an inventory is to be taken of those which are not removed in the interval, and the evacuation must be completed within seven days after receipt of orders for the purpose. "6. The Sulina mouth of the Danube is to be evacuated within three days by the Turkish troops and ships of war, unless prevented by ice, and Russia is to undertake the superintendence of the navigation, and to remove obstacles in the Danube. 7. The Turkish authorities are to remain in certain places." Those places, however, are not named. The 8th Article relates to the conditions under which railways are to continue to work; the 9th provides for raising the blockade of the Black Sea; and the 10th has reference to charge being taken by Russia of the Turkish wounded. It is further provided, with respect to the Armistice in Armenia, that it should be settled by the Russian and Turkish commanders there. The Armistice commenced at 7 P.M. on the 31st ultimo. The telegram ends by saying that the Turks have begun to remove their guns from the Constantinople lines. Now it is quite evident from that statement that, whatever may have been the arrangements with regard to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, a neutral zone has been declared which includes the lines of Tchekmedje, which protect Constantinople; and, according to the terms of the Armistice, the Turks are bound not to retain those fortresses, and accordingly are bound to remove—and are quietly beginning to remove—their guns and armaments from the fortifications by lines and to specified places. That is an important advance, and it is clear that the Russians, although they do not actually occupy any portion, strictly speaking, of the Turkish lines, have brought the territories they have occupied close up to them. That, I may add, is entirely consistent with the statement which was made yesterday by Mr. Layard, which was that the Russians had occupied Tchataldja, because that is just outside what are properly called the Turkish lines. The consequence is that, although the Russians do not occupy those lines themselves, they occupy an outpost close to them, while the lines themselves are being thoroughly disarmed. They have the power, therefore, at any moment, subject to the

necessity of giving three days' notice of the termination of the Armistice, of advancing on Constantinople without hindrance. These, then, are important terms, and it appears to me, from a careful comparison of them, that they justify in every particular the statement of Mr. Layard. Of course, when Mr. Layard made that statement he was not aware of the terms of the Armistice, and was in consequence writing in some ignorance; but, according to the statement he then made, the facts are just as he described them—that is to say, that in spite of the protest of the Turkish commander, the Turkish troops were compelled by the Russian General Strogoff to evacuate Silivria, and they accordingly did so last night. That is probable, as Silivria is on the Sea of Marmora, and would be within the portion of territory which the Russians are to occupy. The second telegram which I read to the House yesterday stated that the Russian Government had insisted that they should occupy Tchataldja, and they also insisted on the abandonment by the Turks of the Tchekmedje lines as one of the conditions of the Armistice, which we now see it is—"The Turks have been compelled to retire altogether from them, and leave Constantinople undefended." That is the position; and while, on the one hand, it completely justifies the statement of Mr. Layard, it discloses a state of affairs which must necessarily engage our serious attention. I may, perhaps, venture to call the attention of the House to one of the Papers which were laid upon the Table yesterday. I mean No. 9 of the Papers on the Affairs of Turkey. That contains a Copy of a Memorandum which was communicated to the Russian Ambassador by Her Majesty's Government on the 28th of July last, in which they say they

"look with much anxiety at the state of things in Constantinople, and the prospect of the disorder and bloodshed, and even anarchy, which may occur there as the Russian forces draw near to the capital. The crisis which may at any time arrive in Constantinople may be such as Her Majesty's Government could not overlook while they had the means of mitigating its horrors. Her Majesty's Government are fully determined (unless it should be necessary for the preservation of interests which they have already stated they are bound to maintain) not to depart from the line of neutrality which they have declared their intention to observe; but they do not consider that they would be depart-

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

ing from this neutrality, and they think that Russia will not consider that they are doing so, if they should find themselves compelled to direct their Fleet to proceed to Constantinople, and thus afford protection to the European population against internal disturbance."

The Government, I may add, feel that the state of affairs disclosed by the terms of the Armistice which I have just read has given rise to the danger which they then apprehended, and they have, in the circumstances, thought it right to order a portion of the Fleet to proceed at once to Constantinople for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of British subjects. They have, at the same time, given notice of this order to the other Governments of Europe, and have invited such Governments as may be disposed to do so to join with them in that action. A communication has, of course, been made to the Russian Government also. That is the position of affairs, and, without any menace of any kind, that is a step which we have taken, and which we think we were bound to take. That is the whole of the Answer, Sir, I have to make to the Question of the noble Lord, but I trust the indulgence of the House will allow me to say a word on another matter which arose yesterday. The hon. Member for Swansea (Mr. Dillwyn) put a Question to me last evening which I was at the time unable to answer. Subsequently there was a discussion in the House with regard to a statement which was made in *The Daily News* as to private and unofficial communications supposed to have been made by the Prime Minister, and which were at variance with the public declarations of the Government. I have been requested by Lord Derby to say that the Turkish Ambassador, having seen the statement referred to yesterday, came to him and has authorized him to give the most direct contradiction that any private or non-official encouragement had been given to the Turkish Government by any Member of Her Majesty's Government, or that any language had been used to him privately which differed from that which had been used publicly and officially.

MR. GLADSTONE: The Chancellor of the Exchequer will, perhaps, be kind enough to say whether he is able to give the House any information upon a matter to which he referred yesterday. He stated, I think, that a communication

had been made to the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg, directing him to call the attention of the Russian Government to a portion of the Memorandum of July last, in which, I think, it was stated by the Emperor of Russia that the Russian Army would not occupy Constantinople for the sake of military honour, but only under necessity, if such necessity should arise, for the purposes of war. I should be glad to know if there is any answer to that communication?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir; no answer had been received when I came down to the House, and, I believe, none as yet has been received to the communication to which the right hon. Gentleman alludes.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: May I also ask the right hon. Gentleman a Question. I understand from some words which he used, that the sending the Fleet to Constantinople now is something a little different from sending it there a fortnight ago, and that it now goes to Constantinople, in concurrence with, at all events, an invitation to, the other Powers of Europe, for the purpose of protecting the lives and property of British subjects, and, of course, of anybody else who may be in danger. But there is, I believe, nothing in the Order about keeping open the waterway, or that if there is any obstruction they should resist it—I mean nothing that might be fairly called in any way an act of war. In putting a Question on the subject, I presume I am asking what the Chancellor of the Exchequer will confirm; because I think it very desirable that nothing should be said or done that could possibly be understood to be an act leading immediately and certainly to conflict, on account of the vast interests of this country, which are being played with every day by the rumours of war that are in circulation. Therefore, I ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether he will give the House to understand that the act of sending the Fleet is a different act, and is meant to be a different act, to that of a fortnight ago; and I think his answer may greatly relieve the minds of many thousands of persons who are interested in a peaceful solution of this matter?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, before the Chancellor of the Exchequer answers that Question, perhaps

he will be able to state whether any communication has been made by Her Majesty's Government to the Porte of a different character from that which has been made to the other Powers, and whether the consent of the Porte has been obtained to the despatch of the Fleet?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, with reference to the Question of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright), I must, in the first place, enter my protest against what is implied in that Question—namely, that the sending of the Fleet a fortnight ago to the Dardanelles was an act of war. I entirely dissent from that implication, but it is not necessary here to enter into any controversy on the point. There is no doubt the present movement of the Fleet is of a different character from that which was then contemplated, because the circumstances are different. The telegram we have sent to Admiral Hornby, is as follows:—

“Proceed, if possible, to-morrow afternoon with the *Alexandra*, *Téméraire*, *Swiftsure*, *Achilles*, *Ruby*, and *Salamis* to Constantinople, to protect life and property of British subjects. Mr. Layard is requested to ask the Porte to give necessary orders without delay to the forts, and to procure further firman if he considers it necessary. There is already a firman that gives us the right to proceed thither, and our Ambassador has been told you are ordered to proceed to-morrow afternoon, and desired to communicate with you.”

This, I think, also answers the Question put to me by the noble Lord opposite.

**MR. JOHN BRIGHT:** What is the date of the telegram?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** It is dated to-day—now. It has just gone.

**SIR JOHN KENNAWAY:** May I ask if direct telegraphic communication between this country and Constantinople has been established?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** We do not know.

**SIR CHARLES W. DILKE:** I wish, Sir, to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether from what is said about Gallipoli, he understands that the lines of Gallipoli are also supposed to have been abandoned by the Turkish forces, and whether they are included in the neutral zone? I should also like to ask

whether the remainder of the Fleet remains at Besika Bay?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I cannot give the hon. Gentleman the information he asks with respect to Gallipoli. All we are told is this—that the 3rd Article of the Armistice defines in detail a neutral zone, and that it places almost the whole of Bulgaria, Roumelia, and Thrace, up to the lines of Constantinople and Gallipoli, in Russian hands. We also know by another part of the communication that the Turks are removing their guns from the lines of Constantinople, as being within the neutral zone, and that, therefore, these lines are within the neutral zone. We have no information as to whether there is anything of that kind at Boulair. With regard to the destination of the rest of the Fleet, it remains outside, in Besika Bay.

**LORD ROBERT MONTAGU:** I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can give us any information as to the breadth of the neutral zone? Is it, for instance, 30 miles?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I am unable to answer the Question of the noble Lord. We have no details, and therefore it is merely a matter of surmise.

**LORD JOHN MANNERS:** Sir, in answer to the Question put a few moments ago by the hon. Baronet the Member for East Devon (Sir John Kennaway), I may state that the latest intelligence I have from the Post Office with regard to Constantinople is that, direct communication being interrupted, the only available route between London and Constantinople is by Alexandria, Bombay, and Fao. The message sent to-day by Mr. Layard reached us by this route in 14 hours.

#### SUPPLY—COMMITTEE.

##### THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

Motion made, and Question proposed, “That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair.”

**MR. O'DONNELL** said, that the withdrawal of the Amendment and the division of last night took many hon. Members by surprise. He had never been under the impression that the Government of the Czar was influenced by humanitarian motives, and he had never

believed that the Czar was a member of the Society of Friends. His opinion was that the Russian movement was for the purpose of aggrandizing the Russian Empire and extending Russian influence, and he also believed that the British Empire was intended to be the main victim of the success of that policy. Under those circumstances, he hoped it was needless for him to say that it would be his most earnest desire to co-operate in every manner with a Government representing the united opinions of the nations of Great Britain and Ireland, and that it would be his course to facilitate in every way the placing of sufficient means at the disposal of the Government so representing the people of Ireland as well as of Great Britain. He did not at present know the exact intentions of the Government; but whatever they might be, he felt that the prosecution of a vigorous and decided foreign policy ought to be accompanied by more than military preparations. He held that a vigorous foreign policy could only be prosecuted by Her Majesty's Government when military preparations had been coincident, strengthened, and made useful by accompanying measures being taken to make sure that domestic reform should go hand in hand with foreign defences. He was then confronted with this difficulty—he was compelled to ask himself if the position of the Government was the position of a Government representing the people of Ireland as well as Great Britain? Had the Government done all that lay in its power, and which was incumbent upon it, to provide that in any foreign contingency the declarations of the Government should be supported by the support of the loyal, because contented, Irish nation? He had been unable to satisfy himself that Her Majesty's Government had done all that lay in their power, and was indeed within their duty, to provide that the Irish nation should be under obligations to support them in foreign affairs in return for good government at home. He thought it a most risky step on the part of the Government, and one which deserved very careful consideration, when they found them plunging into foreign measures capable of having the gravest consequences, when, at the same time, that Government which directly called upon the Irish nation for its money—which might call upon the

Irish nation for its blood—had done nothing during its term of office to inspire the Irish nation with feelings which would induce her to give her blood and money readily and willingly. He would ask the Government if that most grave contingency did realize itself, in what terms and by what invocation could the Government call upon the Irish people for their enthusiastic and devoted support? If the Government sent out its recruiting sergeants among the Irish population, was it in these terms that they would call upon the manhood of Ireland to enlist under the banners of the Empire?—"Come, enlist and shed your blood for the Government which has refused, and still refuses even to take into consideration, your demand for the restoration of your legislative independence; come and fight for that Government which refuses to your brothers and you the common right of securing that that which you sow you should also reap; come and fight for that Government which, on the very eve of the declaration of this foreign policy, crushes, by a majority of 200, the strong request of your Representatives to have the right of the poor man in Ireland guaranteed to some extent; come and fight for that Government which has denied, and continues to deny, to the Irish people the rights of free education!" In a word, were they to invite the Irish people to come and defend that Government which, from the first hour of coming into office until now, had set itself resolutely and unfalteringly to refuse every reform, and even to refuse these reforms in tones of contumely and insult? He could not but think that an appeal to the Irish nation in these terms—and he maintained that the Government would find it very difficult to employ any other terms that would bear the test of examination—was not calculated to arouse the Irish nation to that sense of the glories and benefits of partnership in the Anglo-Irish nation which he should desire to see. He therefore thought it necessary to take steps to prevent the importation of burdens upon the Irish people, or the making of calls upon the Irish people, when the Government had done little or nothing to deserve that these mandates should be obeyed with enthusiasm, that those calls should be answered with readiness; or, in a word, that the Irish people



should behave in this matter like the loyal constituents of the Tory Members of that House. It would be his most sincere desire to go heartily with the Government, if only the Government even sought to give equal, fair, and just government to Ireland. Whatever might be the circumstances before the country, and though it were as grave as that which impended upon the Austro-Hungarian Empire a century ago, he had no doubt that the answer of Ireland to the Queen of Ireland would be as enthusiastic as that of the inhabitants of Hungary to the Queen Maria Theresa. He had no doubt that if the Government appealed to the people of Ireland in the name of the Queen of Ireland, Ireland would make as loyal and hearty a response as the people of Hungary did to the Queen of Hungary. He need say no more.

*Motion agreed to.*

*SUPPLY—considered in Committee.*

*(In the Committee.)*

Question again proposed,

"That a sum, not exceeding £6,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred, during the year ending on the 31st of March 1878, in increasing the Efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey."

MR. RICHARD said, he should not feel surprised if hon. Gentlemen opposite should feel some impatience at the resumption of the discussion which had already taken up so much time; but the question was one of supreme importance, and he therefore trusted the Committee would extend their forbearance to him, as he was the more anxious to give expression to his views, because they did not coincide with those of many hon. Members on his own side of the House with respect to the general conduct of the Government on this question. He had never been able to join in that strong and unqualified condemnation pronounced in many quarters on the Eastern policy of Her Majesty's Ministers. No doubt, some mistakes had been committed, and it would be strange indeed if, in conducting negotiations extending over two years and a-half, and dealing with matters of extreme difficulty and delicacy, they had not fallen

into occasional error. There was even one flagrant mistake, which he (Mr. Richard) had always deeply regretted—sending so pronounced a partizan as Mr. Layard to represent them at Constantinople at so critical a period. In saying what he had, he did not wish to say one word impugning the character of that gentleman; he believed him to be quite incapable of sending false and misleading information to this country. But those who remembered the discussions which took place before and after the Crimean War would know that Mr. Layard was most strongly anti-Russian and pro-Turkish, and he (Mr. Richard) must say that since he had taken possession of his post at Constantinople, he had not attempted to disguise the intensity of that partizanship, and it did appear under such circumstances that it was an act of perverseness, amounting to infatuation, to send such a man at such a time to such a place. At the same time he was bound to say that, on the other hand, throughout all the negotiations Lord Derby, loyally and with judgment and skill, had endeavoured to keep England out of that desolating war in the South-east of Europe. The noble Lord was also entitled to the credit of maintaining a calm and measured tone of language, even when most of his Colleagues appeared to have lost their heads. Until lately he had been backed up by some, at least, of those Colleagues; for nothing could have been more re-assuring than the speeches delivered during the Recess by Lord Salisbury and Lord Carnarvon—who had raised himself immeasurably in the esteem of the people of this country—as well as the speeches of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary. He regretted that the same tone had not been followed in that House. There was a feeling abroad, however, that a disturbing element was at work which greatly counteracted the declaration of those Members of the Cabinet, and it would be the merest affectation to pretend not to know that that disturbing element was supposed to be the influence of Lord Beaconsfield. He (Mr. Richard) would not accuse the noble Lord of any wish to plunge the country into war; but he was afraid he could not acquit him of a propensity to use great swelling words calculated to excite the feelings of his countrymen

*Mr. O'Donnell*

and to breed resentment in the hearts of other countries. Still he could not put his finger on any act of the Government prior to the meeting of Parliament that seemed to imply a departure from their policy of neutrality; and if anyone at the opening of the Session had proposed a Motion of Want of Confidence in them, he, for one, would not have voted for it. The Government had stated that they did not desire war; but their statements on that point would have been much more satisfactory if subsequent speeches of Ministers had been less warlike and less calculated to nourish a warlike temper out-of-doors by means of exciting suspicion and jealousy of Russia. If the Government were not for war, as he trusted they were not, was it not rather an odd thing that they should come down to the House and say—"Express your confidence in us as a peace Ministry by granting us £6,000,000 for war purposes?" He judged the Ministry, however, rather by two of their recent acts than by their statements. Those acts were sending the Fleet to the Dardanelles, and then asking for that Vote of £6,000,000. There had never been any consistent intelligible explanation of sending the Fleet to the Dardanelles. The Home Secretary, in his speech, had passed over that point by saying that the Fleet had been sent on account of panic and probable massacre at Constantinople; but if that were the whole significance of the act, was it likely that Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon would have resigned? Indeed, the Prime Minister had been careful to declare, with special emphasis, that the British Fleet had been sent to the Dardanelles not merely for the protection of the lives and property of British subjects, but for the protection of British interests. A question which had been often asked by hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House, but which had not yet been satisfactorily answered—indeed, the Home Secretary, than whom no one could make out a better case for the Government, seemed seriously embarrassed when he had to deal with it—was, what British interests had been threatened so as to require the sending of the Fleet to the Dardanelles? They had been told at the opening of the Session by the Government that neither belligerent had infringed the conditions of neutrality which we had laid down,

and that the Government had moreover a pledge from the Russian Government not to direct military operations against Gallipoli, unless a Turkish force assembled there. Yet, in the teeth of all that, and behind the back of the House of Commons, the Government had despatched the Fleet to the Dardanelles. In his opinion, the country had escaped a great danger by the firmness and courage of Lord Derby and Lord Carnarvon. With regard to the Vote, the Government had been asked in vain for any clear and intelligible justification of the demand. They were met only by the vaguest generalities, and were merely told that the Vote was necessary in order to back up the Government in going into the Conference. Now, it was well known that he had for a long time endeavoured in a humble way to promote the settlement of international disputes by arbitration, and he looked forward to the time when there might be something like an International Court of Appeal; but he should have less hope of the success of arbitration if the adjudicators each went into Court with a loaded pistol in his hand. What good could that money do in the Conference? Could it be thought for a moment that any of the Great Powers would swerve from their purposes by the knowledge that our Chancellor of the Exchequer had this money in his hands? He was not at all sure that the effect might not be quite different to what was assumed, and that the other Powers of Europe might not hesitate to make concessions to our Government lest they should be thought to yield to menace. They had been told that there was no war Party in the Cabinet, or in the country. If that were so, what was the meaning of the vociferous—he had almost said, the ferocious—cheers with which every allusion to the necessity of opposing the alleged designs of Russia were received? The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour) had spoken of a "cowardly horror of war." Now, though he (Mr. Richard) did not think he was likely to come within its range any more than the hon. Member for Hertford, he confessed to an inexpressible horror of war. Lord Salisbury, in a speech during the Recess, disputed the application of the words "brave and generous" to a Government which, without necessity, would plunge a country into war. These were words

becoming a Christian statesman. He could honour and admire a man who sacrificed his own life and fortune for what he deemed a righteous cause; but he had no respect for men who tried, by exciting appeals to their countrymen, to arouse their passions and hurry them into the horrors and sufferings of war, while they themselves were removed far from danger and did not taste a drop of the cup of agony which they were so ready to offer to the lips of others. There was somehow a superstition in this country that if war was going on in any part of the world England was dishonoured if she did not take part in it. That was the case in the Italian War, the American War, the Franco-German War. He condemned a policy of menace; because, if human nature was not different in other people from what it was in ourselves, the only result would be to make them persist the more obstinately in the course upon which they had entered. That policy he declared to have failed by reference to what had occurred in regard to our representations to Russia with respect to the Polish insurrection, to Germany in the war against Denmark, and in the Civil War in America. Thousands of men in this country were not employed; thousands more could not earn a scanty subsistence for themselves and their families; thousands, as in the case of South Wales, would have actually starved but for the generosity of the British public. Was that a time to ask for £6,000,000 of the people's money to be expended in armaments? He believed that no necessity had been made out for the demand, and that, far from helping the Government in the Conference, its tendency would be to exasperate the feelings between this and other countries, and to endanger the interests of peace. For these reasons, he regretted to find himself compelled to vote against the Motion.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Mr. Chairman, I intended to have addressed the Committee immediately upon your taking the Chair; but I was, unfortunately, absent for a few minutes from my place when the Question was put. It is for that reason that I now address the Committee, though I shall not stand long between the hon. Member who has just addressed you (Mr. Richard) and the right hon. Gentleman

the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard). [The right hon. Gentleman had risen at the same time as the noble Lord, but had given way.] I have no intention of commenting—at all events in a hostile spirit—upon the important statement which has just been made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. I think, Sir, that, accompanied as it is by the precautions which have been described to the Committee, the step which has been taken by Her Majesty's Government of sending a portion of the Fleet to Constantinople cannot be regarded in any degree as a menace to any Power, and may be productive of both immediate and future advantage. It is perfectly possible that, as seems to be apprehended by the Government, occurrences may take place in Constantinople that may render the presence of the Fleet necessary for the protection of life and of British interests; and in addition to that, I cannot help recognizing the fact that, whether it be an ill-founded or a well-founded suspicion, there does exist in the minds of the people of this country a very strong jealousy and prejudice upon the subject of Russia and Constantinople, and I cannot but think it will tend rather to calm than irritate public opinion in this country to know that the power of Great Britain, as represented by her Fleet, was at hand, and that her interests, whether it be the intention of anyone to assail those interests or not, are under the protection of the Fleet in that part of the world. Sir, I desire only to say a few words upon the Vote which is now before us, and, in doing so, I cannot conceal from myself—I do not think it will be contended that the Vote we are now asked for is in any degree connected with the step which has been taken with regard to the Fleet. Sir, I think it is to be regretted that after the withdrawal of my right hon. Friend's (Mr. W. E. Forster's) Amendment last night, the Government did not think proper to give a short interval of a few hours for calm reflection and for consideration of the changes that have taken place in the position of affairs. Those changes, Sir, I take it to have been embodied in the intelligence which was received and which was partly confirmed yesterday, leading to the withdrawal of my right hon. Friend's Amendment. Now, Sir, my right hon. Friend brought forward that Amend-

*Mr. Richard*

ment with my entire concurrence, and supported it by reasons in which I also entirely concurred. It is not necessary that I should go again over ground which was so often and so ably trodden in the course of the long debate that ensued on my right hon. Friend's Amendment. But the main ground that was taken by my right hon. Friend was the ground that was put forward in the Resolution itself—namely, that we had been informed by Her Majesty that the conditions of her neutrality had not been infringed, and that we had received no information which would justify a temporary departure from the policy of neutrality. I am thankful to be able to say, Sir, that that statement still remains an accurate statement. But, Sir, I must at the same time admit that the intelligence which was received yesterday was such as to modify to some extent the position of this country, and especially the position of the Government, not in regard of that neutrality itself, but in regard of one of the points in which this country is and has been most deeply interested. Sir, Her Majesty's Government have always stated in clear terms that a permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians would be an event which they would think it their duty to resist. They have treated, as was pointed out by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the possibility of a temporary occupation in a different manner. They have not stated that a temporary occupation of Constantinople was one of the contingencies which they would feel bound to resist; but they have, I think, fairly pointed out to the Russian Government that it would be an event which, in their opinion, might lead to serious consequences, and which might render it necessary for them to take measures of precaution. Well, Sir, the intelligence which was received yesterday certainly in no degree led to the supposition that the pledge which had been given by the Emperor of Russia on more than one occasion as to a permanent occupation of Constantinople would not be maintained. But that intelligence, I am free to admit, led to the apprehension that the Government might be placed in a situation of some difficulty in regard to that other contingency which they had pointed out to the Russian Government to be one which they could not view with indifference.

The information which was received early in the evening, which appeared to be believed by the Government—information which, I am bound to say, has not even now been altogether contradicted—no doubt led to the conclusion that it was possible that an occupation—a temporary occupation, of Constantinople, or, at all events, what would amount to a temporary military occupation of Constantinople, might be contemplated, and under these circumstances it was impossible to deny that, looking at the statement which the Government had made, looking to the assurances which they had given to the Russian Government, they might find themselves in a position of some difficulty and some embarrassment. To that difficulty and that embarrassment those Members of the Opposition with whom I have had an opportunity of consulting, do not think it would be their duty to add if they can avoid it in any manner. And, thinking as we did, that persevering in the Amendment moved by my right hon. Friend might in some degree tend to increase the difficulty and embarrassment of the position in which Her Majesty's Government were placed, we thought we should consult our duty by withdrawing that Amendment. I have no doubt, Sir, there are some—there may be many—who will dispute the propriety of the course we have pursued, and who will condemn it. I can only say we acted under those circumstances to the best of our judgment. But I think that everyone will admit that, having taken the course which they did, and having arrived now at comparative unanimity upon this question, it will be for the advantage of the country, for the advantage of the Government, and desirable from every point of view, that advantage should be taken of that comparative unanimity which now prevails, and that the good feeling and temper which has been manifested by the Opposition should be turned to the best account. Sir, I cannot help thinking that for such a purpose as this an interval of a few hours for reflection upon the new position of affairs in which we find ourselves would have been by no means a mistake, and in no way undesirable. Now, Sir, I have no desire to draw from Her Majesty's Government any premature statement as to their policy or intentions with regard to this Vote. But what I

want to point out is that by the course they have pursued they have invited us to make such a demand, and that such a demand has not been in any degree responded to by them. They have stated frankly and openly that they invite the confidence of this House; but I maintain that they have not yet made any such statement as to their views, their intentions, and their policy with regard to the Vote before us, as would justify the House in giving them that confidence. We have received as yet from the Government no guide or clue to the policy which this Vote is intended to support, and I think that is a course hardly fair to the House of Commons, to themselves, or to the country. The Government will, no doubt, obtain this Vote of Credit—they will no doubt obtain what they choose to consider a Vote of Confidence in their policy. But I ask of what value is a Vote of Confidence, given blindly, and in ignorance of the policy they are pursuing, and which cannot possibly have, under those circumstances, the undoubted value which it would possess if it were given with a full knowledge and understanding of their policy? It may be said that they have told us what is their policy. I admit that there are certain statements which they have made. They have told us their wishes, their aspirations, and their hopes. They have told us that their policy is to maintain peace; that it is to bring about a permanent peace in Europe; that it is to protect the interests of Great Britain and to strengthen the influence of England in the Councils of Europe. But what I contend is that these are all vague generalities, which any Government—no matter whatever might be its real policy, whatever might be the course of conduct it was pursuing—would be equally able to employ. I say that these generalities—for they are nothing more—do not constitute a policy; and I further say that to ask from the House of Commons and to obtain from it a credit of £6,000,000 does not constitute a policy. Why, surely Her Majesty's Government knows—and I hope all the world knows—that England can afford to place at the disposal of the Government a sum of £6,000,000, or a very much larger sum, in support of a policy which the House of Commons understands and of which it approves? But it was not necessary, in

order to support their policy, to tell Europe and the world that a sum of £6,000,000 was at the disposal of the Government. What really would have strengthened the hands of the Government in the events which may be about to take place, or in the negotiations which are about to be carried on, would have been a Vote of Confidence from the House of Commons, founded on a real knowledge of the policy they mean to adopt. I have listened to the long debate which has occurred on the Amendment of my right hon. Friend (Mr. W. E. Forster). I have heard the speeches of many Members of Her Majesty's Government; but I must honestly and frankly acknowledge that up to this moment I have not gathered from any one of those speeches what is the intention of the Government in regard to the use and disposal of this money, and what is the policy which this Vote is designed to support. I have been able to come to no other conclusion than that Her Majesty's Government have persuaded themselves that this Vote of Credit will produce some miraculous effect, and that, being in their possession, or, rather, at their disposal, without having any definite purpose to spend it in any definite way, the mere fact of this Vote having been granted will in some way or other inspire them with a resolution which they have not themselves yet formed; that it will restore peace in some way to Europe; that it will warn the insolent invader off our interests; and that it will strengthen them in the Councils of the approaching Conference. I cannot help thinking that some such vague notions as these must have formed themselves in the mind of the Government. But I believe I am speaking within the recollection of the House when I say that not one single indication has yet dropped from the lips of Her Majesty's Ministers as to the use or the purpose to which this money is to be put. We have been often told from both sides of the House that we are in a grave crisis of the destinies of the nation. If that be so, as it undoubtedly is, what it seems to me is most important is, that Her Majesty's Government should be guided by a clear and consistent purpose, and that the actions and counsels, as well as the words, of the Government should manifest what that purpose really is. Whether their policy is a policy of peace

or a policy of armed preparation, I believe that a firm attitude on the part of Her Majesty's Government might produce a very great effect on the proceedings both of Russia and of other countries. However wrong we might think it that Her Majesty's Government should go into the Conference armed, and with the intention of restoring a state of things which I believe is now incapable of restoration, still I have no doubt that, if the Government of Russia clearly understood what was the policy which Her Majesty's Government were going to pursue in the forthcoming negotiations, there would be less risk and less danger than now exists of some unfortunate misunderstanding—less chance that, without the deliberate intention of either party, but perhaps from sheer misapprehension of each other's objects and intentions, we may be led into perilous proximity to a warlike policy. I cannot help thinking that, since Parliament was called together, there has been no such indication of a clear and consistent policy on the part of Her Majesty's Government. Her Majesty's Gracious Speech indicated an intention of appealing to Parliament for additional Supplies, but the ground of the contemplated demand was not there stated to be the contingency of negotiations for peace. The contingency pointed out in the Queen's Speech was, that, in the event of a prolongation of the war, the conditions of Her Majesty's neutrality might be menaced, and for that contingency it was intimated precautionary measures might have to be taken. But evidently at that time negotiations for peace were expected by Her Majesty's Government, and negotiations were not indicated in Her Majesty's Speech as the object or the reason for which the additional Supplies would be required. The Vote was moved for under similar conditions. Well, Her Majesty's Government were afterwards disappointed in the expectations they had formed that the terms of the Armistice would be promptly made known. The Russian troops were still advancing, and the conditions of our neutrality might be imperilled. Still, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, aware that the ground might at any time be cut from under his feet, started entirely new reasons for asking for the Vote of Credit. For the first time he brought forward in

his speech—no doubt to the astonishment of those who sit on the other side of the House as well as of those who sit on this—the new ground that the additional Supply would be required in order to enable the Government to go into the approaching Conference with the voice of a united people. Well, I say, if that were the real ground on which Her Majesty's Government were asking for this Vote, it is one which ought to have been stated, and would have been stated if it had occurred to them, in the Queen's Speech, or in the speeches made during the debate on the Address. It appears to me that, in the putting forward of these varying and insufficient grounds for that appeal to the liberality of Parliament, there is no indication of that clear and consistent purpose, that firm resolution, which I think we have a right to demand from the Government at a crisis so grave as this has been properly described to be. I have not been able to attach so little importance to the want of Constitutional precedent for the course the Government are taking as has been shown by some hon. Members who have addressed the House on this side. I should have thought that the Conservative Party and a Conservative Government would have hesitated before they recommended to Parliament a course which, in the financial or in the political history of the country, is without any precedent. But, Sir, it is not on mere grounds of Constitutional or Parliamentary practice that I attach such importance to the fact that the Government have not been able to produce any Constitutional precedent for the course they are adopting. I think there is a great and important principle at the root of the precedents which have hitherto prevailed, and which have not been followed on this occasion. That principle, which is now absent, appears to me to be this—that, whenever in former times, a Government has appealed to Parliament for a Vote of Credit, or for Supplies beyond the ordinary Estimates of the year, it has been in order to support some policy which has been formed and declared. If the Government had told us what they wanted the Vote for, if they had told us that they contemplated sending out an expeditionary force, or that they contemplated increasing the number of men, or the efficiency of our transport

service, or for providing further stores—if, in fact, they had wanted it for immediate use, then, although the policy of their intention might be a matter for debate, yet the Constitutional character of the step they were taking would not be open to question. But when we are told that this money is wanted, perhaps, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated, not to be spent in any way, but if spent at all to be spent in some way or other which we are not told of, in supporting some policy of Her Majesty's Government which is not yet formed, or if formed cannot be avowed, the case appears to me to be completely altered. We are told that this question is one of Confidence in the policy of Her Majesty's Government. Confidence, I ask, in what policy? They have told us themselves that larger issues are opening out than any which were contemplated at the time that what has been called the charter of their policy, contained in the Despatch of the 6th of May last year, was drawn up. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has told us that the key-stone of South-eastern Europe is being removed, and he spoke of the sweeping conditions which were the bases of the preliminaries of peace; and the Home Secretary pointed out to the House that no settlement of the Eastern Question would be worth having if it were not permanent. The Secretary for the Colonies also admitted that everything had been changed since the Conference separated last year. Well, issues such as these having been raised and changes of this kind having happened since last year, it is useless to tell us that the charter of the policy of Her Majesty's Government is still that contained in the Despatch of the 6th of May, and that they are going into the Conference with no other question than that of preserving a watchful attitude over the interests of this country in Egypt, the Suez Canal, the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, and at Constantinople. What we have got to do—what Her Majesty's Government will have to do—at the Conference is to assist at the revision from top to bottom of the settlement made in 1856. That was partly done even before the outbreak of war, when the Great Powers of Europe declined to interfere, although fully entitled under their Treaty rights to do so, had they thought fit to take that course, between

Russia and Turkey. And it has been more completely done by the events of the war. What Her Majesty's Government, therefore, have to consider is, not whether the Ottoman Empire is to be replaced in the position in which it was before the outbreak of the war—that is an impossibility—but how they may best assist in the ordering and settlement of those nationalities which, more or less, have already taken the place of what was the Ottoman Empire. Her Majesty's Government are, as I have already said, not unaware of the magnitude of the issues before them; but what I maintain that they have not done yet—and I do not complain so much that they have not done it—is to give us a single indication of the spirit in which they are going to approach the great task before them. What I do complain of is, that they should ask us to give them a Vote of Confidence in their policy—a policy which they have not told us, and which, in the absence of any declaration on their part, it is impossible that we should know, and therefore utterly impossible that we should be able to approve. I think, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government have been wrong in the way in which they have approached Parliament, and that, to use a very homely expression, it seems to me that they have put the cart before the horse. A Vote of Money might have been very useful as showing that the House was prepared to support a clearly-defined policy, announced to be that which was to guide the Government in the approaching deliberations of the Powers of Europe; but such a Vote cannot of itself make a policy, and that Her Majesty's Government have one in reference to this question is open to doubt. But although it seems to me that Her Majesty's Government have approached Parliament in a wrong way and at a wrong time, and although I think they would have done better had they waited before proposing this Vote until they had formed some definite resolution with regard to some definite course of conduct, I am not in existing circumstances disposed to refuse them the Vote which they ask at our hands. After the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave Notice of this Vote, I stated some of the reasons that would induce me to oppose it. I then thought that a Vote of this kind, proposed before the conclusion of the war, would

inevitably raise expectations in the minds of the Turkish Government and people which could not be realized, and which it would be unfair to excite. I objected to it as long as there could be any hope in the minds of the Turkish Government of assistance from England which we were precluded from giving them. I also objected to the Vote so long as there was any doubt on the point of peace or war in the minds of any of Her Majesty's Ministers, and on this point I may say that strong language has been used on this subject; but that it is within the knowledge of every hon. Member in this House that, rightly or wrongly, at one time or another, it was supposed that some Members of the Ministry, and among the rest Lord Beaconsfield, were less averse than others of the Ministry to a policy which must inevitably end in war. In reference to this matter, the Secretary for War the other day, in extremely strong language, repudiated such an intention on the part of Lord Beaconsfield, and said the insinuation or charge that the Prime Minister desired to plunge the country into war was to impute to him a criminal state of mind. I have not questioned that statement of the right hon. Gentleman. Doubtless, an intention to lead the country into war recklessly and to no purpose, would be a criminal one. But whoever attributed that to the Prime Minister, or supposed that he desired recklessly and without any reason to plunge the country into war? Whatever may have been imputed to the Prime Minister, what was assumed was that the Ministers to whom I have referred believed that the changes which were going on in South-eastern Europe were so likely to be prejudicial to the honour and to the interests of this country, that they might think it right and necessary to take such steps as might lead us into war. What we apprehended was that the Prime Minister and other Members of the Cabinet did take that view, and were not unwilling that rather than leave the struggle to be fought out between Russia and Turkey, this country should take part in it. That, in my opinion, would have been an utterly mistaken policy; but I say that it is not accurate that we imputed to certain Gentlemen such a desire, or that in attributing such a policy to the Prime Minister we were imputing to him a criminal intention.

The imputation that Her Majesty's Government, and most of all the Prime Minister, have been actuated by an intention to involve this country in war has been repudiated with such vehemence—perhaps with such unnecessary vehemence of language—that we are bound to accept the explanation; and I cannot help thinking that we may now agree to this Vote without increasing the hopes of those Members of the Cabinet who were regarded as being less inclined than others to a warlike policy. Sir, my right hon. Friend near me has already expressed a hope that the result of this Vote may have the effect of strengthening the hands of Her Majesty's Government in endeavouring to do their best to secure, rather than restrict, as he feared it might do, the liberties of the people of the different nationalities formerly under Turkish dominion; and I hope that before this discussion closes, we shall have some stronger assurance from Her Majesty's Government on this point than we have yet had. Of all the speeches which have been delivered in the course of this debate on the other side of the House, that which gave me the greatest satisfaction to listen to was the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Colonel Stanley). He certainly did not speak with the authority of a Cabinet Minister; but I cannot help remarking that the hon. and gallant Gentleman is closely connected with one who, of all the Members of the Government, will be the most responsible, perhaps, for the course that may be taken by Her Majesty's Government at the approaching Conference. If the sentiments which were expressed by the hon. and gallant Gentleman are those of the Cabinet, they show that there is at least some sympathy felt by the Government for the future condition and for the hopes and aspirations of these Christian nationalities. I regret that similar statements have not as yet been more clearly expressed by other Members of the Cabinet; but if those sentiments do really express the real views of Her Majesty's Government, then some of the gravest fears which were entertained by my right hon. Friend in opposing this Vote will be at all events much diminished. These reasons induce me to modify the objections which I entertained to the Vote which you now ask. I have admitted that the



circumstances in which Her Majesty's Government find themselves at present are probably difficult and embarrassing. I believe it may be represented, I know it is represented, that by resistance to this Vote, a Vote which is asked for on the responsibility of Her Majesty's Government, which they say they require, although we do not know for what purpose or with what object—I know that it has been represented that by opposing this Vote we are adding to the difficulty and embarrassment of Her Majesty's Government; and, therefore, although I much regret the fact that the Vote has been proposed, as far as I am concerned I have no intention to take part in opposing it. I hope Her Majesty's Government will not regard this announcement on our part as warranting them in proceeding with haste or precipitancy. On the contrary, I think the guarded statement which was made earlier in the evening, as to their intended action, shows that they have no wish to act in a hurried manner. I trust they will not forget that England and Russia are not the only countries interested in this great question, and that they will continue to act, if it may be, in concert with the other Powers of Europe. This Vote, if it be granted, will, without doubt, increase the responsibilities of Her Majesty's Government, and I cannot admit that it will diminish—on the contrary, it will increase—the responsibility of Parliament. It will not be less, but it will be all the more the duty of the House to watch the conduct of the Government; to judge not of its professions, but its acts; to give it with all its might an approval, if it is able to approve, of its policy; and to oppose equally with all its might, and by all means in its power, any course of conduct that tends to involve this country needlessly and unnecessarily in a policy of war.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I need not assure the noble Lord that it has been with very great satisfaction that I have listened to his views and to the two announcements which he has felt himself able to make. It has been with great satisfaction that I have listened to his statement that he is, on the whole, satisfied with the action which Her Majesty's Government have thought it right to take at the present moment. I also listened

with satisfaction to his announcement that it is not his intention to oppose any further the Vote which we have submitted to the House. The conduct of the noble Lord has been in these respects such as we might have anticipated from him. He has taken a view which I think any noble Lord or right hon. Gentleman holding the very responsible position which he holds in this House would, under the circumstances, have felt himself bound to take, unless there had been some very strong reason indeed for his dissenting from the course which the Government propose. I thank the noble Lord for those two assurances; but I thank him not the less for the general tone and spirit of the remarks in which he has expressed his opinion as to the general conduct of Her Majesty's Government, and in which he has also expressed his wish for some further information with regard to our policy. And I feel sure that though it may not be in my power to give to the noble Lord as complete and full an answer to all the points he has raised as I should do if it was consistent with my position, although it may not be in my power to answer categorically every Question which he and some others have asked; yet I believe we shall be judged in the same frank and kindly spirit as that which has induced the noble Lord to arrive at the conclusion that he has arrived at. And, for my own part, I will promise to speak as frankly as I can in answer to points which the noble Lord has raised. I think I understand the position of the noble Lord to be this—that he asks us two Questions which may be considered to be the governing Questions of his speech. He asks us, in the first place, what is the policy which this Vote involves; and, in the second, what is the use which we propose to make of the money we are asking for should it be granted? Well, no more reasonable Questions could be asked, and I shall be most ready to answer them as far as it is in my power. With regard to the policy which the Government desire to support, we have already indicated it much more clearly than the noble Lord seems disposed to give us credit for; but I will endeavour to repeat it in a few words. We recognize, of course, the very great change which has occurred in the European system in consequence of

*The Marquess of Hartington*

the war which has now, we trust, terminated. We also recognize the fact that questions have now to be settled of the largest character, the decision of which will amount to a re-construction of the whole system of South-eastern Europe. We consider, further, that in the discussion of those changes, and in the settlement and re-construction which must follow, it will be the duty of England to take her part for two reasons and on two different principles. In the first place, England is entitled, and is bound by her duty to herself, to have a care that in the arrangement made those interests which she is bound to guard are not injuriously affected; and, in the second, she has a right to claim, and feels it her duty to claim, her place in the Council of Nations, in order to give effect to those views which she thinks it right to support in respect of the general re-construction of South-eastern Europe. Now, what are the views with which Her Majesty's Government will enter into the Conference? I will not enter too much into detail; but there are at least three points to which we think we ought to pay considerable attention. In the first place, it is a matter of serious importance to us that the navigation of the Straits and the access to the Black Sea should be so regulated as that there may be perfect freedom of commerce in that sea. In this respect we are not seeking restrictions, but freedom. What may be the best regulations to be adopted with regard to the passage of vessels of war is a question which is fairly one for the consideration of the Conference. I think that we should be doing wrong if we were to attempt to lay down in our own Parliament beforehand what should be the particular arrangement which we should be prepared to stand by, and insist upon. I think we should be in a false position if, at the outset, we went into the Conference with matters of that kind, so to speak, "cut and dried," and proclaiming a policy which, after all, might prove not to be the one most easily accommodated to the general feelings, wishes, and interests of those with whom we shall have to confer, and whose position we shall have to consult. But this we may lay down with absolute certainty—that whatever is the arrangement which ought to be made, it should be one that will render it impossible for any single Power

to close up the entrance to the Black Sea. We have heard something said about the advantages which Russia may have in the admission of her own vessels into a sea which is of such importance to her as the Black Sea undeniably is. I have heard language used out-of-doors, and even in this House, which has given an impression that there is not now commercial freedom in the Black Sea. Now that is not the case. Under the present arrangement there is perfect freedom. But it is possible that those who speak rather hastily on that subject may have even now a sort of recollection, or may have heard of a time, when access to the Black Sea was anything but free; when access to the Black Sea was perfectly prohibited by the Turks, because they had the key of the Straits, and no vessels of commerce belonging to foreign nations were to be admitted at all. At that time, the Black Sea was to all intents and purposes a Turkish lake, into which no vessels belonging to foreign Powers could sail. From time to time one restriction after another was taken off, until at length we arrived at the present system of free access to that important sea. One of the great influences, one of the great levers which has broken up that commercial restrictedness has been the power of Russia; but supposing that now, after the change has taken place, either Russia herself should become possessed of the complete command of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, or should become virtually the mistress of them through some other Power—the Porte, or anybody else—supposing that Russia obtained the complete command of the access to these important waters, and supposing that Russia should, for any reason, claim to adopt a protective policy, undoubtedly she might cripple in a most mischievous and prejudicial manner the whole commercial world, including, of course, the commerce of this country, which we should feel to be a serious injury to ourselves. Therefore, I say, that among the arrangements we have to make, it will be a matter of serious importance and serious consequence to the English Representatives, that they should endeavour to prevent any arrangement being made which would close the Black Sea against commerce. Then, again, there is another point. I stated the other day that in looking at the

great strength of the British Empire we must consider what are its points of weakness. I stated—and I think the observation has been accepted by others, and must not be forgotten—that perhaps her principal point of weakness consisted in the length of the communications between the different parts of the Empire; and I pointed out then, and would point out again, that it is of great consequence to England that in any arrangements that are made there should be as little as possible of a threat held out on the flank of our communication with India and the East through Egypt. I do not like to go very minutely into a question of that sort, and I think I have said enough to satisfy the noble Lord when I say that that will also be a serious point for the consideration of the Representative of England in the settlement of these questions. Well, there is another matter before us, and it is one not of so simple a character as the two I have mentioned, or as some people appear to have imagined. It is of great importance to us, as it is, I believe, to all the civilized world, that a fair and probably durable settlement should be made of the condition of the countries which are about to be re-organized. Well, now, that may be made in a great number of ways, and I think it would be altogether wrong to enter now into a controversy in which others must take a part, on a subject involving the interests of others as well as our own, or to consider it here minutely, or in anything like detail. But I wish to repudiate with all the energy I can command the suggestion which has been thrown out several times in this debate, and to which the noble Lord has referred, that there is any desire on our part to cripple or fetter the extension of free and good government to the Bulgarian and the other Christian populations of Turkey. I listened with astonishment to the imputations which have been made, not only upon the Government generally, but upon myself personally, as if I had said something that indicated a jealousy on my part of the extension of good government to the Bulgarians or other Christian populations of Turkey. Not only is that contrary to my own natural feelings, but it is contrary to the language I have repeatedly used on that subject. I do not like to refer to speeches of my own, but I may remind the House that in the first

speech I made upon the question at Edinburgh, a year and a half ago, I distinctly put forward my strong feeling that it was the guiding principle of England to endeavour to promote the good government of the population of that part of the world, and I said—

“How can such a thing be conceived as that England, whose rule in India rests upon the Divine right of good government, should be herself insensible to the good government of other nations?”

And in the debates on the question in which I have sometimes ventured to address the House during the past two years, I have always given as my reason against the introduction of force for the purpose of improving the condition of the populations of Turkey this reason—that I believed it was impossible to bring about a better government of the country by external force. And my reason for objecting to the introduction and use of force was, that I did not think that that was the way to bring about an improvement of the government of the Provinces of Turkey. But I am told there was something I said the other day on the subject of the terms of peace, in reference to the extension to be given to the new autonomous Bulgaria, which seemed to grudge the extension of good government to that Province. Well, if I may do so with all due respect, I venture to say that that is a most absurd misrepresentation of my words. What I was endeavouring to point out was that those conditions of peace, whether good or bad, were not of a slight or trifling character, but that they cut deep into the heart of the Turkish Empire, and that they therefore necessarily involved very careful consideration, and that I venture to repeat. Hon. Gentlemen speak as if there were just two races in Turkey, and two only—the Turks and the Christians—as if the Turks were the dominant parties and oppressed the Christians, and that the Christians, the subject-race, were oppressed by the Turks; that, as everything was wrong in the Turks, so everything must be right in the Christians; and all we had to do was to put an end to the Turkish rule, leave the Christians to their own autonomy, and all would be well. There is a sort of breadth in that statement which may captivate popular audiences; but when you come to look into the matter, you

must consider a great many other points ; and, however taking such an arrangement may seem, it would not be found so simple when you came to carry it out. The Christians are not all one uniform body. There are not only questions of religion but also questions of race to be considered, and the settlement to be arrived at must be not only as between the Mahomedan and the Christian, but as between the Slav and the Greek, and perhaps between the Slav and the Turk. Even the Turk should have some justice dealt out to him as well as the Christian populations among whom he lives ; and if any-one will take the trouble to examine an ethnographical map in order to ascertain how the different races are distributed throughout the region in question, he will see that it is a difficult matter to deal with, and that serious and delicate manipulation will be required in order to make sure that the wrong persons are not put under the wrong administration. For instance, when we talk so glibly about this large Bulgaria, we should inquire to what extent a Greek population is to be found in different parts of the Province. In some of the large towns there is a very large Greek population. I am told that in Philippolis alone there are 50,000 Greeks. All these populations are included in one large division, as if the whole were homogeneous in character. I do not wish to express any opinion on details, and I have never wished to do so. I think it would be very wrong to do that ; but this I do say—that these are matters which involve careful consideration, and require careful discussion, with reference not only to other Powers, but to the condition of the populations affected by these changes. But I wish to reserve complete liberty of thought to Her Majesty's Government as to the details of the arrangements which may be made, only indicating, as the noble Lord wished me to do, the general spirit in which we ought to go into the Conference, seeing that we are desirous above all things of obtaining such a settlement as will afford reasonable promise of a durable peace. No one can help feeling that the enormous sufferings which have been inflicted on these parts of the world during the last two or three years have been such as to require a period of repose. All must be agreed that we ought to be as

careful as possible to make arrangements of such a character as would leave as few points as possible of contact and difficulty, and leave open as little room as possible for intrigues and future struggles. These are the principles we desire to support in the Conference, and we feel that it will be necessary for us to go into the Conference not only with our own principles in our mind, but in a way which will enable us to speak effectively in reference to them to those Powers we are to meet there. I am not one of those who desire to speak arrogantly in the name of England. I do not wish that our Representative should go into a Conference which interests so many other Powers and say—"I am going to settle this matter all in my own way." We have no right to do anything like that. But, on the other hand, I do not wish that England should go into the Conference on the understanding that she is the humble servant of any other Power—of any one, or more than one of those she is to meet. Or that when she goes into the Conference she is to be afraid to speak her own mind. I think that England is both strong enough and intelligent enough to be able to form and to give her own opinion, and I believe that it is her duty to do so, because England is the foremost Representative of the spirit of freedom, and of—well, I do not wish to say anything which might seem to be boastful, and therefore I will not finish the sentence. But I say that there are traditions of freedom which England has to bear in mind which makes it her duty to speak in a way worthy of those traditions, and that we ought to go into the Conference with a firm confidence in our own strength and intentions, and with a desire to obtain nothing that is unfair or unjust. We desire to obtain nothing but that which the interests of England imperatively demand, and which we ought to insist upon. We desire to take our part in the settlement of the great questions that will have to be considered, and we say that we shall go into the Conference in a better position if we go armed with the power of speaking our minds without any fear or any difficulty. Then as to another point, with regard to the Vote and its connection with the Conference. I do not at all discover the motives of which the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright)

and the hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr. Richard) spoke. We are going into a peaceful Conference, not bringing in our pistols or insisting on being heard by virtue of our strength; still less do we desire to do that which the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe) spoke of—namely, to shake our purses in the faces of those who are to assemble at the Conference. These are not at all the ideas of Her Majesty's Government. We shall go in with the strength, and all the strength, of England. What is the strength of England? We are told by some people that we ought to regard nothing but our moral strength; but I am afraid that if we had nothing but moral strength to trust to we might find, unfortunately, that some of our Colleagues in the Conference thought more of material than of moral strength. We might find ourselves thrust aside when we desired to advance the most reasonable claims and to put forward the best possible arguments—thrust aside by others stronger than ourselves. Well, that would be a bad thing enough, if we had not the strength; but it would be even worse if, having the strength, we were not in a position to use it. I was astonished to hear such an argument used even by my right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich, as that we might point out to other nations that we were spending a great deal more on military and naval armaments than they were, and that therefore we were strong. That would be, indeed, to shake our purses in the face of the Representatives of other nations. I should be very sorry that that kind of argument should be put forward in any way. It might be asked of us, not what you have spent, but what have you to show for it? Well, we have something to show for it. I say we have a great deal to show for it, if you will only give us the necessary means to use what we have. We have a magnificent Fleet, and a very good, though comparatively small, Army—an Army exceedingly well appointed, and which is capable of easy and rapid increase, quite as much as would be required under any circumstances that could be imagined likely to happen. But we have this difficulty—we are at a distance from the scene of action, and it may be necessary

to make preparations for transport, for supplies, for clothing, for boots and shoes, and for Heaven knows what number of articles which would be necessary to enable us to make use of our force, if by any accident you should require to do so. Therefore, what I say is, we ought to have the means placed in our hands for making use of that force, if necessary. I hope that occasion will not arise, and that is the reason why I say that I hope a great deal of this Vote will not be spent. But some of it will be spent—hon. Members must be prepared for that—for the purpose of making preparations to put a force in marching order. Why do I say that? Not because I think it will be at all necessary that any force should be called on to march; but because, if a man thinks he may want a pair of shoes a certain time hence, he must order them beforehand. That is the spirit in which we ask for this Vote, and we trust that we shall not be pressed to go into details as to how we are to spend every shilling of it. But it was said we are departing from the manner in which former Votes of Credit were taken. I do not know whether we are departing or not, because I am not able to compare the precise circumstances of those Votes of Credit with the precise circumstances of the present one. I think it really is time thrown away to compare cases which are not on all fours with each other. But what we are asking Parliament is to give us this money for purposes which I think I have sufficiently indicated—to make plain what we are about, and for the support of a policy which I have endeavoured in these general lines to shadow forth to the House. I trust that the Committee will feel that we are keeping back nothing which we could with propriety speak of, and that, in point of fact, it would be wrong in us to go into more details, which might be held to imply something which is very far indeed from our minds. I ask the House to give us this money, to be employed, if we should find it necessary, for the purpose of rendering our small force available, and supporting the policy which I have indicated that we shall adopt in its general lines, and which we shall endeavour to maintain in the Conference.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, there is a great deal in the speech of my right

hon. Friend to which I have listened with sincere satisfaction. At the same time, I must own that I think that the point in which he entirely fails is the connecting the substantial portion of the speech with the proposition now before the House. Let me say, before I endeavour to make good that statement, one word upon the state of things as it was yesterday and as it is to-day. I found it necessary, although highly inconvenient, to leave the House at an early hour yesterday on account of indisposition, and therefore I had not an opportunity of deciding whether I should be prepared to vote against the Speaker leaving the Chair. It was also very difficult to arrive at a conclusion upon that point in the confusion and uncertain state of things which the information of yesterday presented to us. That state of things has now, through the kindness of the Government and lapse of time, greatly cleared. We have learnt two things of great importance. We have learned the conditions of the Armistice, and we have learned that a portion of the British Fleet has gone to the Bosphorus. Nothing could be more satisfactory than the definition of the purposes for which the Fleet has gone to the Bosphorus. I do not hesitate to say that it appears to me that neither Russia nor any other independent Power can have any title or disposition to complain of that measure. I hope that Her Majesty's Government are certain of the assent of Turkey. I must observe that they have not had any report from the British Ambassador of the danger to British life and property in Constantinople; and though I say that I cannot see that the measure can give just cause of complaint to Russia, yet I think that if Turkey is found to withhold her consent to Her Majesty's Government in ordering the Fleet there without that report from the Ambassador, we have incurred considerable responsibility. However, on the whole, if Turkey makes no objection, I am disposed to hope that the results of that measure may be satisfactory with reference to the condition of Constantinople. Now, with regard to the Armistice and the telegrams of yesterday. I spoke yesterday of credulity which I thought was sometimes indicated in the telegrams coming from Constantinople. I have great pleasure in saying that I do not at

present see any ground for such a charge respecting the telegrams now before us. The language of that telegram was certainly calculated, I think, to mislead; but then I think that the nature of that language grew out of Mr. Layard's ignorance of the conditions of the Armistice. I demur a little to the breadth of statement of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, because the telegram certainly implies the compulsory occupation of the lines. The telegram implied that the Porte had protested, and that the Porte had been compelled to give up that point.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** My right hon. Friend will pardon me for interrupting him that I may remind him that in the statement which I made yesterday I pointed out upon the information which came from Mr. Layard that it might mean that the proceedings were taken within the terms of the Armistice.

**MR. GLADSTONE:** I am not finding fault with the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; I am only speaking of the words of the telegram itself and the misapprehension which they caused. But, at the same time, I wish to say that it appears to me to have been quite innocent on the part of the Ambassador; because, hearing of movements of the Russian Army, and not being acquainted with the terms of the Armistice, he naturally put that construction upon them. I am bound to say that I do not see with regard to Constantinople that the facts as they are now before us give us a title to complain of the conduct of Russia. I adhere to what I stated on a former occasion as to the Memorandum dated the 11th of November. I understand it to be in perfect conformity with what was said on a former occasion by the Emperor of Russia, and which precluded any occupation of Constantinople except from a *bond fide* military necessity. That military necessity has passed by with the Armistice. I hope we shall not cavil with Russia if, by a purely friendly arrangement, and without any military occupation whatever, Constantinople were to be made use of as a mere vehicle of easy embarkation and easy passage home for the Russian troops. ["No, no!"] Well, hon. Gentlemen opposite can state their views if they wish. That is my opinion. I have

stated strongly what I think the real engagements of the Russians are, and so long as those engagements are observed, I, for one, shall certainly not be the man myself to cavil, or encourage cavil in others, at arrangements which, especially in the present state of the Balkans and the season, might be perfectly reasonable and natural. Of course, I assume that they are done with the entire consent of Turkey, and done in good faith for the purpose of passage, and not of occupation. I now come to the declarations of my right hon. Friend to-night—and important declarations I take them to be. He says that we must enter into the Conference for two reasons—in the first place, to maintain British interests; and, in the second place, to give effect to the views which this country may entertain upon the great re-construction which is about to be effected in the East. Nothing can be more fair than that. The maintenance of British interests is at all times the most immediate, and the most direct of all the duties of a Government. I will not say that in every possible circumstance it is the paramount duty, but it is the most immediate duty at all times of a Government; and as far as the first head, as far as the maintenance of British interests is concerned, I am most happy to think that there is nothing that has been said by my right hon. Friend—there is nothing that has been suggested—that in the slightest degree tends to connect itself with the necessity for an increase of force. My right hon. Friend has not himself dealt with the details of the question. With respect to the second head, which relates to the views that England may entertain on the subject of a general re-construction in the East, I am bound to say his use even of that expression was satisfactory to me; for it showed that he, and his Colleagues I hope with him, have not attempted to close their minds against admitting into them full perception of the great magnitude of the events that have been proceeding, and that they will endeavour to cast off all the narrow diplomatic traditions which might prevent them from giving full scope to the consequences of these events. Under the second head my right hon. Friend enumerated three points. He spoke first of the navigation of the Straits, with respect to the freedom of com-

merce, and with respect to the passage of vessels of war. I cannot admit into my mind the supposition that the absolute freedom of commerce in the Straits has even the smallest danger from any imaginable person. But, at the same time, if such a danger were to arise, it is inevitably the interest of the civilized world to maintain the perfect freedom of those Straits. It is quite impossible to suppose, in my view, that Russia should attempt to apply any restraint upon them; for, undoubtedly, whatever disposition there may be to disown admitting any obligation to Russia under any circumstances, it is to Russia, acting doubtless in her own interest, and not upon principles of wide philanthropy, that *de facto* we owe the free navigation of these Straits for the purposes of commerce. Nothing could be more equitable and fair than the language of the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the point as to the navigation of the Straits by vessels of war. He laid down no rigid dogma; he evoked no phantoms; he proposed to himself no impossibility; he carefully avoided separating the interests of this country in regard to the passage of the Straits by vessels of war from the general interests; he referred the matter fairly to the Conference; and the only objection he was disposed to take was to an exclusive arrangement in favour of any one Power. On this point, fully admitting that we cannot expect the Government to enter into details or anticipate the form questions may assume when they are under consideration, I am satisfied with what fell from my right hon. Friend—and not only satisfied, but gratified—because I think it will tend to discourage the circulation of many absurd and idle notions which have received too much currency and too much favour with certain portions of the public. When he spoke of our communications with the East, I suppose he referred particularly to the Suez Canal. I am persuaded that there can be no subject of quarrel between us there; but, what is yet more important, there can be no difference in the views of the Powers. The interest of the Powers in the Suez Canal is the interest of the whole world. It is true it is the interest of England, at the head of all the world, as the first and the greatest of commercial Powers. If I may ven-

ture to say so, the interest of the Mediterranean Powers in the Suez Canal is still greater from one point of view than the interest of England. It is not, perhaps, observed by all; but the relative benefits of the Suez Canal are far greater to the Mediterranean Powers than to England; because, by the old route to the Cape of Good Hope, the Mediterranean Powers stood at a disadvantage with us. By the new route through the Suez Canal the Mediterranean Powers reap the whole benefit, and are so far advanced on their way to India, whereas we have to start from behind. It is, therefore, altogether visionary to treat the question of the Suez Canal as one out of which difficulties can arise, even, I should think, difficulties of argument; and I do not understand my right hon. Friend to speak of it with anything approaching to apprehension. We now come to that which is undoubtedly the heart of this question—namely, that which the right hon. Gentleman has introduced as a fair, probable, and endurable settlement of the countries now to be re-organized. No doubt the condition of 12,000,000 or 15,000,000 of people in Europe or Turkey is the heart and root of this matter. He is astonished there should have been any doubt or misgiving as to the intentions of the Government under this head. I think I can point out to him the reasons that made this misgiving very natural and very reasonable. Was not the first recommendation made to the Porte to put down sharply and summarily the insurrection in the Provinces? Was not the first object of the policy of the Government to restore, if possible, the *status quo* of the Turkish Empire? Was not objection taken on principle, at the time of the Conference, to the interference of Russia between the Porte and the subjects of the Porte? I do not want to dwell on these matters, which were matters of difference at the time; but I am sure if my right hon. Friend will measure the distance from the state of facts which then existed to the state of facts which now exists, he will find it is not at all to be wondered at that we should be somewhat exacting on this head—we who have all along felt that these countries, after all, existed in the main, not for the sake of Russia, not for the sake of Austria, not for the sake of the Turkish power established

in them as a governing military Power; but for the sake of the populations occupying them, and among whom social happiness and civilization had prevailed until they were subverted by the Turkish conquest. My right hon. Friend says he has no desire to fetter the extension of free and good government; but when he read out the original terms of the bases of peace, he said that they cut deep into the heart or framework of the Turkish Empire. But my right hon. Friend must feel that—I do not say what he said, because it appeared more from what he did not say—when he went over the terms of the bases of peace the reception of them, in the language of his own speech, was not that of a man who is greatly pleased with their substance, and the reception of them on the benches behind him was, I must say, nothing less than a silence that was profound and almost lugubrious. I dare say that was because of an apprehension of the abuses to which it was supposed that these terms might lend themselves. What has my right hon. Friend given us now on the subject of this extension of free government? He has given us some good words on this subject also. He says he has no desire to fetter the extension of free and good government. That is well. He said that this country is at the head of the cause of freedom, and has traditions of freedom to which she ought to be faithful. That is better still. I would not wish anything better than what I think the genuine development of such a principle as that. My right hon. Friend pointed out that there is justice in some sense to be done to Turkey. On the same principle as in England, when we abolish useless and mischievous establishments, we always grant terms of surprising and almost romantic generosity to those we put down, and in the same way it may be right to ease this great transition to the Representatives of the Ottoman Porte who are men like ourselves, and who, if they have been led into difficulty and crime, no doubt owe this unhappy circumstance to the overpowering strength of the temptation and the presumed necessity of the situation. I do not object to doing that which can be done on behalf of the Ottoman Power without infringing the new liberties belonging to the new state of things. My right hon. Friend has said you must



take care—and there undoubtedly you have fair reason for watching even the most beneficial operations of the Russian power with jealousy—that justice is done between the Slavs and the Hellenes. Unquestionably, Russia is the protector of the Slavs; she has earned by great sacrifices the title to protect them; to all appearances she has offered them a service as splendid and durable as ever was conferred by a great State on an oppressed and unhappy people. The Hellenes have no such claim on Russia. I have been forward to point out how appropriate an opportunity was open to Her Majesty's Government to charge themselves, within reasonable limits, with the interests of the Hellenic race and the Hellenic Provinces. I am not going to fasten on my right hon. Friend any pledge, for he did not give any; but I am not at all sorry to find the tone of his speech is such as does not exclude the hope that that graceful duty may be assumed and discharged by the Representative of Her Majesty's Government in these negotiations. Nevertheless, there is apprehension, which has been to some extent expressed already by the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt), which has relation to one of the Powers that will take part in the Conference—I refer to Austria. It is absolutely necessary that the vigilant eye of this country should be directed to the proceedings of Austria. For 60 years past it has been the unfortunate lot of Austria, in every, or nearly every, European combination in which there were two sides to be taken, to be on the wrong side. She has unhappily adopted, I know not from what amount of interior pressure—but it has been her custom to adopt—the principle of insisting that the relations and conditions of the people of the Provinces outside her borders should be governed by conditions affecting her domestic convenience. I will quote a case which is among the most recent. I own I cherish a hope that better motives may now influence Austrian policy. I make no charge against the present distinguished head of the Austrian Government; and I recollect, with pleasure, that the present Ambassador to England, when he was at the head of the Austrian Government, recommended the plan of provincial tributary autonomies for the Christian States as a solution of the great Eastern

problem. But Austria has to contend with internal difficulties, the tendency of which is to tempt her to insist on the regulation of the affairs of the adjoining Provinces in a manner to suit her internal convenience. The case I wish to cite—not the worst, but the nearest to her own borders—is that of the Danubian Principalities at the period of the Crimean War. The great question arose after that war whether they were to be united or not. Upon that subject I, for one, had a very strong view. I believe it was the only question of foreign politics down to last year upon which I felt it my duty to offer a Motion to this House. I moved the House in support of the union of the Danubian Principalities. The Austrian Government were opposed to that union, because it would give strength and solidity to the Roumanian State, and Austrian policy, unfortunately, was to keep all these Provinces and races disunited. In my opinion the uniting of the Danubian Principalities was the best and wisest measure Europe ever adopted in dealing with the Turkish Empire. Roumania was a real barrier, in proportion to her strength, even under the exciting circumstances of the last three years. For 18 months or more, while rebellion was raging elsewhere, and when Serbia and Montenegro were at war with Turkey, Roumania never stirred, but fulfilled the duty of a neutral. When Roumania afforded a highway to the Russian troops it was under coercion; but if Roumania had been divided instead of being united—if she had had no freedom, no national existence of her own to defend—the probability was she would have been involved in troubles far sooner than she was. I do not hesitate to say that if there be ambition in Russia—I suppose there is, as there is in this country and in every country—I look upon the free and independent national existence of united Roumania as one of the best and soundest barriers that can be erected against that ambition. It may come to be a Belgium in the East of Europe—it may come to be a home of freedom, an obstacle to dynastic greatness and territorial aggrandizement. It is a most admirable provision that has been made for the introduction of a new living Power—a free State; but that principle was opposed pertinaciously, and vitally opposed, by the whole strength of Aus-

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tria. The fear I cannot exclude from my mind is this—that again it may be the unfortunate temptation of Austria, upon consideration of her own internal circumstances, and her relation to races within her own border, to limit the great boon that is about to be conferred on the subject-races of Turkey. The principle I lay down is this—which I shall develop at far greater length if I find it necessary to do so—that if it should be so, I see no reason why the influence of England ought to be associated with Austria for any such purpose. I hope that Austria, having changed in Constitution, may have unlearned those ideas; but I must say this—if it be not so, in this House many a voice will be raised to prevent a mischief which might not be due to any obliquity of view in the Government, but which they might be induced to tolerate. On that subject we have a fair right to ask that the Government shall exercise a careful jealousy. What we have a fair right to ask from the Government I will endeavour to state in very plain and simple words. Certain terms have been arrived at between Russia and Turkey. Russia has demanded, and Turkey has granted, certain concessions in behalf of the subject-races. What I ask of Her Majesty's Government is that their influence shall not be used to diminish the total amount of these concessions upon which Russia and Turkey have agreed. That, I think, is a fair proposal. ["No!"] Then, Sir, it appears there are some Gentlemen in this House who think that England may lawfully and justifiably go into the Conference to join hands with some other Power for the sake of cutting down and emasculating the boons which Russia and Turkey have agreed should be conferred upon the subject-races. I will not enter into questions between one subject-race and another; but my proposition is this—We are not to join with Austria or any other Power in curtailing and diminishing the boon which Russia and Turkey, jointly at the close of this great war, propose to confer on the subject-races. I hope that this proposition, in the main, commends itself to the view of the Government; but, at the same time, I must say it is one which I am prepared to contest, and for which I shall contend to the utmost of my poor power. There was another point on which my right hon. Friend did not speak, but I

have great confidence that if he had mentioned it his statement would have been received with general concurrence and unanimity. He did not mention the navigation of the River Danube; but I have not the least doubt all the efforts of the Government will be directed beyond all question to the absolute liberty of the navigation of the River Danube. [The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER assented.] I do not understand that navigation to be in the slightest degree threatened by any arrangement of the conditions of the Armistice. I apprehend that the Russians have had the police of that river in their hands from the first, and the condition in the Armistice is another form of saying that it is intended to set it a-going at the earliest possible moment. But my right hon. Friend proceeded to connect these declarations of policy with the Vote before the House. I have not spoken of these declarations of policy in an inequitable spirit or with any other desire than that of substantial agreement. I have heard them with much satisfaction. That which I continue to be anxious about is this—that the Government are not by any single agency of their own, and are not by any concurrence and combination with any other Power, to set about the odious work of diminishing the boons which Russia and Turkey have agreed to grant to the subject-populations. Then, my right hon. Friend says he wants to go into Conference, where these matters are to be discussed, armed with the power of speaking his mind. He says a sudden emergency may arise, and he may want transports and other means to meet the emergency. If a sudden emergency did arise, the Government must know their duty too well to wait for a Vote of this House. No Government worthy of its place but would, upon a sudden emergency, give the orders which the circumstances of the time might demand, and then come down, at the earliest moment in their power, to ask the concurrence of the House in what they had done. Undoubtedly that is the principle on which all Governments have acted in this country, a principle which has never been challenged. But my right hon. Friend says he wants to go into Conference armed with the power of speaking his mind. Has he not got the power of speaking his mind? What cause has he to be afraid? There is but one sub-

ject of difficulty before the Conference, and that is the adjustment of this question with the new nationalities of the liberated Provinces. The proceedings of the Government ought to be viewed in the spirit of equity and indulgence; but why vote £6,000,000 to enable him to speak his mind? Of whom is he afraid? Of Russia? If he were going to enlarge what Russia proposes, he might be afraid; but no one asks him to enlarge what Russia proposes. It would be gross inconsistency, indeed, for Russia to challenge one who adopts and supports her own proposition. In the prosecution of this end he will have Russia as an Ally. He wishes to have this money in order to pursue the purposes he has indicated. Now, which of those purposes has the slightest likelihood of involving him with Russia? He says he is to secure what has never been interrupted—the free passage of commercial vessels in the Straits. Is there any apprehension of violent resistance to that? He is going to submit an equitable proposal to the Congress with reference to the passage of war vessels through the Straits. Who will oppose his taking that measure? Russia is bound by most solemn and reiterated pledges, and every other Power in Europe is known to be precisely on the same side. He is going to deal with the navigation of the Danube. He does not himself anticipate the slightest difficulty. He is going to deal with the immunities of the subject Provinces; and, though he would need both more Army and Navy if he wanted to cut down those immunities, he can want no such assistance in giving effect to what has been agreed upon by Russia and Turkey. I want, then, to know whether the arguments which have been advanced in this House have in the slightest degree been met in this debate? I make no complaint against the demand of Her Majesty's Government, if they think fit to ask for a Constitutional expression of support in reference to the coming negotiations. I adhere in full to what I offered for myself on a former night, although the appropriate reward I then received was given by the Secretary of State for War. [*Cheers and counter cheers.*] I learn from these cheers that a number of Gentlemen on the other side of the House think it was an appropriate reward. If

they are right, it only adds force and significance to what I now say—that, notwithstanding that reception, I do not in the slightest recede from the offer I made. I am perfectly willing, on intelligible bases, to be a party to give every Constitutional support to the Government during these negotiations. But why is more to be asked for? Why are we to be told that we are going to stop the Supplies? I think that is an abuse of language—it is a daring abuse of language—and it is a phrase that no Minister ought to use, except upon the occurrence of a real occasion for it. It is perfectly well known in our history that the withholding Supplies is an extreme remedy in the hands of Parliament for the purpose of preserving the liberties of the country. The principle of our Constitution is to vote the sums necessary for the service of the State, and not the sums which are not necessary for the service of the State. The principle of our Constitution is also that the Government is to ask the House of Commons for those sums, and those only, which it believes, on the best information, to be necessary for the public service. But where is the connection, I would ask, between that and asking for a sum which is not necessary? Well, then, is this money to be spent for the public service or not? Any of our Constitutional authorities would laugh at the man who would say that any Supply was necessary for the public service except when it was intended that it should be expended in that service. Are those £6,000,000 required for that purpose? Certainly not. What has my right hon. Friend told us to-night? He has told us that some of it will be spent. He qualified that a little with that we heard from the Secretary to the Treasury (Colonel Stanley), in a speech to which I am very anxious to render a tribute, for I heard it with unfeigned delight. And here I would say that 40 years ago the father of the hon. and gallant Gentleman exercised a command over the feelings of this House perhaps greater than any other man who then sat within its walls. At his pleasure he could rouse the House, not only to approval, but to ecstasy; and I, who remember vividly the scenes of that day, rejoice to see the highest and most valuable qualities of that eloquence reproduced in the hon.

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and gallant Gentleman who now sits opposite to me. The hon. and gallant Gentleman told us that scarcely any, or perhaps none, of this money would be wanted. That statement has, however, since been qualified by his official superior, who has given us the authentic assurance that some portion of the £6,000,000 will be required. But it is the duty of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to ask only for as much as he thinks will be required, and there is no precedent for departing from that rule of proceeding. And then I am told that it shows an old womanish regard for dusty antiquity to look for precedents. But I hold that on this question of taxation and public charge precedent is the very life of our proceedings. The precedents upon which we throw burdens upon the people are not the chance events of this or that Government when emergencies of any particular state of Party combination arise; but they are the mature and ultimate results of many centuries of Constitutional practice, and which have been brought home to the minds of many generations, under which the Representatives of the people can, on the one hand, make a liberal supply for the wants of the State, and can, on the other hand, in making that supply, preserve a jealous control over the liberties of the people. Out of hundreds of precedents there is only one instance of a singular and peculiar kind that has been mentioned, and excepting that there has not been the slightest attempt to establish a precedent. But this Vote, I venture to say, is an unreal Vote, because the money cannot possibly, consistently with the rules of the Service, be spent between this and the 31st of March. I am astonished, I confess, at the way in which reference has been made to the first expenditure in connection with the Crimean War. It might be supposed from what had been said on that subject that no preparations had been made to defend the country at the outset of that war. But the first six months were six months during which Lord Hardinge was Commander-in-Chief, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, one of the best administrators of his generation, was Secretary for War. I should think my right hon. Friend the present Secretary for War will remember that during that time the old Board of Ordnance was in operation, and that Board

of Ordnance was the special creation of the Duke of Wellington, and upon which he looked with the partiality of a parent, so admirably did he think it was adapted for the defence of the country; and whatever may be the other defects of our public Departments, I never heard that any one of them had failed in the faculty of spending money. So much, then, for what has been said upon this point by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the War Department. As to precedent, he has told us that the Vote of 1870 furnished a precedent for the proposal now under discussion, and that, I would observe, is the only one to which reference has been made. There are, however, several points of difference between the two proposals; but I will not dwell on more than one. The Vote of 1870 was asked for to be spent, while this, which is three times the amount, is asked for by some Members of the Government saying that they hope none of it will be spent, and others at last telling us that they are quite certain some of it will be spent, but they cannot state how much. I am jealous—perhaps it may be the weakness of old age—but still I am jealous of this Constitutional innovation. I know no question involving more of Parliamentary solicitude than to hand over to a Government, as a mark of confidence, a very large sum of money, the greater part of which, we are given to understand, there is no likelihood they will want. It is no part of the business of the House of Commons to do so. Our business is promptly and freely to meet the public demands for expenditure as they are developed; but there is no instance with which I am acquainted in which, on the eve of a peaceful Conference at the close of a war, for the purpose of winding up and of settling or re-settling the questions opened in connection with the war, that one of the Powers before going into the Conference should arm itself with the strength, or the supposed strength, of a sum for increased military and naval armaments. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War answered that argument the other night by pointing to the mobilization of the Russian Army in 1876. But the plan of the Conference then held was not a Russian, it was an English plan. Russia had adopted a separate mode of action. She did not mobilize her Army with a view to the

operation of that step on the proceedings of the Conference, but because, she said—"We are determined to force justice upon Turkey if she will not do it under the influence of persuasion;" and it had no reference whatever to forcing it on the Conference. But that is not all. My point was that there was no precedent. But what did the right hon. Gentleman say of his precedent? He said it was most mischievous in its operation. Now, I am most anxious to be in agreement with the Government on this occasion; but they must supply us with something in the nature of a little reason before we can give our assent to a proposal for charging our constituents with a sum of £6,000,000. I have seen a great many resolutions which have been passed in support of the Government at excited meetings. ["No, no!"] Well, I think I am not far wrong, in describing as exciting, meetings at which persons are burnt in effigy. I have seen, I repeat, a great many resolutions passed at such meetings; but not one, as far as I am aware, in favour of this specific proposal. I had, I may add, a very short time ago, some anonymous verses given me, consisting of a parody of the verses of Tennyson's well-known ode on the Battle of Balaclava. The verses are headed *Tennyson to the Rescue*. The poet is arguing in favour of the present proposition. He says—

"Ring out your battle-cry,  
Vote this War Supply,  
This must we have or die—  
Vote the Six Millions!

Yours not to reason why,  
Ours not to make reply,  
Ours but say 'You lie,'  
Vote the Six Millions!"

That, I think, gives a very fair and a very spirited summary of what has been said in support of the Vote. There have been other pleas. The Knight of the Shire for Mid Lincolnshire—[*Opposition cheers*]  
—oh, I am not going to trouble the House with any of his references to myself. When I have an opportunity in fair debate of following the hon. Member, I shall not be perhaps unwilling to answer him; but I do not intend to strain the rules of debate by going back to any of the harangues of which he made me the subject. But the hon. Gentleman said—

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"We are agreed as to the end in view, and when we are so agreed, you, who are in a minority, ought to agree with the majority as to the choice of means."

That, no doubt, is a plausible principle, but there are limits to it. The end in view, as to which we are all agreed, is that everything should be done for the best, and that the honour and interests of the country should be upheld; but we are by no means yet in full possession—although we are gradually, I hope, making our way to such possession—of the views of the Government as to the means by which that honour and those interests should be upheld. Suppose, for example, that it was proposed to establish in this country that which, I believe, prevails in Germany for the military security of that Empire—a chest containing 20,000,000 of gold locked up. We should all be agreed as to the end in view—namely, our military security; but it would be rather a strong measure to say that a minority of this House should be bound to lock up £20,000,000 in a chest. There are limits in a matter of that kind; and much more, then, are limits to be set to some other propositions which I have heard laid down. I heard my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle-on-Tyne (Mr. J. Cowen) deliver a speech last night which was loudly cheered from the other side of the House; and the principle which I understood my hon. Friend to lay down was, that it is all very well for us to have our differences on questions of domestic policy, but that when it is a question of policy abroad we ought to cast aside all our differences and adopt what the Government proposes; and anything else, the hon. Member said, was preferring your Party to your country, which he would be the last man to do. Far be it from me to ask him or to ask any other hon. Member to prefer his Party to his country. To do so would be a great and a grave mistake, but not a greater nor a graver mistake than was made by my hon. Friend himself when he said that in a question of foreign policy we were to surrender the liberty of our opinion and judgment, and simply to support that which might be proposed by Ministers. To what does it amount? It amounts to this—that in questions of foreign policy we are to have no regard to right and wrong; that we are all to be Englishmen; and that, whatever pro-

posal is made, or is proposed to be made, in the name of England, we are to make no inquiry as to how far it is right or wrong—that, sinking that inquiry and repudiating it, we are to do our best to support the Government in its proposal. In my opinion, such a proposition as that is most shallow in philosophy and most unwise in policy. What would be the effect of it in other countries? If it is good for us, it is good, also, for them. If every Englishman is to rally to the policy of the English Government—of course there are cases in which there is an obedience due to them, and I do not speak of these—if every Englishman is to have a foregone conclusion and to be bound by the policy proposed by Her Majesty's Ministers, whatever it may be, every Russian is to be bound to what the existing Government of Russia may propose, and there can be no discussion as to the right or wrong of that policy. And so it would be in every country of the world. I hold, on the contrary, that we are as much bound to apply the laws of right and wrong according to our best judgment and conviction to all great and broad issues that arise in questions of policy abroad, as we are bound to apply them in questions of policy at home. My right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) reminds me that it is more necessary—and more necessary indeed it is—because when we discuss matters at home the crossing of interests is such as to balance pretty fairly opposite opinions. On the contrary, in questions of controversy with foreign countries there is an amount of prejudice and predisposition in favour of our own view, whatever it may be, which places in the utmost hazard the highest interests of all—the interests of justice and truth. I have no disposition at all to create or to magnify causes of difference with the Government as to their policy. Again, I thank my right hon. Friend opposite for what he has given us, and I hope he will yet give us a little more; but I cannot be satisfied until I know that, as to the general scope of our Ministers or Representatives in the Conference, it is not to be to limit the concessions which Russia and Turkey are jointly ready to make. Upon that proposition I take my stand as upon a principle—not to be applied with unmeaning, mathematical rigour, but to be applied in its sense,

spirit, and substance. With any Constitutional and established methods of supporting the Government in their efforts to give effect to that principle and to the other principles which my right hon. Friend has so well announced to-night, I am most ready to concur. I am most ready to concur in any measure for giving support to the Government for purposes such as those; but I am really not able to give my support to a Vote which my right hon. Friend has utterly failed to connect with the objects he has in view, which is contrary to the wise and established rule on which the most vital of all the functions of this House has for generations been uniformly performed, and which even in worse times than these, and in worse hands than those, might prove to have established a precedent dangerous to the Constitution of the country.

After a pause,

MR. GLADSTONE again rose, and said: I am told that I used an expression towards the end of my speech which may be regarded as ambiguous. What I meant to say was, that I could not support the proposed Grant, and that I intended to vote against it.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, all hon. Members would agree in supporting British interests if they were taken to mean the honour of our flag, the freedom of our commerce, the peace and security of our Colonial dependencies, or the right and liberties of British residents in foreign countries. But in some quarters the maintenance of the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire had been included in the category of British interests. Where should we find that definition acknowledged now? Certainly not on the Opposition side, and not by many on the Ministerial side of the House. Her Majesty's Ministers, too, had at one time or another embarrassed themselves of that fiction. Still, it was one which, if we might judge from the documents laid before the House, had existed till quite recently in the minds of the Turkish Ambassador in London and of the English Ambassador at Constantinople. Until this House and the country received a distinct assurance from Her Majesty's Government that the maintenance of the integrity and independence of Turkey was no longer an

article of British interests, they would never be able to come to a conclusion as to the course they ought to adopt as a united people. Referring to the public excitement of the past day or two, the right hon. Gentleman characterized the reception of the deputation of medical students which took place on Thursday evening as a deplorable exhibition. No one could fail to admire the devotion with which medical men had given their aid in this war to the sick and wounded of both Armies; and these young men were probably animated with the same enthusiastic devotion to the exercise of their noble profession; but they should not, he thought, have permitted their professional zeal to make them forget that, as Christian men, they were disciples of the Prince of Peace. The Government had asked for this Vote as a Vote of Confidence, thereby placing their supporters in a very difficult and painful position. When confidence was challenged by the Opposition the Government had a right to require their supporters to maintain them in their place; but in this case the challenge was voluntarily thrown out by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to his own side. If they had at the outset asked for money to put the Army and Navy in a fit position for active service, there would probably have been no objection raised to the proposal; but the money had been asked for to be used in certain exigencies. In the International Congress which was about to meet the Plenipotentiaries would derive their influence from the greatness of the Power they represented, and not from the amount of money which had been voted by the Parliaments of those Powers. He could not see, therefore, that the Representatives of England would derive any influence from this Vote. He disliked the character of the proposal very much, and he could not vote for it with anything like satisfaction. Still, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer had said it was essential to the Government, he had to consider whether he should be doing right or wrong in voting for it. He believed the Vote to be comparatively harmless, and he should therefore give his vote in its favour. The country was now looking forward to the solution of this Eastern Question with exciting interest; and there could be no doubt of a general desire to see an end put to the terrible

calamities which now afflicted the East of Europe. Nothing would more tend to unanimity of opinion and action in the House, in reference to a general support of Her Majesty's Government, than an explicit declaration from them of the policy they would pursue in the Conference.

Mr. HAYTER said, that he listened, in common with the whole House, with great interest to the important speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but he failed to connect it with this Vote. He was desirous of making some inquiries as to its special items, and he apprehended the present was the fitting opportunity for doing so. There were included in this Vote the following services:—Field allowances, staff pay and allowances, land transport and horses, medicines, and surgical instruments. He contended that it was a war Vote that was asked for by the Government; and he thought it odd that while we were going into the Conference no preparations were being made by other Powers. It ought to be remembered that we voted large sums of money for military expenditure, and yet when any panic arose we were called upon to furnish additional resources. They were asked to accept a Vote of Credit which would give the Government the power of spending £6,000,000 in six weeks or two months, or at the rate of £36,000,000 in a single year. Such an expenditure could not be justified even if this country were engaged in hostilities. He would not grudge the £6,000,000 if it were to be spent on the Navy, and the sending of the Fleet to the Dardanelles was a measure of which they all approved. But to spend the money in equipping and sending out an expeditionary land force to a place where England had no interests to defend would be a most reckless proceeding. The wording of the Resolution proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was objectionable, because it spoke of the Vote being expended in increasing the efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the war between Russia and Turkey. Why, the crisis was past—he had almost said the war was at an end. Had not the Grand Duke Nicholas telegraphed to the commanders in Europe and Asia along the whole line to desist from further operations? The Government, then, were taking power to put in the field a small force, which might act

as a menace, and possibly an encouragement to Turkey, but would have no effective influence over the military situation. We surely did not require £8,000,000 to prepare, not to send out, a small expeditionary force? If so, our naval and military preparations, notwithstanding our vast expenditure, must be sadly in arrear. Our Crimean expenditure, extended over two years and a-half, was measured by Sir George Lewis at £77,000,000, or at the rate approximately of £31,000,000 a-year. This Vote must be intended either to carry on war or to secure peace. If to carry on war it was too small for its object; if to secure peace, it was surely unwise to enter into Conference with a veiled menace to Russia in one hand, and an ambiguous promise to Turkey in the other. For the reasons he had given he should vote against the Motion.

LORD ESINGTON said, that a great number of complaints had been made against the Government, and the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), in his wonderfully fertile and imaginative mind, had framed a long bill of indictment against them for what they might do at the Conference. There was, however, one complaint which could not be made against them—namely, that they had been backward in furnishing information, because the House had obtained information up to this afternoon. He wanted to ask—To what did that information amount? To this—that the whole of European Turkey, including the City of Constantinople, was absolutely at the mercy of Russia. He did not wish to be an alarmist, or to offend the susceptibilities of foreign nations; but this was a state of things which neither England nor any other Power could afford to regard with indifference or without some mixture of apprehension. His hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) had said that if the question was whether Constantinople was to be occupied by Russia or Turkey he would rather it was occupied by Russia. If his hon. Friend had not looked more serious than usual when saying so, he should have thought he was indulging in one of his best jokes; but if his hon. Friend really entertained that opinion, he stood alone in England at this moment. The interests of England and of Europe alike forbade any

such occupation. A great deal had been said about war in this debate, and Members on the Ministerial side had been taxed with either directly or indirectly advocating it. But it should be remembered that there was one thing quite as bad as war, and that was a dangerous peace, because such a peace contained within it the seeds and germs of many wars. A dangerous peace was prolific of innumerable sources of discontent and disturbance; and it was that the Government might go into the Conference armed with authority sufficient to prevent a dangerous peace being agreed to that the House was asked to pass this Vote. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, on a former occasion and again to-night, and also the hon. Member for Merthyr (Mr. Richard), used some arguments as to the danger of going into the Conference armed with a war Vote, and that had been designated “a policy of menace.” Menace to whom? He could not see that a State going into a Conference to discuss with other States a most difficult issue—or rather, many difficult issues—could be justly described as assuming an attitude of menace because it was prepared for any contingency. He wanted the House and the Government to remember whom they had to meet at this Conference. They were going to meet all the great military Powers of Europe, every one of them armed to the teeth, and able to send large armies into the field at a few days’ notice. He was not altogether satisfied that Bulgaria was fit for self-government. The experiment, however, was about to be tried, and it was as well to see what were the difficulties which would have to be encountered in carrying it out. A large portion of the population of the Province consisted of Mahomedans, and the remainder was divided into various Christian sects; and the religious differences now existing between them would be perpetuated and embittered by the miserable memories of this unhappy war. There would thus be vast difficulty in giving Constitutions to these autonomous States. There was also the question, who was to have the Protectorate over them? He had no hesitation in saying that if they were to become the mere vassal States of Russia, the last state of the South-Eastern portion of Europe would be even worse than the



first; while the danger to the peace of Europe and to English interests would be even greater than that caused by the misgovernment of the Porte. The supporters of Her Majesty's Government had been taunted with entertaining a feeling of mistrust of Russia. He did not deny that such a feeling existed in this country; but it was not confined to hon. Members sitting on that side of the House, it being exhibited quite as much by hon. Members opposite. He deplored its existence, and he should wish to see it brought to an end; for as long as it existed, it was impossible that we could enter into satisfactory negotiations or could form a cordial alliance with Russia. It was not our fault, however, that it existed, but that of Russia herself. If Russia would conduct her diplomacy in a straight and not in a tortuous line; if she would make it clear and not mysterious; if she would say what she really meant and prove to us that what she said she meant, then the distrust of her which existed—widespread and deeply-rooted as it was—would disappear, and the world would soon see England and Russia carrying out together the great work of civilization in which both countries professed to be engaged. The noble Lord opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) had asked how this money was to be used; but that question had been fully answered by the speech of the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Colonel Stanley). The noble Lord had further complained that he could not ascertain what the policy of the Government at the Conference would be; but he had heard a very elaborate exposition of that policy from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Of course, it was impossible to enter into all the details of that policy, which might have to be varied in order to suit the different combinations of circumstances that might arise. He could have wished that the tone and manner of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had been more moderate and more reserved. The right hon. Gentleman, in referring to Austria, had assumed that she intended to use her influence at the Conference to restrict the liberties of the different nationalities; but that was a gratuitous assumption on his part, there being no proof whatever that such was her intention. He hoped that a cordial

alliance would be formed between Austria and this country; and that they would go hand-in-hand in doing their duty in the Conference by resisting a dangerous peace, and in securing for these different communities freedom and good government. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to Roumania as having formed a check to the advance of Russia to the South. That was a most unhappy reference; because the fact was that Roumania had been the *point d'appui* of Russia in her progress to Constantinople. He very much doubted, therefore, whether great reliance could be placed in the formation of a number of *quasi-independent States* as a barrier to Russian ambition. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich had remarked upon the speech of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen); but he himself had listened with admiration to the manly and patriotic course which the hon. Member had taken, and he had confined his remarks to the present position of affairs in the East, so that the larger construction put upon them by the right hon. Gentleman was not justified. The Vote itself had been granted already by a large majority, and he hoped it would be so granted again; because he firmly believed the majority represented very fairly and fully the opinion of the people of England upon the question. Further, he trusted the Vote would be granted, because it was one to which the old aphorism, *Bis dat qui cito dat*, eminently applied.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he was very glad that the important question before the Committee was not settled yesterday, when the House was in an excited state, not to say a state of panic. Yesterday they were unable to discuss this question in a calm atmosphere. The atmosphere was very calm now. He thought it would have been very disgraceful to them if it could have been said that the Pashas in Constantinople had forced our hand. Though it was Mr. Layard who sent the alarming telegrams, it was strange that he could believe the officials of the Porte, who had declared they did not know the terms of their own armistice, and such assertions should not have sufficed to throw us off our balance. He was an old official, and knew well the degree to which it was necessary to trust those who had the ad-

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ministration of affairs in times of difficulty and danger. If Her Majesty's Government had asked for a moderate sum, and, what was more important, had asked for it in a moderate tone, he should not have been prepared to resist the demands made upon the Government's responsibility. But the demand was not moderate in amount, and it was made in what was not a moderate tone. As regarded the amount, seeing it was to be spent in the next six weeks, it had been clearly shown that the amount was really excessive. It was not suggested that an emergency existed that rendered it necessary that that sum should be spent at once. But they had been told very clearly by the Secretary to the Treasury, and to some extent by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that we should be prepared with the means for a warlike expedition. If such an emergency really arose, and the Government came to Parliament, he believed it would be willing to supply what was wanted. Meantime, if the Government had said there were certain things that required to be got for putting the troops on a more efficient footing, and had asked for, say, £2,000,000, he would not have objected. But it seemed to him that this was a war Vote, and therefore a Vote he would not encourage. As he had said, he had still more objection to the tone in which the demand had been made. If the speeches of those Members of the Cabinet who had hitherto been considered the safest—the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary—had been in the same tone as their speeches of last year, he would, for his part, have been ready to place confidence in them. But the tone of these Gentlemen was very different from what it was formerly. It could not be denied that the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary was a long indictment against Russia, and a long suggestion of duplicity on the part of Russia—an accusation that she was exhibiting bad faith. It was very objectionable that they should have such insinuations made in presenting a Vote of this kind unless they could be proved. It was an evil that once done could scarcely be remedied. The effects of these suggestions, in inciting hatred amongst peoples, lasted for generations. He had seen it stated in the Russian Press that Russia did not desire war with England; but if there

should be such a war, it would be an exceedingly popular one in Russia. Looking to the conduct of our Ambassador at Constantinople, he thought our neutrality had been of a very one-sided character. Things had been said by responsible men which were calculated to engender in this country a hatred of Russia. These were things that made him unwilling to give the Government larger Supplies than were necessary for peaceful precaution. As regarded this question of the duplicity of Russia, it seemed to him that Russia had given very definite pledges in the most categorical terms, and that nothing could be more satisfactory than these assurances. It came, indeed, to this—that we must either believe these very definite pledges of Russia, or we must suppose that the Government of Russia, from the Emperor downwards, were engaged in some grand conspiracy to throw their pledges to the wind and take advantage of this country. If Her Majesty's Government was in possession of information that enabled them to prove to the House that the Government of Russia were engaged in a great conspiracy, it was right that they should state it to the House, and not merely insinuate such things. Last year a pamphlet was published in Constantinople by an obscure Greek at the instigation of a Turkish Pasha, and it had since been translated into English, and was recently circulated amongst Members of Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was asked if it was authentic. He did not repudiate that pamphlet; he said he believed some of the documents to be authentic; and the tone in which he said it insinuated against Russia things which amounted to a great conspiracy. What was the nature of that pamphlet? It professed to be a revelation of documents passing between the Prince Imperial of Russia and great diplomatists and other people, which meant nothing unless it meant there was a grand conspiracy—not a holy crusade on the part of the Slav cause, but a conspiracy couched in the tone of Jack Sheppard or the Artful Dodger. If the Government was possessed of information that would lead the House to believe that there was truth in that, he should be quite ready to withdraw his opposition to this Vote. But till that was done he could not support it. Our highest interests were

not attacked, and we were totally incapable of putting an army into the field that could cope with the great armies of the Continent. He did not believe it was the interest or wish of Russia to open the Straits to war vessels, seeing other fleets were stronger than her own. He contended that in the action which the Government would have to take in connection with these complicated affairs they should cultivate with the Russians a give-and-take policy; because he saw that by meeting them half-way we would stave off vast difficulties which otherwise might result in a serious outbreak of hostilities. Russia gave it as her great reason for going to war that she desired to relieve the Christian population of Turkey. He would remind the House that there was a large number of Christians in Armenia and in that portion of Armenia occupied by the Russians. Russia might very plausibly seek to free these people from the Turkish yoke, and she might thus make advances there which would alarm us. Therefore, he again asserted that we should meet Russia in a friendly spirit, otherwise much harm might be done. The only way to stave off Russia's demands in Asia, he believed, was to maintain a give-and-take policy. And what would be the result supposing this country was involved in a war regarding this Asian question? Why, they would require not only £8,000,000, or even £60,000,000, but £600,000,000. Then there was the question of our Indian Empire, and all the help that could be derived from that country would be required with our own in the event of a war, while possibly even then we could not beat Russia in the field so far from our own bases. If, therefore, it would seem so difficult to meet Russia by force, he was justified in urging the Government to enforce a friendly and not an unfriendly policy. It was advisable to take the best bargain they could, for he would have the House remember that upon this question the country stood isolated and alone, because there were no other Powers directly interested in this question. The only thing left open for us to do was to obtain the support of Austria on the stipulation that we should support her interests in Europe. But that course, he was aware, had been repudiated in the House. What would be

the circumstances, he asked, in the event of this country going to war with Russia? It would be something like the man and the fish—they would not be able to get near to one another. England might blockade the Black Sea and the Baltic; but if that would not be cutting off the nose to spite the face he did not know how to describe it. Our own trade throughout the country would be seriously injured. In his own constituency (Kirkcaldy) they were very much opposed to the Vote, and in the event of a war they well knew that they would be among the first to suffer for want of Russian flax and Russian custom. Their trade, in fact, would stand idle. In this sense, therefore, the war would do a vast deal of harm. Then there was the question of India. He was not one who feared for anything that Russia could at present do with regard to India; but the question was one which excited much feeling in this country. The Afghan was always ready to play off Russia against England and England against Russia; and a war with Russia would create excitement and much expense in India, and ruin the Indian finances. He would venture to suggest that responsible Ministers of the Crown should change their tone with regard to Russia. He was glad to hear the words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that the Government did not desire war, and so long as they exerted themselves to preserve an honourable peace he had no fear of the result. As regards the objects of the Conference, no doubt most momentous questions would have to be considered. It was now, he thought, an accepted fact that Turkey in Europe had come to an end. That fact must be accepted, though, he feared, grudgingly; and that being so, they should exert themselves to secure for Turkey a good solid power in Asia. He believed the Pashas might make a solid reliable Power in Asia, as they had shown themselves a brave people in Europe. He advocated this course, and believed that it would be the means of combining the present struggling Mahomedan peoples. He trusted the Greeks would achieve freedom, but they must not put forward false and exaggerated claims. The whole population of Philippopolis was only 50,000, and only one-seventh were Greeks; while in the district the Bishop claimed only 12,000 adherents

of the Greek Church. The Greeks injured their cause by overstating their case. With respect to Bulgaria, he was surprised at the statements of the Chancellor of the Exchequer with respect to the location of that people, as Lord Salisbury had specially delineated the two Bulgarias. The Bulgarians were a steady, plodding people, and it would be hard to make them pay a tribute because they had not rebelled and fought more. Their position in the midst of Mahomedans was different from that of the Montenegrins, who had always been independent. He believed they would be found extremely capable of governing themselves. Much had been said about good government by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and very little about freedom, and he hoped that freedom would not be sacrificed for the establishment of what might mean good government in a foreign point of view. If the Servians were pig drivers, they were the pioneers of freedom and self-government among the Slavs, and were, therefore, not likely to be treated too well by Russia. She might desire to maintain vassal States, and it would be our duty in the Conference to advocate freedom as opposed to vassalage for the liberated States.

MR. HERMON, with regard to a statement by an hon. Member on the other side of the House (Sir George Campbell) that he would have supported a Vote of £2,000,000, said, there did not seem to him to be any principle in such a proposal, for the case was not one which could be made a mere question of amount. It was denied that anything had occurred which could justify the Vote. In Her Majesty's Speech it was stated that no money would be asked for unless some unexpected occurrences took place. Was not the delay in signing the armistice an unexpected occurrence? and was not the delay in communicating the terms of peace to Her Majesty's Government another unexpected occurrence? No one could be in favour of new taxes; but when the Government placed all the Papers before them, and stated that they required this Vote, the Committee ought to support them. What did the bankers of London do when there was a crisis? Why, they husbanded their resources and prepared for an emergency. The Government wished to do that now. The Vote being necessary,

the state of trade had nothing to do with the matter. It was no pleasure to the Government to propose the Vote, but only the discharge of an imperative duty. At the same time, he would beseech of the Government to use every endeavour to avoid the dire necessity of resorting to war. He was glad the House seemed to have calmed down again, for he believed feeling ran high in some parts of the country, and that a very little fuel added to the flame would excite a feeling which might almost drive Ministers to do that which their better judgment would not impel them to do. The speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was imbued with freedom from beginning to end; but while we were just to others we must be just to ourselves. At the same time, one of our greatest interests was that there should be secured the glorious liberty of responsible free government for the peoples who had so long groaned under oppression and misrule. If he thought that the Vote asked for by the Government was likely to force the country into war, he would, if he stood alone in that House, resist its being granted, and use all the forms of Parliament to prevent the money being granted; but he looked at it as a peace Vote, calculated to strengthen the hands of the Government at the forthcoming Conference, and therefore he came prepared to give it all the support he could.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that evening had been in every respect the most satisfactory one which had been delivered by any Member on the Government Bench during the discussion on this Vote, and was in striking contrast to those of the Home Secretary and the Secretary of State for War. If it had been delivered on the previous evening many hon. Gentlemen would have gone into the Lobby in better spirits and with more expectation that peace would be maintained. That speech had been eminently pacific, and, considering the state of opinion out-of-doors, eminently calculated to do good. He hoped the explanation the right hon. Gentleman had given in regard to sending the Fleet to Constantinople would prevent any further misconception. It was worthy of observation that the position thus assumed would be almost identical with that offered to this country by

Russia before the Conference, when she proposed to occupy Bulgaria herself, and that England should send its Fleet to Constantinople. In proportion as the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was satisfactory and pacific, and just in proportion as his explanation of the attitude of this country was satisfactory, did the Vote itself become unintelligible and most unnecessary. For what purpose were they to be called upon to vote £8,000,000 if the intentions of the Government were thoroughly pacific, and if they were going into the Conference not in a spirit of antagonism to Russia, but to carry out the policy which had been announced? He was not one of those who thought that the best means of securing peace was to prepare for war. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary for War had described Europe as full of inflammatory material to which a spark might set fire in a moment. Was the risk of conflagration not increased by our adding fresh barrels of gunpowder to these inflammatory materials? The result of our policy already had been that Russia had called out 45 fresh battalions, thus adding not less than 120,000 to her Army. It was in that way that preparations for war in one country led to corresponding preparations in another. The proposal to taking this Vote, therefore, was not wise at the present time. There had been one blank in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, for he had not touched on the legal and constitutional points involved in this Vote. The only answer he had made to the precedents which had been quoted was that they were cases under different circumstances; but he had not explained what those different circumstances were, nor had he brought forward a single precedent for the course which the Government now proposed in asking the House to give a Vote which would place a discretionary power of going to war in the hands of the Government without the necessity of consulting the House on the subject. The speech of his right hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), who had shown that there had never been a Vote of Credit given by the House at the commencement of negotiations, had not been answered. It was true that the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Secretary of the Treasury (Colonel Stanley)

had characterized the precedents cited by his right hon. Friend "pre-historic." But that term could not fairly be applied to the precedents of 1718, 1791, and 1841. Surely the Constitution of this country was not so recent that precedents acted upon so late as 40 years ago could be called pre-historic. The important point was that if this course were adopted it would be possible on future occasions for the Government of the day to come down to the House at any time and ask for a Vote of Credit without explaining their objects or policy and then engage the country in war without again coming to the House of Commons in a Constitutional manner. To prove that that was not mere hypothesis on his part he would refer to the speech of the hon. Member for Christchurch (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), who had given that very ground as his reason for supporting the Vote. [Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF dissented.] That was his impression of what the hon. Member had said; and it was so reported in *The Times*. He considered the proposition before the House a great innovation of the Constitution of the country, and that was fully admitted by the hon. Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate). He contended that they were laying down a very bad precedent for a future occasion in this matter—one which was extremely dangerous, although at present it might not be followed by danger, inasmuch as the interval between the end of the present financial year and the commencement of the next was short; and he did not expect that in that interval the Conference would meet, or that any difficulty would arise out of the Conference. Then there remained one other important matter, and that was the attitude of this country at the coming Conference. He understood from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer in introducing this Vote to the House that it was the policy of the Government to go into the Conference with the object of minimizing the terms of peace in the interests of Turkey and of mending the condition of the Christian Provinces. The English people understood the word freedom, but they did not understand mending. They ought to go into the Conference, not with the intention of minimizing the terms of peace, but of co-operating with Russia

*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*

for the purpose of securing autonomy not only to Bulgaria, but also to Bosnia and the Greek Provinces of Turkey. With reference to the terms of peace, he regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had not been able to say something on this subject. Nothing had been said with respect to the Hellenic Provinces, and he thought that something ought to be done to secure to them that autonomy which it was proposed to give to Bulgaria. This was not the first time that terms of peace had been dictated at Adrianople, and made the subject of Conference, in which Russia had been able to impose terms detrimental to the Turkish Empire. The Duke of Wellington, although he was not behind any statesman in his belief that the integrity and independence of Turkey were important to the balance of power in Europe, did not send a Fleet to Constantinople, or come to the House to propose a Vote of Credit in 1829, when Russia was able to dictate peace at Adrianople and to propose terms detrimental to the Turkish Empire. From a letter which the Duke of Wellington wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen about the time of the Treaty of Adrianople, it was evident that although he believed in the importance of maintaining the integrity of Turkey, yet when the Russians were at Adrianople, and could have entered Constantinople if they had thought fit, he believed it would be better that they should enter Constantinople and put an end to the Turkish Empire. At present, the position of affairs was almost identical with that at the time of the Treaty of Adrianople. Mr. Layard had told us that the terms of peace practically involved a destruction of the Turkish Empire in Europe. He (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) thought the Government ought to endeavour to re-arrange the subject Provinces of Turkey in Europe, and to obtain autonomy, and, as far as possible, free government for them. What was Turkey in Europe? It was the rule of a Mussulman minority over a Christian majority, and the destruction of that Empire meant the destruction of the rule of the Mussulmans over the Christians of those Provinces. He ventured to hope that the Government in the Conference would use the influence of England to secure an extension of the

principle of autonomy as far as possible. There was one other point to which he wished to refer. The Treaty of Adrianople was followed by the Conference of London, and the Correspondence of the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Aberdeen showed that this country went into that Conference with the object of minimizing the terms of peace as far as possible, and the object which our Government had in view was the protection of British interests in respect of the Ionian Islands. It was thought by the Duke of Wellington that any extension of Greece would be dangerous to English interests in the Ionian Islands, and he did what he could to limit the territory of Greece. Unfortunately, the Government succeeded in effecting that limitation; and Lord Palmerston, Earl Russell, and many other statesmen had expressed their regret that the territory of Greece had been so limited. It appeared to him that on this occasion the Government should consider the strong claims of Greece to an extension of territory. He expressed a hope that the claims of Greece would not be disregarded in the coming Conference, and that care would be taken that what was done for the Slav Provinces should also be done for the Hellenic Provinces of Turkey. If the Government adopted that course, they would speak the voice of united England, and there would then be no necessity for that Vote of Credit, which would form a precedent of a dangerous character. The Earl of Derby had said that the highest interest of England was peace. The sentiment was a noble one; and did credit to the noble Earl; but peace in Eastern Europe, in order to be lasting, must be founded on just principles and free institutions. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would go into the approaching Conference determined to make the best of the present opportunity in its widest sense—not to take up a position of antagonism towards Russia, but rather, while exercising watchfulness over her, to co-operate in obtaining the widest measure of freedom for those races which had for centuries been subject to a galling despotism.

MR. STAVELEY HILL: Sir, there are two subjects which we are discussing to-night with reference to the course that should be adopted with regard to them at the coming Conference—namely,

the re-settlement of the nationalities, and to what extent, and at what point, are we to limit the successful advance of Russia. Upon the former of these, I limit myself to saying that I most sincerely trust that any Government under which they may be placed, that any power that may be set over them to rule them, may have no inspiration from, and may in no way take for its exemplar the corrupt despotism of Russia. It is the second of these subjects, however, to which I wish especially to direct attention. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) has asked in what way can anyone suppose that Russia would interfere with the freedom of the Straits? But do we not know well the views of Russia with regard to commerce? Do we not know that with Russia in command of the Bosphorus not one ton of traffic will be allowed within the Black Sea, except under duties practically prohibitory. If, indeed, the right hon. Gentleman were Chancellor of the Exchequer for Russia, we might have no such fears; and perhaps I may here mention, as a subject for consideration by him, that when I was in Russia, in the last autumn—it was during the failures before Plevna, and when they were in very low spirits on the subject of the war—more than one Russian said to me—"I wish your Mr. Gladstone would leave foreign politics alone, and come and put our finances into the same good condition that yours are in; we could afford him a million roubles if he would undertake the work." It was in the autumn of 1876, after the beginning of the troubles, but before the Conference on the war, that in conversation with a friend of mine, who had lived in Russia some 40 years, and who, of all men whom I know, is about the most thoroughly acquainted with Russian subjects and Russian views, I said—"Does Russia intend to take Constantinople?" "No," said he; "of course she would like it, but the voice of Europe is against her, and she won't go in the face of that." What they want is a port on the *Ægean* or the *Mediterranean*—Smyrna or some port further south in the Bay of Iskenderoon; and then what would be her position? Whether, Sir, the story of the will of Peter the Great is true or not is comparatively immaterial; like many other legends, it sufficiently well formulates a fact, and the fact thus ex-

pressed is the one continuous and unabated determination of Russia to occupy a position in South Eastern Europe or in Western Asia. Suppose her, then, with a port such as I have mentioned—she has Batoum on the Black sea—and run a line of some 450 miles from Batoum to the Bay of Iskenderoon, a little longer, perhaps, but an even easier line to Smyrna, and she has a port nearer far to her great arsenal at Nicolaieff than Malta is to Woolwich, and from it she can completely threaten Alexandria and the North-Western approaches to the Suez Canal. Let her, then, move on the great chess-board some heavy pieces to a point on the Persian Gulf—say Bushir, or some still more convenient port in the Strait of Ormaz—and she equally commands the south-eastern approaches to our waterway to India, while, by the same means, she effectually blocks any possible land route along the Euphrates Valley. Well, Sir, I am not going to speak of a power in Russia to attack with material forces, at present at any rate, our North-Western Provinces in India; but everyone who knows the history of Russia for the last half-century knows well her unrivalled ability in stirring up trouble and dissensions among half-civilized tribes; and, if she sought to use that power among the tribes on the frontiers of our North-Western Provinces in India, it might be a source of serious danger. "Well, but," say the Russians, "we are a young country, why should we not have our ambition?" You in England are the last people who ought to blame us for ambition." And this, Sir, brings me to these two questions—Has England the right—and, if she has the right, has she the power—to curb the ambition of Russia? I will take the latter question first. I am not going to draw a comparison of the material powers of England and of Russia; that would take too long a time, and might be unsuitable to the present occasion, and, therefore, I will rather put the question in these words—"Can England command the attention of Russia?" Before the war broke out, and when the Emperor had still not made up his mind for war, what, think you, led him to believe General Ignatieff when he promised him an easy success? What led him to trust one whom no other of his countrymen would believe; what made him act upon the statement

that the Turks would accept the rider to the Protocol? It was that he believed that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich and those who were acting with him were speaking the voice of the people of England, and that England was willing to aid Russia against Turkey, and he gave orders for the war. Well then, Sir, I say that we can command the attention of Russia. But have we a right to curb her ambition? What has led so many of the Liberals, in common with those on this side of the House, to join in, I will not say the hatred, but the distrust of Russia? It is that we detest her despotism—that despotism which enables one man on the advice and to gratify the ambition of a circle of corrupt and hungry aspirants to power around the Throne, to deluge countries with blood, and to squander the lives and treasure of his subjects without the consent of those who so severely suffer. What a contrast does this present to the case of this free and constitutionally governed country, where, when it is only a question of £6,000,000, the Government cannot move a step without taking the whole country, by their Representatives, into their counsels. The right hon. Gentleman doubted whether the largely-attended meetings that we have heard of had spoken distinctly their views. I have it in command, in the absence of the two hon. Members for Wolverhampton, whom I do not see here now, to inform the House that at two meetings there, of 8,000 and 10,000 each, the strongest feeling of confidence was expressed, almost unanimously, that the Government had done wisely in asking for this Vote. Sir, I have every wish for the happiness—aye, and for the greatness—of the people of Russia; and if my words could reach the Sovereign of that Empire, I would say, addressing him in no hostile tone, but by that title which his subjects love the best—“Gossudar of Muscovy, Master of Millions, if a voice may reach you from the British House of Commons, let it tell you this—England has no jealousy of you or of your Empire. Gladly would she welcome you as her competitor in arts, in trade, in commerce, in manufactures, aye, and even as her rival in all that may raise humanity or enlighten life; but of your despotism she will have none, and so long as such a rule continues she will still regard the progress

of Russia as the advance of barbarism over civilization.”

MR. FAWCETT said, he considered the remarks made by the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), with reference to the motives which had actuated the conduct of the Opposition, were both unjust and ungenerous, and whatever might be the taunts which were levelled against them, in such a crisis as this he would rather that they were treated with silence. The question they had now to discuss was one that need not involve personalities; it was one of principle, and it was distinct, clear, and concise. The Government, no doubt sincerely, thought that the granting of the Vote would strengthen their position at the Conference, and that being so, it was their duty not to spare any effort to pass the Vote. But, on the other hand, it was believed none the less sincerely by the Opposition that the Vote was calculated not to promote but to endanger British interests. The Opposition at the present moment occupied a very difficult position. At a great crisis in our country's history it was a well-known Constitutional maxim that the Opposition had to play a part scarcely second in importance to that of the Government, and the welfare of the country might be materially affected by whether that part was well or ill played. Nothing would grieve him more than to utter a single word of unnecessary objection to a course which the noble Lord—of whom, since he had become his Leader, he had expressed himself in no terms of stinted praise—might deem it his duty to pursue; but he was bound to say that he would be wanting in candour if he did not say that it seemed to him that the noble Lord, and those who acted with him, had been abrogating their functions in a great crisis like the present. On the previous night the noble Lord and those who sat on the Opposition front bench did not vote one way or the other, but withdrew from the House, just as if they had not an opinion on the subject. The question was a simple one, and might be decided independently of Party; it was either right or it was wrong. If it was right, then they were all bound to support it; if it was wrong, then they were all bound to oppose it. He thought that nothing more unfortunate could happen than that strong words and strong expressions of opinion



should not be followed by corresponding actions. He did not know what course was going to be pursued that night by the right hon. Gentlemen on the front Opposition bench, but he knew the course they pursued on the previous night. He could not understand that course, considering the speeches they had made in that debate. Circumstances had not changed. When the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) first gave Notice of his Resolution he did not know the terms of the armistice, and when the right hon. Gentleman walked out of the House on the previous evening he did not know what were the terms of the armistice; so that circumstances had not altered. Why, then, was the Resolution abandoned? It was abandoned in a scare — after a four nights' debate on an unconfirmed rumour, when they came down to the House they abandoned the Amendment, and left their followers without guides. What was it that caused such deep excitement in the House on the previous night? It was not the rumour that Russia had occupied a particular position in Turkish territory, or that they had taken this or that particular post; but it was the rumour that three days after the armistice had been reported to be signed they had abrogated the solemn promise made in that armistice. He was not going to express an opinion on the terms of the armistice. That was a question between Russia and Turkey; but the most serious aspect of the rumours in circulation had been entirely dissipated, and now there was not the slightest shadow of evidence that Russia had disregarded her plighted word. Many of the speeches made on the front Opposition benches had made a deep impression on the followers of the noble Lord, and it was in consequence of those strong words that hon. Members on that side were going to vote. If they were to be told, as they were told on that night week by the right hon. Member for the University of London (Mr. Lowe), that he should not give a vote which implied confidence in the Government on this question, and when he went on to say that there were some things which the Government might do, but what the Government now proposed to do was beyond the limits of human endurance, he (Mr. Fawcett) thought he had a right to ask the right hon. Gentleman what

had induced him so entirely to change his mind that he now regarded the question as one of such insignificant importance that he did not vote at all? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), in bringing forward his Motion, said that the Vote was entirely unnecessary, it was unprecedented, and would establish a bad and dangerous precedent. If the Vote was unnecessary yesterday week, he asked how was it that it was now necessary and so little dangerous that the right hon. Gentleman did not think it worth his while to go into one Lobby or the other about it? It seemed to him that if he had changed his mind, they who had been influenced by his strong expressions had a right to know what had brought about the change in his opinion. With regard to the question before the Committee, most of the observations he had to make had been anticipated by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich. He had listened to that speech with delight, and he believed in reference to that speech the country would say to-morrow morning that a more eloquent, and, what was far more valuable, a more useful and timely speech was never delivered in the House; and he believed what he had said about the duty of England to use her influence to secure good terms for the Christian populations of Turkey, and especially the Bulgarians, would be fruitful of good. Little had been said about the financial aspects of the question. The other day he read a statement which was made by a supporter of the Government, and which if not repudiated would be fraught with the gravest possible perils. At the great meeting held in Exeter Hall to express confidence in the Government, the speaker whose utterances were the most loudly cheered was his right hon. Friend the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel). The resolution passed at that meeting in support of the Government was obtained by an appeal which, if made by a working man, would have been described as the worst and most sinister influence. The right hon. Member for Tamworth said, according to the report in *The Times*—“You, the working classes, have been told that this proposed Vote will burden you with taxation.” [“Hear, hear!”] Yes; but the right hon. Baronet went

*Mr. Fawcett*

on to say—"If any burden is imposed on the people, I can assure you it will be in the form of taxation which will not touch a single working man." They could estimate at its true value any Vote of Confidence obtained for the Government upon such a miserable and discreditable appeal as that.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he was sorry to interrupt his hon. Friend, but he had never made that statement at all. What he said was, that he felt quite certain that if it were necessary to impose a burden on the country the working class, as well as all other classes, would willingly bear their share of the burden, in order to support the honour and the interests of the country.

MR. FAWCETT admitted that his right hon. Friend made the remark he had just repeated, but prefaced it by immediately telling them beforehand that if any taxation were proposed it would not touch a single working man. Greatly to their credit a portion of the audience discarded the appeal made to them, and received it with derisive cheering. With an enfranchised democracy no imaginable policy could be fraught with such great peril to the well-being of the country as the advocating of a war policy and supporting it by taxation which did not fall on the majority, but only on the minority. When they got either into Committee of Ways and Means, or passed a Resolution for raising the money by Exchequer Bills, they would have a right to demand from the Government a clear and explicit declaration that if this Vote should involve additional taxation, that taxation should not be in a form which would fall only upon the minority. It had been said that this debate had not been creditable to the House of Commons or useful to the country. If, however, they contrasted the speech which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer made last night with that which he delivered this evening, they would admit that the seven nights' debate had rendered great service to the country. The right hon. Gentleman's speech was most judicious and temperate, and contained not a single word which the most fastidious or sensitive foreign Power could possibly have objected to. Excluding personalities, the substance of the debate was this—the Government had asserted that their policy was one of

neutrality and peace; no single responsible person in that House had advised, nor had the Government said, that anything ought to be done to save Turkey from the consequences she had brought upon herself; there was a settled determination, emphasised to a most important extent by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer this evening, that the influence of England should be used on behalf of the subject-races of the Porte; and, lastly, there was a common agreement to support British interests, including the free passage of the Dardanelles to all the ships of Europe. Now, if they considered the position of affairs six months ago, it seemed that the debate had been useful when it had produced such conclusions as these. The reason why he could not give up his opposition to the Vote was that whatever the policy of the Government might be, however excellent it might be, he believed that that policy would not be promoted, but would be, on the contrary, retarded, and the chances of success hindered and suspicion among foreign Powers aroused, by the passing of the Vote. This debate would enable Europe to know that in one respect England was united; that, whether we were Tories, or Liberals, or Radicals, we were all alike fervent in the desire to maintain the honour and interests of the country. There was one other thing we were also anxious to maintain. We would give to Europe no opportunity of saying that we had lost an opportunity of promoting freedom, or that we were no longer anxious to extend a helping hand to all who were striving to throw off the yoke of the oppressor.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he felt that a few words were due from him to the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) and to the Committee generally. He wished first, however, to make one remark upon a question which was not yet before the Committee, but which he thought of importance, and on which he believed there would be a general agreement, although it would not excite any feeling on either side of the House. Some remarks had been made as to what the Government should press for at the Conference; but there was one other matter, and that was that the influence of the Government ought to be used, as far as it could be

used in reason, in favour of liberty of conscience for all the inhabitants of the Turkish Empire, and especially of the inhabitants of the Danubian Provinces, whether they were tributary or under administrative autonomy. He did not make that remark without some reason. He had looked into this question during his recent visit to Constantinople, and he thought it admitted of proof that there was a temptation to persecution on the part of the Greek Church and also of the Bulgarian Church; and, indeed, reliable information lately obtained proved that there had been persecution of Bulgarian Protestants. He believed there could be no greater boon to those rising nationalities than that the influence of England should be used, as far as possible, not only on behalf of all persecuted people, whether Jews or Protestants, but to save the majority from the harm and misery they would bring upon themselves if they encouraged a persecuting spirit. The hon. Member for Hackney had asked him how he could justify his course yesterday, and, also, the course his hon. Friend supposed he would take this evening. He would be perfectly frank with the Committee as to the withdrawal of his Amendment. He withdrew that Amendment, not because he liked to do so—for no one liked to do such a thing—but because on consultation not only with his noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington), but with his right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), and his right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), and others with whom he was in the habit of acting, they all came to the conclusion that in the interest of the objects they had at heart the Amendment ought to be withdrawn. Let it not be supposed that it was because they knew they were going to be in a minority. He was not frightened at being in a minority; he had been in a minority many times in the country and the House, and he expected that before the conclusion of his political existence he would often be in that predicament again. But it was impossible to slight the seriousness of the information which came yesterday. His hon. Friend supposed that they acted upon the exaggerated reports in the newspapers and on the Stock Exchange. No; they waited for the state-

ment of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and if that statement had not given such importance to the information, he would not have taken the course he had followed. There was no denying that the information as it was produced then, and even as it was explained to-day, did show that the Russian Government, without doing anything which they had not a right to do as a conquering Power, yet were remarkably silent on the matter, and, perhaps for purposes sufficient for themselves, had given little information either to the Porte or, so far as he knew, to our Government or to other European Powers. But the chief motive which influenced his right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham and himself was this—they were exceedingly anxious not to be betrayed into war upon this matter. He did not himself believe there was any ground why England should fight. He did not consider our interests in danger, our honour insulted, or that there was any attempt to make us unfaithful to our duty. But he did feel that every hour he kept the Amendment before the House and the country after the news of yesterday had been proclaimed he was increasing the strength of the war party throughout England. That, indeed, was his chief motive for withdrawing the Amendment, and in withdrawing it it was necessary for him to state that he would offer no further opposition to the Speaker's leaving the Chair. And now he would state the reasons why he should to-night take the course which he believed would be also taken by his noble Friend the Member for the Radnor Burghs—a course always requiring explanation—that of not voting at all. He had three or four special motives for objecting to the Vote when it was proposed. One was that Turkey and Russia were then at war, and he very much feared that the Vote as moved and as pressed would endanger the neutrality of the Government. That fear had been removed by the cessation of hostilities. But he had other reasons. First in order, though not in importance, was the unprecedented and unconstitutional form and manner in which the Vote was proposed. Nothing which had passed in the debate had removed his objections on that score; and they had been still further confirmed by the exhaustive speech of his right

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hon. Friend the Member for Pontefract (Mr. Childers), and the eloquent speech of the highest financial authority, his right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone). But a still stronger objection was that he feared—to speak quite plainly—that the Government would make a bad use at the Conference of the influence, be it small or be it great, which they would obtain by this Vote. He had believed, taking the interpretation which had been fairly put upon the speech in which the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer first moved the Vote, but which interpretation the right hon. Gentleman had this evening disavowed, that whatever influence was obtained by this Vote would be used at the Conference by the Government, honestly, no doubt, to minimize the terms that might be obtained for the Christian subjects of the Porte. He joined with his right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich and the hon. Member for Hackney in their expressions of satisfaction at the explanations the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had given on the points referred to; and he would only say that if the speech which the right hon. Gentleman had made this evening had been made when he brought forward the Motion, the feeling on the subject would have been very different. There still remained the very strong ground of opposition—the unprecedented and unconstitutional nature of the Vote. But now he had to take into consideration the other side. He did not go with his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) that they ought to agree with the Government in whatever plans they produced on the ground that they were dealing with a foreign question. It was their duty to look most seriously into the foreign policy of the Government, and to oppose it if they thought necessary. At the same time, he admitted that they ought to have a very strong reason for opposing it. He did not believe the Government would gain weight by this Vote; but they might lose weight by strong opposition to it. Having made his protest against the unprecedented nature of the Vote, he might have entered again into an active opposition to it on that ground; or, as he knew the Vote must pass, he might refrain from further active opposition, in order not to weaken the Government in the

Councils of Europe. He had decided, on the whole, that the second was the better course, and therefore he should take the same course as his noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington); and while he regretted to say he could not support the Government in this matter, yet, remembering how difficult was their position, he was not one of those who were going to add to their weakness by swelling the numbers of the Opposition. They would have a difficult task, not only with regard to British interests, but the interests of other people, especially the interests of the Hellenic race, and he was not going, by his vote, to give the appearance of disunion in their efforts.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the right hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had given very good arguments in support of the course which the Government asked the Committee to adopt. The position of the Government was one of great responsibility, great anxiety, and one which involved a task of no ordinary difficulty and labour. The right hon. Gentleman had said that, so far as he was concerned, he felt it to be his duty not to weaken the Government in the Councils of Europe by adding to the number of those who apparently in that House differed from their policy. He wished the right hon. Gentleman had gone a little further, and, this not being a Party question, given his support to the Government in an honest endeavour to give expression to that policy. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) was sure that no effort that could be used would be spared to secure good government for the people who were about to pass under a different government from that which they had previously enjoyed. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) said he desired to strengthen the Government in the Conference in which they expected shortly to take part. He was willing to give the great support of his name in favour of the expression of their views in the Congress; but he thought it right to say that he refused, on the ground of precedent and financial policy, to give the £6,000,000. What was the difference between the two propositions? The right hon. Gentleman was willing to support the Government so that they might speak with the voice of Great Britain in the Councils of Europe, and incur a responsibility which was not to

be measured by £6,000,000; and yet he would not give them this Vote. Thus it appeared that the right hon. Gentleman refused to give the Government a cheque for £6,000,000, but he would give them a blank cheque, without money expressed, to be filled up by themselves at the right time. Now, if the Government were not to be trusted with the responsibility of spending so much as they thought necessary in making preparations for guarding the safety of their interests, in strengthening themselves where they thought strength was needed, then he said they ought not to be trusted in going into the Conference to speak for England, and to commit her to the decisions which would be arrived at. He had taken part in financial questions during the past few years, and he knew no higher duties than to require the most exact accounts for the administration of public money; but he must say he thought there were times when high financial doctrinaires incurred enormous risks if they pushed their theories too far; and he thought it would be a safer thing to give the money which the Government required, and of which they would have to give an account, than to run the risk of having to face the possibility to which the right hon. Gentleman referred the other night, when he said that in times of war all financial authority was gone, and that the expenditure could not be checked. It was the most earnest desire and hope of Her Majesty's Government that the issue of war might be avoided; and no one except those who had occupied positions as Ministers of the Crown could conceive the amount of responsibility which rested upon a Minister when he expressed an opinion on such a question. They believed that the course they were asking the House of Commons to adopt was one which would tend in the most complete and secure manner to save England from the horrors of war. They believed that if they had the means entrusted to them of making such preparations as they might deem to be necessary, those preparations would be a security against war. They did not intend to spend a single farthing more than was absolutely necessary of the money which might be voted. Events were occurring from day to day; and, during the last 10 days in particular, circumstances had happened which the

Government foresaw to some extent, but of which they had no perfect knowledge—events which showed that the opinion of the country and the House was tending in the direction pointed out by Her Majesty's Government a fortnight ago. Events, as he said, had justified the course which the Government asked the House to take some time back, and which they again suggested as the wisest and most politic one to follow. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich said the other day that, if it were necessary that expenditure should be incurred, it was the duty of the Government to make proper preparation, and then come down and ask the House to meet that expenditure. He (Mr. W. H. Smith) ventured to think that such a course involved far more unsound financial doctrines than that the Government had proposed to the House. His right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer had stated that the sum named would be sufficient for a limited period; but the right hon. Gentleman opposite said—"Do not come and ask for any particular sum beforehand, but act on your own responsibility; make your preparations, engage your transports, take all the steps you think necessary for the defence of the nation."

MR. GLADSTONE said, he had not recommended that preparations should be completed before money was asked, but that they should simply be commenced, and the probable cost of completing them ascertained, before a Vote was taken.

MR. W. H. SMITH said, the right hon. Gentleman knew perfectly well what that would involve. The commencement of preparations was the committal of the country. A letter written, an order given, implied liabilities which must be met in some shape or way. Virtually, what the right hon. Gentleman said could only be understood to mean—Give no warning to the House of Commons, commence your preparations, and then at the earliest opportunity afterwards ask for the funds; but he (Mr. W. H. Smith) would rather come down first to the House of Commons and say—"On our judgment, as Ministers of the Crown, we undertake serious responsibilities; but we believe the circumstances are grave and imperative, and we ask for funds to meet the

*Mr. W. H. Smith*

demands which may possibly be made on us." A few days ago he read some remarks made in 1870 by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich when he came to the House and asked for a Vote of Credit. The right hon. Gentleman said—

"We have maturely weighed what the country requires, and we now submit to Parliament the result of our deliberations, in the belief that what we ask is calculated to fit us for the discharge of our duty, to enable us to maintain such a dignified and friendly position as will carry with it no suspicion, and will not, under the idea of securing safety, introduce new elements of danger and disturbance; to give us the best hope we can possess of accomplishing that which is the object nearest our hearts—namely, to maintain intact the character and fame of England while this unhappy war shall continue, and possibly at some blessed moment to be, either alone or along with others, the chosen bearers of a message of peace."—[3 *Hansard*, cciii. 1313.]

These words were not exactly applicable to the circumstances of the present time, but they represented the state of mind in which the Government now ventured to ask for the support they hoped to receive at the hands of the House. The events now passing were even more grave than those of 1870. They were now witnessing the fall of an Empire which had been an object of solicitude, if not of fear, to statesmen during the last half century; and the belief of the Government was that, backed by the support of the people, they could steer the country safely through the dangers which now so thickly beset the course they had to pursue, and secure good government, happiness, and peace for that part of the world which was afflicted with the horrors of war.

MR. SULLIVAN: Upon the occasion of a former debate on the Eastern Question last year, I ventured to say to the House of Commons that, without impugning the judgment of any section of the House, if any men here were in a position to hold the balance impartially between Turkey and Russia those men were the Irish Members amongst whom I sit. An hon. Member spoke last night, one who seldom interferes in debate; but whose words, when he does so, carry with them the influence of sagacity and impartiality—the hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter). That hon. Member described this discussion as "a war debate tempered by telegrams." Now, I will express the feelings of myself and those around me

by saying that we are the friends of freedom for the Christians in the East, tempered with something more than distrust of the Power which destroyed the gallant Polish nation. I wish, before the debate closes, to claim the attention of the Committee for a few words, not as the authorized exponent of any Party, though I am able to speak for many Irish Members, as to their attitude, so that this House, England, and Europe may not misunderstand the feelings and emotions of the Irish people upon this question. Seeing, then, that their attitude should not be misunderstood, I feel I cannot pass unnoticed a speech made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) the other day at Oxford. I am afraid the House has been wearied by the too many references to the right hon. Gentleman, and to the alleged or real utterances of Lord Beaconsfield, and I had not the remotest idea of adding a contribution to that feature in the debate by accusations against the First Minister of the Crown or against him who held that position a few years ago. But in vindication of my Friends in this House against words used at Oxford, I claim a little of your attention. In the course of his speech the right hon. Gentleman said—

"There is another thing on the side of my fears that the Vote may be carried, and that is the condition of Irish representation. Now, as I am a man without any personal hopes or fears in politics, I am the man to speak out on a question of this kind, and I say the condition of the Irish representation is, in my view, deplorable —"

MR. GLADSTONE: That report has not my authority. In listening to the words quoted, I think there is unquestionably an error in them. I was commenting freely, and perhaps not favourably, on the tendencies of Irish Representatives. I cannot recall the expression I used, but I do not think I referred to the condition of Irish representation as deplorable.

MR. SULLIVAN: In a great sense I feel I am repaid for having interfered in the debate, as I have called forth such a correction from the right hon. Gentleman. One of the most important events which has happened during the last generation in Irish public life was the visit to Ireland made a few months ago by the right hon. Gentleman. Although it may be said there is a strong anti-English

feeling in that country, they are always happy to welcome an English friend. I was absent from Ireland when the visit took place; but I felt the deepest anxiety that my countrymen should receive the right hon. Gentleman in a manner befitting his position and their own dignity and self-respect. Great was the regret I felt upon finding the attitude of Irish Members so painfully misconceived in the words used by the right hon. Gentleman. Passing on to the speech, he said—

"We were wont to fight shoulder to shoulder with the popular Representatives of Ireland, and to fight together the battle of freedom."

Against what oppressors? Why, when Constitutional liberty was about to be taken from Ireland some few years since, who was it that fastened on the fetters? What was the meaning of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman?—

"I hope, for the honour of Ireland and the future prospects of Ireland, that those who struggled to be free themselves will show respect and sympathy for the freedom of others; but if they are determined to refuse freedom to others, we will fight without them."

What is the meaning of this? The Irish Members intend to abstain from the division upon this Vote. But the course they resolved to follow, and which is there referred to as a disgrace, is the course now adopted by the front Opposition Bench. Just change the words of the speech, leaving out the word Ireland. I would say—"I hope for the honour of the front Opposition Bench, and I hope for the future prosperity of the Liberal Party, that those who struggled to be free themselves will show respect and sympathy for others." I cannot but think that it would be said—if they walked out of the House as they did last night—if they follow the course which upon higher and nobler grounds the Irish Party adopted, it would be said they had effected a retrograde movement in the face of the enemy. I have no doubt but that in that miraculous council of the Liberal Party, to which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford has alluded, everything has been considered; but for my part I will say that, although the Irish Party have the deepest sympathy with the Christian populations of the East, they cannot give their gratitude to a Power which, in its own dominions, is an enslaver. We are not willing to

express our confidence in the generalship of the front Opposition Bench; and we have serious misgivings as to the wisdom of marching into battle behind Leaders who may desert us at the critical moment of action. But whether the judgment of the right hon. Gentleman is clear or doubtful, there is no mistake whatever that he has conscientious feelings upon the question, and that is one feature in the right hon. Gentleman's character for which even so young a Member of that House as myself may fairly commend him, and it is the one that has won for him the esteem of the people of Ireland. We have seen last year change after change on the front Opposition Bench, until Irish Members feel they cannot trust that Bench to lead them on the Eastern Question in any critical difficulty. We are asked, on the other hand, to give a Vote of Confidence to the Government, to send them into the Councils of Europe endowed with authority to hold the proxy of the united nation. Like my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle, I am not able to utter a sweeping condemnation of the action of the Government. The balance of my judgment is, at all events, such that I cannot offer them my confidence to go into the Councils of Europe to urge I know not what views, but to decide issues which I know to be tremendous. We cannot endow the Government with the proxy of Ireland. I do not want to import the Irish question into the debate, but it is necessary, in order to make our position understood. Aiming as we do at autonomy for ourselves, as a restoration of an inalienable right, we will not give a Vote to England to prevent in the East that autonomy of which they deny the restoration at home. We have some difficulty, also, in understanding what Government really means, or what its policy is. No doubt, the Government may be proud of the intensity of feeling and the loyalty which are manifested not only in the House, but by vast numbers in the country; but I will express my inability to understand where the Government stands upon this question. My own belief is, that the Government is earnest and sincere in its desire to avoid war; but I have often seen on the wide Atlantic a noble and magnificent ship heading in one direction but moving in another, and it is my opinion that although

*Mr. Sullivan*

the ship of State, under the guidance of the Government, is heading in the direction of peace, there are eddies and tides bearing it dangerously near to the shoals and quick-sands of war. For the last 14 months Her Majesty's Government have been in the crucial difficulty of endeavouring to satisfy the country which demands peace, and of endeavouring to prevent a mutiny in their following by trying to satisfy the section of their followers who are desirous of war. Without recapitulating all that has been done, I submit that we have been agitated by a series of acts presented to us as warlike one day, qualified the next day by a speech from a Minister of the Crown, declaring that the position of the Government is eminently pacific. How could we be expected to entrust the Government with our unrestricted confidence? We know very well that in this country there is a traditional feeling of friendship and alliance with Turkey. The feeling has been manifest throughout the whole of this debate. I state the fact; and, for my own part, I think the Sultan has some right to complain of the manner in which he has been abandoned during the continuance of his alliance with this country. The Sultan of Turkey visited this country in 1867, went to the Royal Italian Opera, sat in the Royal box with some of the Members of the Royal Family, and after the National Anthem of Great Britain had been sounded in his ears, he heard the anthem of "God preserve the Sultan" sung, as the newspapers told us, by the full strength of the company. It ran as follows:—

"God preserve thee, Sultan, long,  
Ever keep thee from all woes;  
May thy State and thee be strong,  
To disarm and resist thy foes."

\* \* \* \*

"God of all glory,  
Power and renown!  
Grant he before Thee  
May still wear a crown;  
Then may he near Thee  
Praise and adore,  
Joyfully hear Thee,  
His God for evermore."

I have no doubt in the world that the various circumstances which I have endeavoured to indicate have contributed to the feeling which we know exists around us; but two wrongs do

not make a right. Hon. Gentlemen opposite may talk of the perfidy of Servia, of the aggression of Russia, and of the foul methods by which the authority of the Porte has been overthrown. They may say that there has been no general up-rising of the people, that Russian gold has been used to get up agitation throughout the Principalities, and that Russia subsidized secret societies for annexation purposes to Servia or otherwise, and seduced the subjects of the Porte from their allegiance; but, surely, if that is so, it did not all begin there? Look at Italy. Was a policy of annexation not pursued and approved of in that country? And why should such a policy be forbidden to Prince Milan, if it were allowed to Victor Emmanuel? I recall these points because evil principles come home to roost; and Europe has been paying, in bloodshed and suffering, the penalty of allowing Treaty faith and public justice to be thus violated. But a few years ago you allowed the strong hand to prevail in other parts of Europe; and to-day the Czar steps down with his strong hand, and might again prevails. For my part, whether it be in Poland or in Bulgaria, my sympathies must always be for the oppressed. We heard to-night from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer a speech which would have been excellent but for a few things which the right hon. Gentleman did not say, and a few phrases which he did not use. I noticed that the First Lord of the Admiralty, like the Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke of good government, happiness, and peace for the Eastern peoples; but nothing was said by either speaker inconsistent with relegating those peoples back to Turkish rule. It may be that what Ministers consider good government is government under the Porte. I trust it is not so; and I earnestly share the hope which has been expressed in the course of our discussions that there shall be no expenditure of our blood or money in order to set up again, if possible, that which it is to be hoped has been destroyed for ever. The moment is one of peril and disquietude; but the events which we have witnessed constitute a great historic retribution for our having failed to assist the Christian possessors of Constantinople when they endeavoured to hold that city against



the Mahomedan invaders. Europe in that hour, too selfish or too mean, hearkened not to the cry of the Christian possessors of Constantinople. Wrapping itself in its selfishness, that day it admitted the Turkish Power within those gates, and this day we behold Constantine XII. avenged. Thus it will be still, I may say, in the future. If we allow great and noble principles to be struck down, if we allow great crimes to be consummated, no matter in what corner of Europe it may be that the wrong was done, though buried in the earth in blood, though seemingly destroyed by sword and flame, the murdered right will rise again hereafter to perplex and dismay those who wrought and those who permitted the crime.

Mr. DAVIES observed that had it not been that they had to give a vote, he should not have said a word on the subject. He did not intend to go into the details of this Eastern Question, especially after so much had been said about it; but as he was bound to give his vote, and felt himself in a very painful position, he wished to make a little explanation, and to point out to the Government that, so far as he was concerned, it was they who were to be blamed for getting the House into this mess. He had been there the whole time during every night of this debate, and in his view the £6,000,000 now asked for were 6,000,000 of policy, not 6,000,000 of money. Everybody knew perfectly well that England was worth very much more than £6,000,000, and if it was to go forth that the House of Commons was divided about such a sum, surely it could not be worth much in the way of policy? If the Government wanted the money they would get it; but, so far as policy was concerned, this was hardly a proper way of laying one down. There must be a division, though his advice was that there should be none; but, of course, that was quite impossible now, and he was not going to run away without giving his vote. He had not been in the House very long, but he had never run away without giving his vote on one side or the other, and he had at all times given that vote to the best of his judgment. He was sorry to say that he could not give his vote on this occasion with the Government, and that being so he must give it to the Opposition. The minority, no

doubt, would be a small one, but it would be composed of Members representing the largest and most intelligent constituencies. Before he sat down he wished to point out to the Government how it was that they were in the wrong. He was present on the first night of the Session, when the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer gave the House his word that he would not ask for this money until something had happened. So far as he (Mr. Davies) was himself concerned, he put it down in his own mind at the time that the "something" on which the application for the Vote was to depend was to be some dispute with some foreign Government, and that until such a dispute arose the money was not to be asked for. But it was asked for after all, and was met by the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), which was afterwards withdrawn. So far as the Amendment was concerned, he (Mr. Davies) admitted that he never approved of it; but he thought he would throw in his lot with his Leaders, believing that they had well considered the subject, and that they could see something more than he could. The Members of the Opposition had been told the other night from the other side of the House that they were like a fish, and that it was the tail which guided the head. He supposed that was the case with regard to the fish, but it certainly was not the case with regard to the Opposition; for the tail had not guided the head, but the head had guided the tail—which showed that they were not a fish. He knew that this was a very serious matter, and he had no wish to treat it lightly; but he wished to make this appeal to the Leaders of the Opposition—that whenever they drew their followers into a scrape like this, they should stand to their guns. He would be the last man in the world to desert his Party, but on this occasion the Opposition Leaders had certainly deserted their followers, and left them in a mess. He charged his Leaders with withdrawing their guns before they were beaten. They had proved to-night by their arguments that they were in the right, and he agreed with them entirely; but why had they not stood to their guns? No doubt the Government, in bringing forward this Vote, hoped to carry it by the united voice of the House; but that

Mr. Sullivan

was not to be, and he did not believe that the Vote could be of any good, when it showed a divided Parliament. He had no desire to detain the House any further, except to repeat that he should be obliged to give his vote against the Government, and he was very sorry for it. If the Government had only told the House what they wanted the money for they certainly should have had his vote, whether the amount had been £1,000,000, £2,000,000, or £6,000,000.

### Question put.

The Committee *divided*.—Ayes 328 ;  
Noes 124 ; Majority 204.

### AYES.

Adderley, rt. hn. Sir C. Buxton, Sir R. J.  
Agnew, R. V. Cameron, D.  
Alexander, Colonel Campbell, C.  
Allen, Major Cartwright, F.  
Allsopp, C. Cave, rt. hon. S.  
Anstruther, Sir W. Cavendish, Lord G.  
Archdale, W. H. Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.  
Arkwright, A. P. Chaine, J.  
Arkwright, F. Chaplin, Colonel E.  
Ashbury, J. L. Chaplin, H.  
Asheton, R. Charley, W. T.  
Astley, Sir J. D. Christie, W. L.  
Bagge, Sir W. Clive, Col. hon. G. W.  
Bailey, Sir J. R. Close, M. C.  
Balfour, A. J. Cobbold, T. C.  
Baring, T. C. Cochran, A. D. W. R. B.  
Barne, F. St. J. N. Cole, Col. hon. H. A.  
Barrington, Viscount Coope, O. E.  
Barttelot, Sir W. B. Cordes, T.  
Bates, E. Corry, hon. H. W. L.  
Bateson, Sir T. Corry, J. P.  
Bathurst, A. A. Cowen, J.  
Beach, rt. hon. Sir M. H. Crichton, Viscount  
Beach, W. W. B. Cross, rt. hon. R. A.  
Beaumont, W. B. Cubitt, G.  
Bective, Earl of Cuninghame, Sir W.  
Benett-Stanford, V. F. Cust, H. C.  
Bentinck, rt. hon. G. C. Dalrymple, C.  
Bentinck, G. W. P. Davenport, W. B.  
Beresford, Lord C. Deedes, W.  
Beresford, G. De la P. Denison, C. B.  
Beresford, Colonel M. Denison, W. B.  
Birley, H. Denison, W. E.  
Blackburne, Col. J. I. Dickson, Major A. G.  
Boord, T. W. Digby, Col. hon. E.  
Bourke, hon. R. Douglas, Sir G.  
Bourne, Colonel Duff, J.  
Bousfield, Colonel Dunbar, J.  
Bowyer, Sir G. Eaton, H. W.  
Bright, R. Edmonstone, Admiral  
Brise, Colonel R. Sir W.  
Broadley, W. H. H. Egerton, hon. A. F.  
Brooks, W. C. Egerton, Sir P. G.  
Bruce, hon. T. Egerton, hon. W.  
Bruen, H. Eloho, Lord  
Brymer, W. E. Elliot, G. W.  
Bulwer, J. R. Elphinstone, Sir J. D. H.  
Burghley, Lord Emlin, Viscount  
Burrell, Sir W. W. Eslington, Lord  
Butler-Johnstone, H. A. Estcourt, G. S.

Fielden, E.  
Finch, G. H.  
Foljambe, F. J. S.  
Forester, C. T. W.  
Forsyth, W.  
Fraser, Sir W. A.  
Fremantle, hon. T. F.  
Freshfield, C. K.  
Gallwey, Sir W. P.  
Galway, Viscount  
Gardner, J. T. Agg-  
Gardner, R. Richard-  
son-  
Garnier, J. C.  
Gibson, rt. hon. E.  
Giffard, Sir H. S.  
Gilpin, Sir R. T.  
Goddard, A. L.  
Goldney, G.  
Gooch, Sir D.  
Gordon, Sir A.  
Gordon, W.  
Gorst, J. E.  
Goulding, W.  
Grantham, W.  
Greenall, Sir G.  
Greene, E.  
Gregory, G. B.  
Hall, A. W.  
Halsey, T. F.  
Hamilton, Lord C. J.  
Hamilton, I. T.  
Hamilton, Lord G.  
Hamilton, Marquess of  
Hamilton, hon. R. B.  
Hanbury, R. W.  
Hankey, T.  
Harcourt, E. W.  
Hardcastle, E.  
Hardy, rt. hon. G.  
Hardy, S.  
Harvey, Sir R. B.  
Hay, rt. hn. Sir J. C. D.  
Heath, R.  
Helmaley, Viscount  
Herbert, hon. S.  
Hermon, E.  
Hervey, Lord F.  
Heygate, W. U.  
Hick, J.  
Hildyard, T. B. T.  
Hill, A. S.  
Hinchbrook, Visc.  
Holford, J. P. G.  
Holland, Sir H. T.  
Holmesdale, Viscount  
Holt, J. M.  
Home, Captain  
Hood, Captain hon. A.  
W. A. N.  
Hope, A. J. B. B.  
Hubbard, E.  
Hubbard, rt. hon. J.  
Isaac, S.  
Jervis, Colonel  
Johnson, J. G.  
Johnston, W.  
Johnstone, Sir F.  
Jolliffe, hon. S.  
Jones, J.  
Kavanagh, A. MacM.  
Kennard, Colonel  
Kennaway, Sir J. H.  
King-Harman, E. R.  
Knight, F. W.  
Knightley, Sir R.  
Knowles, T.  
Lawrence, Sir T.  
Learnmonth, A.  
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.  
Lee, Major V.  
Legard, Sir C.  
Legh, W. J.  
Leighton, Sir B.  
Leighton, S.  
Lennox, Lord H. G.  
Leslie, Sir J.  
Lewis, C. E.  
Lewis, O.  
Lindsay, Colonel R. L.  
Lindsay, Lord  
Lloyd, S.  
Lloyd, T. E.  
Lopes, Sir M.  
Lorne, Marquess of  
Lowther, hon. W.  
Lowther, J.  
Macartney, J. W. E.  
McGarel-Hogg, Sir J.  
Maitland, W. F.  
Majendie, L. A.  
Makins, Colonel  
Malcolm, J. W.  
Mandeville, Viscount  
Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.  
March, Earl of  
Marten, A. G.  
Merewether, C. G.  
Mills, A.  
Mills, Sir C. H.  
Monckton, F.  
Montgomerie, R.  
Montgomery, Sir G. G.  
Moore, S.  
Moray, H. E. S. H. D.  
Mowbray, rt. hon. J. R.  
Mulholland, J.  
Muncaster, Lord  
Mure, Colonel  
Naghten, Lt.-Colonel  
Newdegate, C. N.  
Newport, Viscount  
Noel, rt. hon. G. J.  
North, Colonel  
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir  
S. H.  
O'Neill, hon. E.  
Onslow, D.  
Paget, R. H.  
Palk, Sir L.  
Parker, Lt.-Col. W.  
Pateshall, E.  
Peck, Sir H.  
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.  
Pell, A.  
Pemberton, E. L.  
Pennant, hon. G.  
Peploe, Major  
Percy, Earl  
Phipps, P.  
Pim, Captain B.  
Plunket, hon. D. R.  
Plunkett, hon. R.  
Polhill-Turner, Capt.  
Powell, W.

Praed, C. T.  
 Praed, H. B.  
 Price, Captain  
 Puleston, J. H.  
 Read, C. S.  
 Rendlesham, Lord  
 Repton, G. W.  
 Ridley, M. W.  
 Ripley, H. W.  
 Ritchie, C. T.  
 Rodwell, B. B. H.  
 Round, J.  
 Russell, Sir C.  
 Ryder, G. R.  
 Sackville, S. G. S.  
 Salt, T.  
 Samuda, J. D'A.  
 Sanderson, T. K.  
 Sandford, G. M. W.  
 Sandon, Viscount  
 Schlater-Booth, rt. hn. G.  
 Scott, Lord H.  
 Scott, M. D.  
 Selwin - Ibbetson, Sir  
     H. J.  
 Severne, J. E.  
 Shirley, S. E.  
 Shute, General  
 Sidebottom, T. H.  
 Simonds, W. B.  
 Smith, A.  
 Smith, E.  
 Smith, F. C.  
 Smith, S. G.  
 Smith, rt. hn. W. H.  
 Smollett, P. B.  
 Somerset, Lord H. R. C.  
 Spinks, Mr. Serjeant  
 Stafford, Marquess of  
 Stanhope, hon. E.  
 Stanhope, W. T. W. S.  
 Stanley, hon. F.  
 Starkey, L. B.  
 Starkie, J. P. C.  
 Steere, L.  
 Stewart, M. J.  
 Storer, G.  
 Sykes, C.  
 Talbot, J. G.  
 Taylor, rt. hon. Col.  
 Tennant, R.  
 Thornhill, T.  
 Thynne, Lord H. F.  
 Tollemache, hon. W. F.  
 Torr, J.  
 Tremayne, J.  
 Trevor, Lord A. E. Hill-  
     Turnor, E.  
 Twells, P.  
 Verner, E. W.  
 Wait, W. K.  
 Walker, O. O.  
 Walker, T. E.  
 Wallace, Sir R.  
 Walpole, rt. hon. S.  
 Walsh, hon. A.  
 Walter, J.  
 Warburton, P. E.  
 Ward, M. F.  
 Waterhouse, S.  
 Watney, J.  
 Watson, W.  
 Welby-Gregory, Sir W.  
 Wellesley, Colonel  
 Wethered, T. O.  
 Wheelhouse, W. S. J.  
 Whitelaw, A.  
 Wilmot, Sir H.  
 Wolff, Sir H. D.  
 Wood, B. T.  
 Wroughton, P.  
 Wyndham, hon. P.  
 Wynn, Sir W. W.  
 Wynn, C. W. W.  
 Yarmouth, Earl of  
 Yeaman, J.  
 Yorke, J. R.

## TELLERS.

Dyke, Sir W. H.  
 Winn, R.

## NOES.

Anderson, G.  
 Anstruther, Sir R.  
 Backhouse, E.  
 Balfour, Sir G.  
 Barclay, J. W.  
 Barran, J.  
 Bass, A.  
 Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.  
 Beaumont, Colonel F.  
 Bell, I. L.  
 Biggar, J. G.  
 Blake, T.  
 Briggs, W. E.  
 Bright, rt. hon. J.  
 Bristowe, S. B.  
 Brocklehurst, W. C.  
 Brogden, A.  
 Brown, A. H.  
 Brown, J. C.  
 Burt, T.  
 Cameron, C.  
 Campbell, Sir G.  
 Campbell-Bannerman,  
     H.  
 Cave, T.  
 Chadwick, D.  
 Chamberlain, J.  
 Clarke, J. C.  
 Clifford, C. C.  
 Cole, H. T.  
 Colman, J. J.  
 Conyngham, Lord F.  
 Cowan, J.  
 Cross, J. K.  
 Davies, D.  
 Davies, R.  
 Delahunty, J.  
 Dillwyn, L. L.  
 Dodds, J.  
 Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.  
 Earp, T.  
 Eyton, P. E.  
 Fawcett, H.  
 Ferguson, R.  
 Fletcher, I.  
 Forster, Sir C.  
 Gladstone, rt. hn. W. E.  
 Gladstone, W. H.

Gourley, E. T.  
 Gower, hon. E. F. L.  
 Grant, A.  
 Gray, E. D.  
 Harrison, C.  
 Harrison, J. F.  
 Havelock, Sir H.  
 Hayter, A. D.  
 Henry, M.  
 Hibbert, J. T.  
 Hill, T. R.  
 Holland, S.  
 Holms, J.  
 Holms, W.  
 Hopwood, C. H.  
 Howard, hon. C.  
 Hutchinson, J. D.  
 Ingram, W. J.  
 James, W. H.  
 Jenkins, D. J.  
 Jenkins, E.  
 Lawson, Sir W.  
 Leatham, E. A.  
 Leeman, G.  
 Lefevre, G. J. S.  
 Leith, J. F.  
 Lloyd, M.  
 Lush, Dr.  
 Macdonald, A.  
 Mackintosh, C. F.  
 McArthur, A.  
 McArthur, W.  
 McLaren, D.  
 Maitland, J.  
 Marling, S. S.  
 Monk, C. J.  
 Morgan, G. O.  
 Mundella, A. J.  
 Muntz, P. H.  
 Noel, E.  
 O'Donnell, F. H.  
 O'Shaughnessy, R.  
 O'Sullivan, W. H.  
 Parker, C. S.  
 Parnell, C. S.  
 Pease, J. W.  
 Pennington, F.  
 Perkins, Sir F.  
 Phillips, R. N.  
 Plimsoll, S.  
 Potter, T. B.  
 Power, J. O'O.  
 Ramsay, J.  
 Rathbone, W.  
 Redmond, W. A.  
 Robertson, H.  
 Rylands, P.  
 Samuelson, B.  
 Samuelson, H.  
 Sheridan, H. B.  
 Simon, Mr. Serjeant  
 Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.  
 Smyth, P. J.  
 Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.  
 Stevenson, J. C.  
 Stewart, J.  
 Sullivan, A. M.  
 Tavistock, Marquess of  
 Taylor, P. A.  
 Trevelyan, G. O.  
 Vivian, H. H.  
 Waddy, S. D.  
 Waterlow, Sir S. H.  
 Whitwell, J.  
 Whitworth, B.  
 Wilson, C.  
 Young, A. W.

## TELLERS.

Courtney, L. H.  
 Richard, H.

Resolution to be reported upon *Monday* next;

Committee to sit again upon *Monday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter  
 before One o'clock till  
*Monday next.*

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday, 11th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*Third Reading*—  
 Linen and Yarn Halls (Dublin)\* (11), and  
*passed.*

THE EASTERN QUESTION—  
 THE DARDANELLES—MOVEMENTS  
 OF THE FLEET.

## POSTPONEMENT OF NOTICE.

## OBSERVATIONS.

LORD CAMPBELL, who had given  
 Notice "To call attention to the further

correspondence respecting the Affairs of Turkey," said: I shall not go on with the Notice I have for to-night. My intention is to connect it with a Motion; but some interval will be necessary, so that your Lordships may not be taken by surprise. The reason for postponing observations on the subject of the Correspondence is the serious intelligence which has just been received, to the effect that the British Fleet is not able to enter the Dardanelles. The Motion and the day will both appear upon the Paper.

**THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN:** I wish to ask a Question with regard to a telegram which appeared in a newspaper this morning, and as I do not see the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in his place, I will put it to the Prime Minister. In *The Standard* of this morning there appears a telegram which says that a large number of Russian Marines have crossed the Balkans *en route* for the Sea of Marmora to man Turkish men-of-war, which will shortly become Russian property, and which will presently convey Russian troops to Odessa and Sebastopol. If these rumours are substantially true they involve serious considerations, and I would therefore ask whether they are true; and, if so, whether the ships are to be used temporarily as transports, or whether they are to become the permanent property of Russia?

**THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD:** My Lords, Her Majesty's Government have no information on the subject on which the noble Earl has addressed me. The statement to which he refers has appeared, I believe, in some newspapers; but we have no reason to think it is authentic, and I hope it is not.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** I have given private Notice of a Question to the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but as he is not in the House, I will postpone it until to-morrow.

**THE EARL OF BEACONSFIELD:** He will be here presently.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** My Lords, seeing the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs now in his place, I wish to repeat a Question I put to him on Friday last. I then asked him with reference to the entry of the British Fleet, or a portion of the Fleet, into the Dardanelles, whether Her Majesty's Government had obtained

the assent of the Turkish Government to that proposal, and if there were any doubts about it, whether any instructions had been given to the Admiral, as to how he should proceed? The noble Earl gave me an answer to this effect—that the Turkish Government had on a former occasion given a firman, and he did not anticipate any objection on their part. Seeing in the papers to day, that the detachment of the Fleet had not entered the Dardanelles, I wish to ask the noble Earl whether, consistently with the exigencies of the public service, he can give any information on that subject to your Lordships' House? There is another point on which I should also like to ask for information. We were told the other night that Her Majesty's Government had made a communication to other foreign Powers on this subject of the Fleet, I should like to know what has been the result of those communications?

**THE EARL OF DERBY:** My Lords, I do not think it would be in the interest of the public service that I should answer the Questions of the noble Earl except in general terms. When the detachment of the Fleet which had been sent up arrived at the forts of the Dardanelles, it was found that no notification from Constantinople had reached the officers in charge of those forts, and thereupon the Admiral very properly declined to take the responsibility of passing the forts without permission, and returned to Besika Bay for instructions. Communications have passed between Her Majesty's Government and the Porte, and I do not conceal from your Lordships that some difficulty of the kind adverted to in the public papers has occurred; but I have the most entire confidence that the difficulty will be surmounted, and that in a very short time the intentions announced by us on Friday last will be carried into effect. With regard to the second Question, I have to say, that in consequence of the communications which we made, three foreign Powers have instructed their Ambassadors to apply for a firman; but I am bound to add—for I do not wish to leave any false impression on the minds of your Lordships—that it does not necessarily follow from the fact of those firmans having been applied for, that they will be acted upon at once. I apprehend that the Go-

vernments in question reserve to themselves the right of considering whether, in their opinion, the circumstances are sufficiently urgent to require action on their part.

House adjourned at half-past Five o'clock,  
till To-morrow, half-past  
Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 11th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—considered in Committee.  
—Resolution [February 8] reported.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—  
£8,000,000, Exchequer Bonds, &c.

PUBLIC BILLS—Second Reading—Factories and  
Workshops \* [3]; Election of Aldermen (Cumulative Vote) \* [71], [House counted out].

Second Reading—Referred to Select Committee—  
Parliamentary Electors Registration \* [33];  
Borough Voters \* [68].

## QUESTIONS.

### INDIA—INDIAN FINANCE—CIVIL EXPENDITURE.—QUESTION.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If there is any objection to lay upon the Table an approximate statement, with explanatory details, of the head of charges and amounts thereof, which will show, as Sir John Strachey states in his financial speech, that a net reduction of the net Civil Expenditure had been effected in the seven years from 1869 to 1876, amounting to no less than £1,500,000 a-year?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in reply, said, there would be no objection to lay the Papers on the Table. The figures of Sir John Strachey were based on those of the last seven years.

### CHINA—THE CHEFOO CONVENTION. QUESTION.

MR. MARK STEWART asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the reply of the Indian Government with reference to the Cheefoo Convention has been received;

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and, whether there is any objection to lay it upon the Table of the House?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, said, the answer of the Government of India had been received, and was under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

### THE CIVIL SERVICE—SELECT COMMITTEE, 1876-1877.—QUESTION.

MR. CHILDERS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government have arrived at any decision on the recommendations of the Select Committee which sat in 1876 and 1877 on the employment of soldiers and sailors in the Civil Service?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No decision has yet been arrived at, and the Treasury are in communication with other Departments of the Government on the subject.

### THE EASTERN QUESTION — THE DARDANELLES—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET.—QUESTION.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with reference to the very important statements in the newspapers this afternoon, Whether he can give us any information as to the passage of the Dardanelles by the Fleet?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: There has been delay in the Fleet going up to Constantinople, and I am not able at present conveniently to enter into the subject generally. Negotiations are going on; but there is no change in the intentions of the Government on the subject.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### SUPPLY—REPORT.

#### THE SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATE.

Resolution [8th February] reported.

MR. C. S. PARKER, who was met with persistent interruptions, said, he had a few words to say which would not displease hon. Members opposite, being directed to what both sides of the House desired—that they should at the present juncture present a more united expression of opinion in Parlia-

ment. He was not going to conclude with a Motion, and he was not going to offer any obstruction, nor should he detain the House more than a few minutes. The Vote of Credit had been carried in Committee by a large majority, and no doubt it would be carried in the House; but the vote of a majority, however large, was not the voice of a united Parliament, and it had been the general wish to arrive at entire unanimity. An overture for that purpose was made a few nights ago by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone); but it was not received on the other side—which was, perhaps, not to be wondered at—as it was intended. Upon this, most of the Leaders on the Opposition side of the House had abstained from voting; and a minority of 124 had recorded their votes against the demand of the Government. As a Member of that minority, he wished to take this opportunity of saying how far he went with the majority, and why he had felt bound to oppose the Vote. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the Government, had undertaken to answer two Questions, one as to the policy to be pursued by Great Britain at the Conference, the other as to the use to be made of the £6,000,000. As to the policy, the assurances given by the right hon. Gentleman, without being altogether satisfactory, had so far relieved his apprehensions, that on this ground he would have seen no reason, at the present stage, and at this crisis of European politics, to refuse the Vote. But the answer to the second Question—what use was to be made of the £6,000,000?—was to the last degree scanty and vague. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the greater part of the amount might not be expended at all; the Secretary to the Treasury said it was possible that none of it, and probable that hardly any of it, would be spent; while the Secretary of State for War, evidently anxious to lay hands on it, said—"It is possible that we may not spend it all; but I may, I think, venture to say that we shall spend some of it." When the Chancellor of the Exchequer was further pressed as to how the Vote was to be spent, he indicated little else but "transport" and "boots and shoes." Now, transport to any large extent would not be required unless and until the Government were on the very verge of war.

As to the other item, everyone knew what was meant by "boots and shoes." During the war with our American Colonies some Members of the House of Commons, being also members of the Society of Friends, objected to voting Supplies of warlike stores; but they did not object to voting money to be spent on "barley and other grain," which was wide enough to include gunpowder. No doubt, "boots and shoes" would be found to have an equally elastic meaning. However, being thus left without sufficient information, he had tried in vain, by studying the Army and Navy Estimates of former years, to learn how it was possible in little more than six weeks—for the Vote would lapse on the 31st of March—to spend in mere preparation for war so large a sum as £6,000,000. But without some such information he had not thought it right to vote the money. He could understand, though he much regretted, the curt refusal of the Government to accept the offer of the late Prime Minister, that instead of a money Vote, they should receive a Vote of Confidence in their proposed policy. For his own part, he had been prepared to vote as much money as was wanted for immediate use. But this would not satisfy the Government; though the House was sitting daily, they insisted on a vote of Credit, large enough to include not only what they wanted, but what they might or might not want. For this there was no precedent, and in financial proceedings beyond all others, the House of Commons was bound to reverence the invariable usage by which it had attained to its present position and power. Therefore, having regard to the responsibility of laying on the taxpayer what was in no way shown to be a necessary burden, and further to the serious mischief of creating a precedent, by voting a Credit of £6,000,000 in so loose a manner, he and others had felt themselves compelled to protest against such a Vote, thus presenting an appearance of disunion, which might have been avoided, had the Chancellor of the Exchequer only asked, in the usual form, for what he actually required, from time to time, for present use.

Mr. J. COWEN: I have not, during this or the previous Sessions, except for a few minutes on Thursday, taken any part in these Eastern debates. I would,

however, be glad to be allowed the privilege, before the Vote passes its final stage, of making a few remarks. There is no duty appertaining to the office of a Representative that I approach with more hesitation, and undertake with greater reluctance, than that of appearing to interrupt the course of Business by troubling Members with any utterances of mine. I would not do so now if it had not been for some comments made by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone) on Friday night. The right hon. Gentleman misunderstood the observations I made the previous evening, and quite unintentionally, I am sure, misrepresented them. I was not present when he spoke, or I should have replied there and then. I do not profess to quote his precise words; but in effect he said I upheld the doctrine of allowing the Government of the day to have uncontrolled authority in foreign affairs—that while we might at all times fight over domestic politics, we had to accept implicitly, and without criticism, the action of any Party in power on foreign questions. I think I have correctly represented the right hon. Gentleman's statement. I do not think there is a Member in this House who will subscribe to such political gospel. It may flourish in the arbitrary atmosphere of the Russian Court, but it cannot live in England. I, at least, repudiate such a faith. I spoke on Thursday entirely without premeditation. I uttered the feelings and the thoughts that came unbidden to my lips on listening to the very grave statements made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. They were only a poor reproduction of the world-old sentiment which a Whig statesman, historian, and poet has put into the mouth of a Roman minstrel, who, when mourning the memories of a heroic and vanished past, sung regretfully of the time

“When none was for a Party,  
And all were for the State.”

A man speaking under strong emotions ought not to be made an offender for a word. If that rule were applied to the right hon. Gentleman, he would have a good deal to answer for. I claim no exemption, however, on that ground. The exact phrases I used did not bear, and certainly they were not intended to bear,

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the interpretation put upon them. I said that, while we might at all times discuss domestic questions fully and frankly, when national interests were imperilled—national existence possibly at stake—then we should close our ranks, forget that we are Whigs, Tories, or Radicals, remember only that we are Englishmen, and present a united front to the world. The time when, the circumstances under which, this effacement of Party landmarks was to take place, constituted all the point that was in my sentence. I did not say—I did not think—it would have been unpardonable presumption if I had—that everyone who agreed with me was a patriot, and everyone who disagreed with me was not. But what I did say was, that, in my judgment—it might not be the judgment of other people—patriotism and good sense required that the course I indicated should be followed. The general principles of national action—whether we are to try to put up a Monarchy in one country, or destroy a Republic in another—whether we are to be partizans in a strife or neutrals—must be decided by the people, and by them alone. But the policy having been assented to, its execution must be left to the Executive. If they blunder, you may censure them, dismiss them, or impeach them; but in a moment of national peril do not paralyze their movements by unnecessary complications. In our foreign relations, there are matters that it is undesirable to publish, and that cannot, with justice to other nations, be known outside the Foreign Office. The right hon. Gentleman himself admitted on Monday last that, when he asked for a Vote of £2,000,000 at the time of the Franco-German War, he did not state all, or even the chief grounds, for making that demand. To have done so in Parliament would, he said, at that time, have been attended with inconvenience, if not danger. Was it not possible that in the present crisis there were circumstances known only to Ministers that prevented them explaining fully the reasons for the course they were pursuing? The confidence that Parliament gave the late Government might be fairly granted to the present one on such an issue. We may always with advantage dilate on the broad principles, on the general issues that are at stake in foreign questions; but, when the time for action comes, it

not unfrequently happens that the details of diplomacy, the whispers of State, supply the circumstances that determine the course of Cabinets. Reasonable politicians recognize the position of men weighted with such responsibility. I regret that so much feeling has been thrown into this dispute. Good, earnest, and devout men, both in and out of Parliament, sincerely desirous of serving what they believe to be the interests of their country and freedom, have manifested in the discussion a somewhat intolerant temper. I honour their motives, I respect their intentions; but I have not been able altogether to approve their attitude. While they have been keenly suspicious of our own Government, they have said, or insinuated, all manner of smooth things, and put the best interpretation on the doings of foreign rulers. The Czar and his Ministers have had their designs appraised by sympathizing admirers; but our own Government have been subjected to constant, and I must say, I think, undeserved innuendoes. There is no Member of this House, who, by training, instinct, and conviction is more anti-Tory than I am. There is no one who has voted more persistently against the policy of the Ministers—not even the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar)—but I will trust my own countrymen, whatever their politics, before the statesmen of either Russia or Germany. I have more faith in British Ministers, whether Whig or Tory, than I have in the Chancellors of any Imperial despotism, however pretentiously pious. In considering questions of foreign policy, we often, in my judgment, form an inadequate and imperfect historical conception of the position and antecedents of this country. Some see only gold, and coal, and cotton through every national arrangement. Trade is with them the measure of every standard. Production and consumption are the end of being. I have no wish, certainly, to disparage commerce; but I do not believe in this extreme epicurean philosophy of barter. It takes a low and sordid conception of human life. Man is higher than the beast, and requires something better than a stall well littered and a trough well filled. I agree on this point with the spirit of the teachings of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, who has striven to lift the consideration of foreign

politics to a higher level. The maintenance of the independence and integrity of the Turkish Empire which my hon. Friend the Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) declares to be an obsolete phrase, and to be ancient history, was for years, if not for generations, a settled principle of British politics. All Parties in the State acknowledged, accepted, and acted upon it. Twenty-four years ago we went to war, spent many millions of money, and sacrificed some thousands of lives to uphold it. At the conclusion of the war we entered into Treaties which guaranteed the right of Turkey to European existence, and bound this country, as one of the Great Powers, to defend that right. In 1871, the late Government re-endorsed the agreement, and, along with the other Powers, added to the contract a declaration that the arrangement should not be altered without general consent. No Government would have been warranted in reversing this uninterrupted current of national action without some mandate, direct or indirect, from the nation. I am not defending these Treaties. I am not saying that the Crimean War was either just or necessary; but what I do say is, that the maintenance of the independence of Turkey was as much a principle of our foreign, as the right of refuge is of our political, and as free trade is of our commercial, policy. The Government would not have been justified in changing this policy without some formal or informal expression of public opinion. No one can deny that an expression of opinion has been got. A man must be either blind, or deaf, or both, who does not see and hear that a great change has taken place in the minds of a considerable section of the people of this country on this subject. Many persons, and those highly influential, are averse to our former policy with respect to Turkey. Opinion is in a state of transition. It has manifested itself on this side of the House, where there are not two, but three times two Parties. It has been shown in the Ministerial Benches, and has produced its effect within the close precincts of the Cabinet. When we are in such a state of political chaos, I appeal to hon. Gentlemen on both sides whether it is either wise or desirable to be so intolerant with each other? Some have gone forward, others



have gone back, and some have been stationary on this question. We shall best promote the interests of the nation by showing liberal consideration for each other's opinions and susceptibilities. The question before Europe is, is Turkey to be strangled; and, if so, has Russia to succeed to her possessions? We may hesitate to confront the inevitable issue, but we cannot either postpone or evade it. Are the Osmanli to be annihilated, by those who murder for the love of God, and are their places to be filled by the Muscovites and their satraps? That is the problem to which all this diplomacy leads up. There are hon. Gentlemen who will answer the interrogatory in the affirmative—who will declare that for its bad government Turkey's throat should be cut. I cannot go that length with them. I admit that the rule of the Porte in the past has combined every evil that can be covered by civil government. In times of peace it has been too weak or too apathetic to make its will respected. In times of excitement, it has enforced its edicts by a spasmodic exercise of authority—sometimes cruel, often capricious, and not unfrequently sanguinary. Industry has been discouraged; trade has been looked upon with contempt; taxation has been little better than legalized plunder; and the whole administration of the Pashas has been systematically and thievishly corrupt. Their procedure has been absolutely indefensible. But when all this has been said, it is only right to add that the Government of Turkey is no worse than that of other Asiatic and African States with whom we hold close if not cordial relations. The Governments of China and Persia are as bad; that of Egypt, which is propped up by English capitalists, is worse. Turkey has most of the vices common to all Oriental communities, and in her case those have been intensified by contact with a debased form of Christian civilization. When we remember the history—the black history—of American and West India slavery, when we recall the ferocity—for no other word will express it—with which Ireland was, and with which Poland is, ruled, we should manifest some moderation in our denunciation of the Turks. I repeat that there are Governments as venal, as tyrannical, as lawless, and as lazy who are our Allies, and with our own record in Ireland

in the past, and in India more recently, English politicians should not be so ready to rush into hysterics over Turkish delinquencies. It is either sectarian or partizan bigotry, or imperfect historical knowledge that leads men to declare that every Mussulman is little better than a wild beast, an anti-human specimen of humanity, and that the Ottoman Empire is the foulest political organization in existence. Such exaggerations are born either of ignorance or religious rancour. It is true that the Christians in Turkey have been denied any participation in the civil administration, just as the Catholics and the Jews were in this country till recently, and as our Hindoo and Mahomedan fellow-subjects are in India to-day. But as a set-off to this exclusion, they have been relieved from the duty—the onerous duty—of bearing arms. No man is persecuted in Turkey because he is a Christian. There is there not only complete, but contemptuous, toleration. The Mussulmans look with pity upon the different sects into which Christians are divided; and while they refuse to treat them as civil equals, they scorn to persecute them as inferiors. The persistent cry about the material misery of Bulgaria has been exploded. It has been proved by a cloud of witnesses that the Bulgarian peasant is in a vastly superior position to the Russian farmer, and is the equal of the same class in this country. This fact has been so well attested that no one will attempt to gainsay it. It has been urged with force by my hon. Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) and others, that even if this statement is correct, it is not an answer to the demand of the Christians for civil and political equality. It is not sufficient that they should be commercially prosperous and freed from all exclusion on the score of their religion. They require something further and more. I admit the justice of their claim. I grant the necessity for its immediate concession as completely as my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. P. J. Smyth). On that ground I am entirely at one with these hon. Gentlemen. We are reminded that England sympathized with the Italians in their struggle for national existence, and we are asked, why refuse to Bulgaria what we rejoice has been conceded to the countrymen of Cavour and Garibaldi? The circum-

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stances are not analogous. In Italy there were broadly marked natural features and boundaries—the sea on the one side, the mountains on the other. The people, too, were homogeneous. They spoke the same language, held the same faith, shared the same glorious national memories. The same is the case with the Slavs in Montenegro and Servia, with the Latin races in Roumania, and with the Greeks; but it is not the case with the inhabitants of Turkey proper. One village there is Mahomedan, the next Christian, and the third partly Jewish. The people are dotted about in settlements like gipsies. Remove the Turkish rule entirely from Roumelia, and you simply substitute a Christian despotism for a Mahomedan. Slavs, Albanians, Greeks, adherents of the Latin Church, and of the Greek Church, Jews, Mussulmans, are all gathered together in indescribable and unhappy confusion. Heretofore, the Mahomedans in those districts have been the dominant race, because they have been the most numerous and the most tolerant. Supplant it by Christian ascendancy, and you only replace one bad form of exclusive rule by another. You put the boot on the other leg. If the Mahomedans have hitherto persecuted the Christians—which, as Christians, I deny, but as citizens I admit—it is certain that the Christians would in the future persecute the Mahomedans. Remove the restraints, and the fierce fanatical passions of hostile classes will be let loose, and they will fly at each other's throats. We know how the Servians and the Roumanians persecute the Jews, how the adherents of the Greek Church persecute the followers of the Latin creed, how the Slav hates the Greek and the Greek hates the Slav. I do not say these difficulties ought to prevent the Christians from enjoying the freedom they are entitled to; but I cite the facts for the purpose of showing that the creation of a nationality amongst the heterogeneous and conflicting creeds, races, and tribes in Turkey proper is a very different thing to the creation of a nationality out of the homogeneous people of Hungary, Poland, and Italy. Persons well acquainted with the East—I do not endorse their opinion, but I give it for what it is worth—maintain that the rule of the Turk, with all its drawbacks, would, if reformed, in the

districts where the Mahomedans predominate, be preferable to the constant struggle for mastery between the rival sects and races who hate each other more bitterly than any of them hate the Mussulman. The glowing but fictitious pictures that we have had recently drawn in this country of the magnanimous Montenegrins, the chivalrous Servians, and the meek Bulgarians, have been rudely blurred by this year's war. I fear an impartial historian will declare that the moral characteristics of the different races do not differ greatly. In a balance of virtues, the Mahomedan population—I do not mean the Pashas, or their military or their ecclesiastical leaders, but the Mussulman peasantry—are the equals, and in some respects the superiors, of their Christian neighbours. We have been often assured that they are dead or dying. But in the blood-stained spurs and passes of the Balkans they have recently given striking evidence that they live. Their courage and military skill were derided in this House last Session. It was declared, with wearying iteration, that Turkey consisted only of a ring of corrupt Pashas and a horde of semi-savage brigands from Asia. This war has shown that there is a Turkish nation beyond the denizens of the sumptuous palaces on the Bosphorus, and beyond the gathering grounds of the Bashi-Bazouks. The memorable struggle before Plevna will be associated in history with the sieges of Saragossa, Tournay, Londonderry, Antwerp, and Kars. The name of Osman will be linked with the foremost commanders of modern times. It was not the dinted, rusty scimitar of Mahomet that that gallant Moslem wielded. The skill that planned the fortifications, the dauntless courage that manned the deadly breach in face of such fearful odds—and when, the last crust consumed, the last cartridge gone, that led the final charge, was the brilliant, dazzling, fire of genuine patriotism. A people capable of such intense energy, such generous and complete obedience, such utter self-sacrifice, and such heroic devotion, have vindicated their right at least to live. The greatest want of the Turks has been their inability to adapt themselves to the constant changes and the incessant movement going on around. Their traditions, their training, and their creed have kept them stationary. While other

nations have been persistently proselytising and progressing, the sons of Islam have stood still. They must move, or they will be swamped by the complex and competing forces that are surging around them. All intelligent Turks recognize this. And their honest efforts to improve their administration, to establish their Constitution, and their gallant struggle against their domineering enemies, ought to win for the remnants of the race another opportunity of assimilating themselves to the wants of modern life. The Turkish people are no worse to-day than when we fought for their independence in the Crimea, and the Turkish Government is better. All that has been said of their lust, cruelty, and oppression was as true in 1856, when we concluded two Treaties for their defence, or in 1871, when the late Government accentuated, endorsed, and confirmed that Treaty, as it is to-day. If Turkey is dying, there is no reason why Russia should slay her before her time. Let her die in peace. If she is dying, that is no justification for the Northern vulture to prey upon the yet quivering body of his stricken victim. If the Osmanli are driven to the other side of the Bosphorus, their dominions will become the spoil of their relentless enemies, whose fierce hussars are now streaming into Roumelia for the double purpose of a war of conquest and a religious crusade. I am not now speaking of British interests, I am not thinking of the danger Russia may be to our Indian Empire; but I ask English Liberals if they have ever seriously considered the political consequences of an Imperial despotism bestriding Europe—reaching, indeed, from the waters of the Neva to those of the Amour—of the Head of the Greek Church, the Eastern Pope, the master of so many legions, having one foot on the Baltic, planting the other on the Bosphorus. When icebergs float into Southern latitudes, they freeze the air for miles around. Will not this political iceberg, when it descends upon the genial shores of the Mediterranean, wither the young shoots of liberty that are springing up between the crevices of the worn-out fabrics of despotism? Is it the part of English Liberals to encourage these sanguinary apostles of Christianity—who are now swarming from Sarmatian swamps and Scythian wilds, in their raid into South-

eastern Europe—to plead for this coarsest phantom of social and political life? The Russian people are an inoffensive, unaggressive, and kindly race—not educated, superstitious, and somewhat intemperate. It is certainly not of them that I am afraid; but there is a ring of Christian Pashas at St. Petersburg as corrupt and cruel as the ring of Mahomedan Pashas at Constantinople. They have always been the camp-followers of civilization—as merciless and unscrupulous as camp-followers usually are. They have the ferocity of barbarism with the duplicity of civilization. Their first word is gold, the second the sword, the third Siberia. Bribery, bayonets, banishment, are the triple pillars upon which their politico-military-ecclesiastical system stands. I have no wish to generate antipathies towards either the Russian or any other people. But, in the presence of existing circumstances, it is necessary that every man should speak the honest convictions of his mind; and I cannot regard this handing over of two-thirds or three-fourths of the Continent of Europe to an aggressive military, ecclesiastical autocracy, otherwise than as dangerous to human freedom, peace, and civil progress.

MR. RATHBONE remarked that he had not spoken a word in the House on the Eastern Question either last year or this. He had abstained from speaking because he felt that the majority of the Government were sincerely anxious to preserve peace, and that they had no intention of fighting for the maintenance of the integrity of Turkey. He wished now, however, to notice some of the observations of the hon. Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. J. Cowen), and he should speak as an Englishman, and not allude to either cotton or corn. The House and the Government ought to act in their collective capacity as Englishmen in the same way as they did as individual Englishmen. The other day he was speaking to a foreign diplomatist, who said—"England has lost to a great extent her influence in the affairs of the Continent because we cannot understand how Englishmen, who, as individuals, are so self-respecting and quiet in their demeanour, should, when dealing with public affairs, have been of late so violent, so riotous, and so nervous about their own position." He thought that, whether as individuals

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or as a nation, we ought to be guided by the rule—"In quietness and in confidence shall be our strength." It was because he thought the Government and individuals had not been guided of late by this rule that he ventured to make these few remarks. The hon. Member for Newcastle spoke—he thought with some justice—of the constant suspicions of our own Government that had been expressed; but, in his opinion, the hon. Gentleman was wrong when he went on to call upon us to suspect every Government except our own and that of Turkey. Was it wise to go on with this constant policy of distrust? How did wise men act towards one another? If they were obliged to act with a man they could not always rely upon, did they go on treating him as a rogue? Certainly not. Then why should they do it with foreign nations? Putting aside the past, it seemed to him that there were in Europe Governments whose interests, like our own, required the establishment of peace and good government and as much freedom as was possible for the Christians in the East. Why should we not consult with those Governments as to some basis on which we could act in the Conference? In his judgment, we did not rely sufficiently on the greatness of England. Englishmen in general, and perhaps the Government, did not recognize the increase in the power of England that had arisen from the changes which had occurred in navigation of late. When ships were propelled by sails or by steam, and had to rely upon coaling stations, a Fleet would often be delayed at Malta or Gibraltar for several days or even weeks; but now ships took their coal supply with them, and were directed in their movements by telegraph, and our preponderating naval power could be directed with rapidity and certainty on any point where it was needed. Under these circumstances we should not be so nervous; foreign nations knew that if they attacked any of England's vital interests they would have England on their back.

MR. PARNELL said, he cordially concurred in that part of the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), in which that hon. Gentleman said that it was the duty of Englishmen to combine for the protection of the interests of England as Englishmen. He (Mr. Parnell) simi-

larly thought it was the special duty of Englishmen at that juncture to act in accordance with that invitation; but he would remind hon. Members that they were not all Englishmen in that House. There were in that Assembly some Irishmen, who were equally entitled to consider what their interests were. On that rule he had endeavoured to act from the very first with reference to this question. When the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) gave Notice of his Amendment, he (Mr. Parnell) thought that, as it was of a Party character, he, as an Irish Member, could have nothing to do with it. Therefore he drew up a resolution, which was accepted by the Party to which he belonged, to the effect that they would abstain from voting on that Amendment. But that Amendment having been subsequently withdrawn, he thought he might be permitted to carry out his policy of acting in the interests of Ireland in the further stages of the question; and, on the ground that Ireland would have to pay a portion of the £6,000,000, he had voted against the Vote of Credit. The interests of the English Empire were involved in this question to a very considerable extent. England had important interests in India, and if Russia took up a powerful position at Constantinople, or put herself in the way of obtaining it, there could be no doubt that the interests of a trading country like England would be threatened in the East; and if Russia were to find herself in such a position as to desire it, she could shut England, France, and Italy out of the Suez Canal, and arrogate to herself the right of trading with India alone. The question, however, to be considered was this—was Russia likely to be in this powerful position? Although that contingency was not very probable, yet there were other reasons which made it desirable that England should view with extreme jealousy any strengthening of Russia in the Mediterranean. England had always been unfair to Russia. England had always opposed Russian interests, and kept her back from enjoying her rights in that sea, and had endeavoured to cripple her in every way. England undertook the Crimean War against Russia, and spent a vast amount of blood and treasure. It was, therefore, natural that Russia should be

jealous of England, and not look upon her as a friend. In his opinion, the policy of the Government, in so far as they had done anything to keep watch and guard over Russian intentions, had been a prudent and a just one, bearing in mind the statement of the hon. Member for Newcastle, that they were only to look at English interests in this matter. But, taking a wider view, considering that Turkey was not a European Power, that she occupied a position to which she was not entitled save by the strong hand, and that in a variety of ways she was regarded as a nuisance to Europe, then we might come to the conclusion that it was the duty of England to have adopted a wiser policy, and to have made Russia a friend. He might observe, however, that he was fully inclined to think that if England were placed in the same position as Turkey—if she were struggling for existence against a tremendous Power—the vengeance of England and Englishmen upon the innocent cause would not be less than the action which Turkey had taken with regard to the Bulgarians. It was true that there had been hangings at Adrianople after short trials; but the principal atrocities had been committed by the Bashi-Bazouks and other irregular forces. But when the American Colonists rose in revolt, Hessians and other mercenaries were let loose on the women of the American cities by the deliberate policy of the English Government. That was also the case in Ireland, in Wexford, when a portion of the people rebelled. We should not, therefore, blame the Turks so much for what they had done. The right hon. Member for Greenwich, in his speech at Oxford the other day, blamed the Irish Members for not marching shoulder to shoulder with the Liberal Party in support of freedom, and stated that the Bulgarians had suffered horrors a hundred times worse than Ireland had ever undergone. But if the right hon. Gentleman had carefully studied the history of Ireland, he would have discovered that Ireland had suffered more at the hands of the English Government than had the Bulgarians at the hands of Turkey. The poet Spenser had written of a part of Ireland, for the information of his Royal Mistress, that hardly one living thing was to be seen on the face of the earth, and that if the people

could by chance get some green food like watercresses to eat, they used to creep forth from their hiding-places in the night to eat it, and that there was scarcely anything but corpses all over the land. But there were some Bulgarians left—a great many—but no attempt had been made by the Turkish Government to destroy the Bulgarian nationality in the way the English had done in Ireland. He denied that the wrongs of the Bulgarians were a hundred-fold greater than those suffered by the Irish people. The Irish nation was invited to join the English Party to fight shoulder to shoulder in the cause of freedom. The Irish people in times past had not been ashamed to fight for their own freedom. In that way they felt as much entitled to freedom as the Bulgarians. If, however, he was to join any Party in that House for the purpose of assisting the Bulgarians in fighting for freedom, he must first be sure that that Party would not at the first touch of steel throw down their arms and run away, as the front Opposition Bench did the other night. Looking back to the first moment when that Eastern Question arose, he could not help seeing that the Opposition had never been sincere in their action, and in enforcing those principles which they said they had at heart. Had he supported the Amendment, he would have been placed in a most difficult position by its withdrawal. Hence he thought it wise not to vote upon the question at all. Last Session, when the right hon. Member for Greenwich brought forward his Resolutions, the first thing was to “whittle them down;” the most important were withdrawn, and the fight that followed was of such a nature that it could only be called a sham battle. The other night, when he was walking out of the House on the first division, he was extremely horrified to find that the noble Lord the Leader on the front Opposition bench was following him. The Government, on the other hand, would do well to consider their real position. They had asked for £6,000,000, a sum which would be entirely inadequate if they had any warlike purpose in view. Although he believed there were many hon. Gentlemen opposite who desired to fight Russia—not to fight Russia themselves, but to send others to fight her with all speed—yet he did not believe

*Mr. Parnell*

that the Prime Minister ever intended to fight Russia, but by a policy of bluster and brag to frighten her and keep her away from Constantinople. If they really wished to intimidate Russia, they must tell her that they would fight her. In those speeches made by the Premier at the Guildhall and elsewhere, much was said as to what would be done did the Russians reach Constantinople, and now they had reached that city the most the Government did was to send the Fleet to the Dardanelles and ask for a Vote of £6,000,000. If nothing more was done, it was certain that the Russians would laugh at them, and they would be held in contempt by Irishmen and all the Continental nations. He could conceive one reason why the Vote was asked for. The Straits were narrow, and any Power that held them might easily prevent the Fleet from coming back. Perhaps these £6,000,000 were to bribe the Russians to let the Fleet back again. If he thought that war was imminent, that the Government really intended to go to war—although he did not think such was the case—he should very seriously consider whether it would become his duty to vote for war or against it. On the one hand, the miseries which war entailed would influence him; and, on the other, he should be swayed by the fact that if England was at war, the Irish Representatives would have an opportunity of bringing forward various questions and getting them settled. The opinion of the Irish people, so far as England was concerned, was at present worth nothing. They might hold meetings in Dublin until they were black in the face, and England would take no heed. All Ireland might be united, but the English people cared nothing about it. A war with Russia would direct the attention of the Government to Irish evils, and influence them to redress them. If they were asked to vote for war, or against it, it would be the duty of every Irishman to balance carefully in his mind if he would vote for the interests of Ireland or for the cause of humanity generally.

MR. ANDERSON said, it was not his intention to offer any reply to the speech to which the House had just listened, neither was it his intention to offer any further opposition to the Vote. He only wished to express, in a few words, the ex-

treme pain with which he had listened to the speech, eloquent as it was, of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen). He had himself been once or twice in the position of hearing the sentiments which he uttered loudly cheered from the opposite benches, while they were received in grim silence upon his own side, and he had never felt so doubtful of the correctness of his opinions as he did on these occasions. If other hon. Members felt like him in that respect, he was sure that the hon. Members for Pembroke, Hull, and Finsbury, and especially the hon. Member for Newcastle, must at the present have very uncomfortable feelings indeed. He had no doubt that when they came to reflect more calmly over the speeches they had made, they would regret the line they had taken in addressing speeches entirely to win the cheers of Members on the other side of the House. The hon. Member for Newcastle claimed to have made a patriotic speech. It appeared to him (Mr. Anderson) that the speech of the hon. Member was not founded on true patriotism. Not only were the sentiments of that speech not truly patriotic, but they were very ill-timed. The hon. Gentleman appeared to have chosen for the delivery of a carefully-prepared oration in exaltation of the Turks the very day when, according to the news that had been received, the Turk had administered to this country something like a *soufflet*. Perhaps the news might be entirely untrue, like that which was received on Thursday, and which had frightened hon. Members opposite so very much, and some of the right hon. Gentlemen on the front Opposition bench. But if the news of that day were true, it proved that the present position of affairs was a result which a year ago had been foreseen by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich, who had, about that time, pointed out to the House that one of the greatest dangers of the position of isolation in which the Government were placing the country in regard to the other Powers of Europe was that Russia and Turkey might make a peace between themselves, without in the least consulting the wishes or interests of this country. That appeared to be exactly what had taken place, and, if so, it was a very ill-timed opportunity for the hon. Member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Mr. J. Cowen)

to take to speak in exaltation of the Turk.

MR. E. J. REED said, he should not have addressed the House had it not been for the observation of the hon. Member for Glasgow (Mr. Anderson), who seemed to have fallen into a muddle. Nothing could be more lowering in his (Mr. Reed's) belief to the character of hon. Members of that House than to make speeches for the purpose of being cheered on the opposite side of the House to that on which they usually sat. But it must happen in times of crisis and difficulty, when opinions were divided in a marked and striking manner, that hon. Members speaking on one side would elicit cheers from those to whom they were ordinarily opposed in politics. But he appealed to the House whether he did not seek to do most ample justice to the opinions which were held by the Opposition, and whether he did not go out of his way to rebuke what he considered the unfairness which had been often shown on the other side of the House to the greatest minds and the greatest men on his side. What he said the other night he still adhered to—that they ought to remove out of the way the mere money question, and discuss the proceedings of the Government on the principles of their policy. He thought great misapprehension existed upon the Opposition side of the House as to the patriotic course taken by Members of the front Bench. He thought the most patriotic course was to remove all difficulties out of the way of the Government, and to leave the responsibility with them. He fully sympathized with those who had committed themselves to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford; but it was left to their own judgment to vote as they thought fit, and he thought the conduct of those who refused to vote showed a great amount of prudence. We were now in a position in which angry discussion and recrimination would be unwise. He doubted whether there was a single man who, viewing dispassionately the position, could question that the Government were placed in a position of the greatest possible difficulty, and that it behoved the Opposition to recognize that difficulty, which had been arrived at through the Government pursuing that policy of neutrality which Liberal Members had con-

tinually urged upon them. It was their duty from that time forward to give the most hearty support to the Government in this their time of great difficulty and delicacy, and he, for one, believed that the more support they received from that side of the House the more likely would they be to steer clear of the very extraordinary dangers of the present time.

MR. WADDY thought the time had passed when anything would be gained by discussing the errors of the Government. Whatever might have been their action up to the present time, they would all of them be of opinion that they were now in the presence of circumstances of the greatest possible gravity, and that nothing on earth could be so unwise as to indulge either, on the one side or the other, in personal recriminations, or in anything which partook of the character of violence and passion. He felt it to be his duty to vote against the Grant of £6,000,000, and having done that, he considered that the responsibility of taking the money and of spending it rested, not upon those who had voted against it, but on those who had voted the other way, and that it would not be patriotic on their part to place any further obstruction in the path of the Government. But he was bound to say that, considering what they had heard and the circumstances that had now arisen, it became more and more difficult for some of them to understand the propriety of some of the later acts of the Government. He had heard with some little surprise the statement that had been made by the right hon. Member for Greenwich, to the effect that he considered, under the circumstances revealed on Friday, that the Government were entirely warranted in instructing the Admiral to take a portion of the British Fleet to the Bosphorus. [Mr. GLADSTONE: With the permission of the Porte.] In any case he ventured to consider it a wrong, not a wise, step. He had no intention of discussing the question in an angry vein, but he desired to point out the radical fallacy underlying such a course of conduct. They were told it was to be sent to protect British subjects residing in Constantinople. How were they going to do that? Were these men-of-war to patrol the streets, or was it the intention to land men who would take upon themselves the duties of the police of Constanti-

*Mr. Anderson*

nople? What on earth was the Fleet to do when it got there? They were told that the Fleet was ordered to the Bosphorus to protect British subjects residing at Constantinople. That vague term sounded very well; but how were men-of-war to protect them, and against whom?—the Turkish Government or a mad mob? Was it proposed to land men from the men-of-war who should take upon themselves to some extent the duties of the police of Constantinople? But the Russians were as much entitled to be the police of Constantinople as we were, and if they did that, they would give great strength to the argument of Russia, that if England were going to approach Constantinople, and could not trust them—if England were going to approach it by sea, they would come and take possession of it from the other side. There was one point to which he wished to direct attention. One of the evil effects of asking for the Vote had already been seen. It had already been said that great numbers of people were in favour of it. He did not deny that there was a war Party in the country, and also in that House, and was of opinion that charges had been made which were neither becoming the dignity of the House or of the nation. He did not think any man in the House doubted the way in which the feeling which had prevailed at these meetings had been got up. Whatever might have been the intentions of the Government or their motives, there could be no doubt that they had misled a large portion of the people, and that going to war had been the object of many of the meetings which had taken place. And what had been the result? Language had been used in that House in reference to the Sovereign of a friendly Power which was altogether unworthy of its dignity, and he blushed for his country when he listened to such speeches as had been delivered by the hon. Member for Oxford (Mr. Hall) and the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen). If hon. Members differed from the policy of the Emperor of Russia, he hoped that in such an important crisis they would be able to moderate their tone and treat him with some amount of consideration. He was now charged with everything evil. He was called a breaker of Treaties, a man whose word was not to be taken, and he was even charged with the fate

that had befallen Poland. ["Hear, hear!"] Hon. Members who cheered seemed to have forgotten their history. The partition of Poland began in 1772, and was completed in 1791. The rebellion broke out in 1830, and 14 years later the Emperor Nicholas came to this country, and nothing was then thought too good for him. Long after, in 1874, the present Emperor of Russia came over to this country, and on the 19th of May these were the words addressed to him in the presence of many hon. Members whom he now saw present—

"We recognize in your Majesty the enlightened Ruler of a great Empire, and we especially desire to call to remembrance on this occasion the great boon you have conferred on your people by the abolition of serfdom throughout your vast dominions; by which act, so consonant with the sympathies of Englishmen, the liberty and happiness of so many millions of your Majesty's subjects have been enhanced, as well as the national prosperity of your Empire. We fervently trust that the visit of your Majesty will tend to cement the friendly relations between the two countries, and we pray that your Majesty will long be spared to reign over your people."

That was the way in which the Emperor was addressed before all the magnates of the land. [*Cries of "Who did it?"*] It was done, and at the Guildhall, and, as he was challenged, he would say who were present. There were the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Duke of Richmond, the right hon. Benjamin Disraeli, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Cross, Lord Derby, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, the Marquess of Salisbury, Lord John Manners, the Judges, several of the Bishops, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and two personages even more powerful, Mr. Hart Dyke and Mr. Winn; also Mr. W. H. Smith, Captain Pim, and Sir H. Drummond Wolff. [Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: And the right hon. Member for Bradford.] All the personages he had named went on that occasion to meet that Potentate, and were pleased to behold him wearing the Ribbon of the Garter presented to him by the Queen on his breast, and yet now no language was too strong, or too violent, or too bitter to use towards him. He thought that in future it would be well if we endeavoured to treat Sovereigns who were still our Allies with greater courtesy and consideration.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I do not propose to add anything to this debate,



so far as it has partaken of a controversial character, and, indeed, I am reluctant to occupy the time of the House for a single moment. My objections to the Vote, which is now reported, were of a character too strong to be satisfied by anything but a distinct and deliberate opposition both by speech and by vote. By the kindness of the House I enjoyed the fullest liberty of offering my observations to the House, and having done so I feel that my responsibility is at an end, and that it would not be becoming the dignity of the House or of hon. Members to attempt to worry, by repeated debates and divisions, a Government who are engaged in transactions undoubtedly of an anxious and difficult kind; and, therefore, Sir, I hope we may consider this question nearly at an end. But I wish to be permitted to say a word in reference to the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen)—if I may still call him so—made with regard to a remark which I made upon a former speech of his. I have gathered very imperfectly the explanation of my hon. Friend; but, as far as I could gather it, I heard it with satisfaction. I certainly stated with all the accuracy I could what he appeared to me to have said, and he has stated with all the accuracy he could what I said. That, however, is not so important as the position in which our relative opinions are at present left; and taking the speech he has made to-day as the measure of his opinions, I do not see that there is, or can be in principle, much difference between us. My hon. Friend says Party ought to give way to patriotism, and undoubtedly that is so; but he admits, on the other hand, that patriotism may permit, and may require hon. Gentlemen, in matters of foreign policy, to question even proposals made by the Government of the day. If that be so, we are quite agreed on that principle; and the only question that can arise is as to the application of the principle to particular instances; wherein I suppose we must, as he says, practise tolerance one with another with regard to the conclusions at which we may arrive. My hon. Friend went on to question certain statements which he said I had made against the Turkish Government and the Turkish people, and which, if I understand him aright, were due either to gross ignorance or

religious rancour. I naturally feel much indebted to my hon. Friend for the manner in which he has been pleased to take notice of anything that falls from me; but I am not going to reply to my hon. Friend. Until a very recent date I was perfectly ready to maintain in this House, and out of this House, everything that I have said, and everything I have written concerning the Turkish system and the Turkish Government; but I do not care to repeat those hard speeches now. It appears to me it would be singularly ill-judged in point of taste and feeling, if, simply because my hon. Friend accuses me of gross ignorance and religious rancour, I were to go back on accusations against the Turkish Government, which may have been, but are not now necessary, and which, in my view, it was necessary to urge when the Turkish was a great military Power, exercising that power for purposes which I thought disastrous to mankind; but which it would be most ungenerous and unmanly to dwell upon now, when Turkey lies prostrate and beaten. My hon. Friend may exult as much as he chooses in any censure of that kind, which he is quite welcome to multiply as much as he pleases without the smallest fear of any objection on my part. As to the speech of my hon. Friend in general, I do not know whether it was originally intended for this occasion, or whether it may not have been intended for some other occasion; but it is evident that it was thought better to produce it now than that such a valuable composition should blush unseen; and this I will say, that in my opinion it was not well adapted to the purpose to which I think all our speeches ought to be directed—namely, that of soothing excited feeling and softening animosities rather than exasperating them. I greatly doubt whether, if that speech becomes widely known beyond the walls of this House, it will tend to increase the confidence of Europe in the sobriety of the English mind. I hope that in this House that stability and that sobriety are not in danger. My hon. and learned Friend who has just sat down (Mr. Waddy) says that there is a war Party in this country—and certainly there are passions excited in no small degree in various quarters—but I trust that at least those who feel themselves impelled in that direction will keep their impulses under

*Mr. Gladstone*

the government of their reason, and will ask themselves what are the purposes of any war into which they may desire to enter; what are to be the means by which it is to be carried on; and what are the conclusions they expect to arrive at from it. There was an ancient hero who described his position under particular circumstances in these words—

“*Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis.*”

Unhappily the case so represented is a case which, although one would suppose that the rational character of human nature would always preclude it, is one of the commonest cases in the history of the world. I am bound to say I have, however, the fullest confidence in the character of my countrymen, and I have not the least hesitation in saying, with regard to those I see opposite to me, that I feel sure that in this great and critical moment they will say nothing and do nothing to increase any tendency that may exist amongst them towards inflammatory feeling; but will do all in their power to keep sentiments of that nature within the guidance of reason and judgment.

MR. MACDONALD said, his hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. Cowen) had made a very clever but a very mischievous speech. It contained principles which hon. Gentlemen opposite, when they came to consider them, would deeply regret having applauded. He would oppose the proposal by his vote and by every other means at his command. The hon. Member for Newcastle would do well to consider from whom he had those cheers that greeted him. He regretted that at a time when large numbers of our countrymen were suffering from want of employment the Government had asked for that Vote. They had not said a word to show there was any necessity for it.

MR. STORER said, it appeared to him that the speech of the hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) had been misinterpreted, as he did not understand that his hon. Friend had spoken with personal disrespect of the Emperor of Russia. Of course, the hon. Member had spoken of him as the Head of a system of tyranny the most despotic on the face of the earth; and as the Head of a Church, the most superstitious debased, and intolerant of any that disgraced the sacred name of Christianity.

MR. T. BRASSEY said, he ventured to hope that now the Government were furnished with the resources which they had judged to be necessary for the maintenance of our Forces abroad, they would pursue a calm and moderate, but, at the same time, an independent policy in the negotiations in which they were engaged. He hoped that the people of this country would resume an attitude more tranquil and more dignified than had been displayed in many of the meetings which had taken place on this question. He would suggest to those who were engaged in getting up agitation out-of-doors upon the question that the conditions on which the neutrality of this country rested were conditions which it must be the aim of every Power interested in commerce and navigation in the East to maintain. The interests of England were those which belonged to her as a great maritime Power. Let the people of England, therefore, remember that if their merchant navy was more exposed to the attacks of privateers than the merchant navy of any other country, it at the same time furnished resources for the development of a fighting Navy, which, in the event of war, would not be rivalled by any other Power.

DR. WARD said, he had been asked as a matter of justice to recur to a few words which had been used by the right hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard). With regard to the deputation of medical students that had waited on the Secretary of State for the Home Department the other day, the right hon. Gentleman had said that he thought that the recent demonstration was “a most deplorable exhibition;” and he went on to say that the Home Secretary had been wrong in receiving those who were only looking forward for an opportunity of exercising their profession. In his (Dr. Ward’s) opinion, that was a most unfair charge to bring against a number of young men, who, in their collective capacity, had thought it right in this grave crisis to express their confidence in Her Majesty’s Government; and he had the authority of the persons who were so unjustly assailed, to say that the allegation of the right hon. Gentleman was quite unfounded. In reference to the general question, speaking as a Catholic, he asserted that the truth was that the

Catholic subjects of Turkey had always been treated by that Power with the greatest tolerance, whereas the Catholic subjects of Russia had endured the grossest oppression. Was it wonderful, therefore, that the Irish Catholics should hesitate before they gave their vote in favour of Russian aggression? In his opinion, the action of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), and of a certain section of the Liberal Party who were so fond of the Greek Church, had helped Russia in her assault upon the liberties of Europe. We were not afraid of Turkey, but we had grave reason to fear Russia; because, wherever the latter placed her foot, she crushed down all that the Liberals of this country had been fighting for for years. It was a matter for the deepest regret that in the hour of their country's danger, the Liberal Party should have been found ranged upon the side of Russian oppression and despotism.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD said, he had found no fault with the medical students for expressing their confidence in Her Majesty's Government; but what he had taken exception to was that they had passed a resolution, amid vociferous cheers, in favour of war with Russia. He regretted to see a band of young men belonging to such an admirable profession taking that position; but he approved their passing a Vote of Confidence in Her Majesty's Government, inasmuch as he had himself voted in their favour.

MR. BIGGAR considered that the question of whether the country should go to war or not was of the most serious importance. They were asked to vote this money as a Vote of Confidence in the Government. Now, he did not think that the Government was altogether unworthy of their confidence; but, at the same time, he did not think them worthy of the full confidence of that House. Much fault could not be found with the despatches of Lord Derby; but, unfortunately, other persons—especially Sir Henry Elliot and Mr. Layard—took the opportunity of telling the Turks that these despatches did not represent the opinions of the Cabinet, and that in the end England would come to their assistance. The effect of that was to lead the Turks to defy the Russians, and to refuse the reforms demanded of them.

*Dr. Ward*

He, therefore, thought the Government were much to blame for not having disowned Mr. Layard and Sir Henry Elliot more emphatically. Then there were the speeches of Lord Beaconsfield, who had spoken slightly of the Bulgarian atrocities and held up the Turks to admiration. Both in that House and in his speech at the Guildhall, the noble Lord had encouraged the Turks, and for that reason he could not give the Government unqualified confidence. However, they had now got the Vote, and the responsibility for its appropriation must rest with them. They had not yet explained, though they ought to have done it, how they intended to spend it. If the country did not go to war, they could not need it; and if it did go to war, it would be useless for the purposes of the Army; while the Navy would now, as in the Crimean War, be useless against Russia. They talked of fighting Russia. How were they going to do it? They would require far more than the 32,000 they had in the Crimea. Moreover, they were deficient in superior officers, and the troops were for the most part boys. In fact, before the country went to war, they should reconstruct their military system, or they would suffer the severest disaster, as, indeed, would have been the case in the Crimea, if it had not been for their Allies. He should recommend the Government to make peace on as moderate terms as they could, and then to apply themselves to the re-modelling of the military and naval system of the country in such a manner as might at some future time afford a fair chance of engaging in war with success.

*Resolution agreed to.*

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Moved*, "That towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorized to raise any sum, not exceeding £6,000,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills."

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he understood that the immediate effect of the Resolution would be to add £6,000,000—or whatever portion of £6,000,000 it was found necessary to use—to the Debt

of the country. What he wanted to know was, whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer intended to raise by taxation the amount which would have to be raised in consequence of that Vote? for he, for one, was very much opposed to leading the country into supporting what was called a "spirited foreign policy," without a full understanding that it would have to be paid for by taxation. It seemed a very simple thing for most people to support a "spirited foreign policy," when they had not to put their hands into their pockets to pay for it; and therefore, for his part, seeing that the House had determined to grant the money, he should contend that the Government should place the thing fairly before the country—that the means by which it was to be met was by taxation, so that it might be judged by the country in that shape.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Nothing can be fairer than what my hon. Friend asks. I can assure him that I should be the last person to think of raising such a sum as that with which we are now dealing by making anything like a permanent addition to the National Debt. But I want the Committee to observe that we are now within six weeks or a little more of the close of the financial year, and that it is absolutely impossible for us to put on any new taxation that would be worth anything between this and the end of March. It is, therefore, necessary to make some temporary arrangement, especially as we do not know the amount that may be required; but, when I bring forward the Financial Statement for next year, I shall be prepared to state what we propose to do. I may say that, even in the event of the whole £6,000,000 being spent, we do not intend that the re-payment shall extend over more than three years at the outside, and that, of course, would leave the re-payment at £2,000,000 a-year.

MR. DODSON said, he was glad to learn that the re-payment of the bonds was not intended to extend over more than three years. He had also observed with satisfaction an alteration in the Resolution—that the £6,000,000 should be raised by Exchequer bonds, with the power added of raising them by bills.

MR. BIGGAR said, that the great mass of the people of the country were in a bad state, and the money ought,

therefore, to be laid on the National Debt, as it was for a purpose which, if beneficial at all, would be beneficial to posterity.

*Motion agreed to.*

(1.) *Resolved*, That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorized to raise any sum, not exceeding £6,000,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills.

(2.) *Resolved*, That the principal of all Exchequer Bonds which may be so issued shall be paid off at par at the expiration of any period not exceeding three years from the date of such Bonds.

(3.) *Resolved*, That the interest of all such Exchequer Bonds shall be paid half-yearly, and shall be charged upon and issued out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom, or the growing produce thereof.

(4.) *Resolved*, That, towards making good the Supply granted to Her Majesty for the service of the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, the sum of £6,000,000 be granted, out of the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom.

Resolutions to be reported upon *Wednesday*;

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

#### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.

(*Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson.*)

#### [BILL 3.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Ascheton Cross.*)

MR. TENNANT, in rising to move—

"That in any measure for the consolidation and amendment of the Law relating to Factories and Workshops, it is desirable, in the interests alike of employers and employed, that all trades and manufactures employing the same class of labour should be placed upon the same footing, and under the same protective and restrictive regulations,"

said: I labour under great disadvantage in bringing forward this Motion after the exciting and engrossing discussion we have just had, and I feel, Sir, that I owe some apology to the House for venturing to bring it forward at all, for the subject itself is not an attractive one, and I am afraid I shall tax the patience of the House while I enter into those detailed statistics which are necessary to make my position intelligible; but I will not trespass longer than is unavoidable, and I trust that the importance of the subject, affecting, as it

does, all our trades and manufactures, in which many hundred millions of capital are invested, and upon the prosperity of which the working classes depend either directly or indirectly for their livelihood, will be considered as some excuse for the course I am taking. I am told, Sir, that the form of procedure I have adopted may be considered as in some degree hostile or antagonistic to the measure. I beg distinctly to disclaim any such object or intention. I am too painfully conscious, from every day's practical experience, of the inconveniences and disadvantages resulting from the present law, not to welcome with satisfaction any remedial measure that may be proposed; and although this Bill does not, as the terms of my Motion imply, fully meet all that is required, it consolidates and simplifies the law almost beyond the possibility of misinterpretation, and removes and modifies several of the inequalities which now exist. It, however, leaves untouched many grievances which, in my opinion, operate most unfairly and unjustly; and it is to remedy these, and to place, as far as practicable, all manufacturing occupations upon the same footing, that is the sole object of my Motion. There are at present 15 Acts of Parliament in force regulating the manufacturing trades generally, in addition to several special Acts, such as the Agricultural Children Act, the Mines Regulation Act, the Metalliferous Mines Act, and others relating to particular industries. Under these 15 Acts the general trades may be divided into three classes—first, the textile, such as cotton, wool, flax, silk, and which are now regulated by the Factory Act of 1874; second, bleach and dye works, and other trades kindred to textile, iron works, paper works, and almost every other manufacture where more than 50 hands are employed, all of which are regulated by the Factory Extension and Workshops Acts, 1865 to 1870; and third, all handicraft trades employing less than 50 hands, which are governed by what is known as the Workshops Regulation Act, 1870. The total number of persons employed in the various trades under these three classes—men, women, and children—may be taken, according to the last reliable Census, at about 2,500,000, 1,000,000 of whom are under Class 1,

and the remaining 1,500,000 under Classes 2 and 3. Of the 1,000,000, rather over two-thirds are women and children, and the rest are men. Of the 1,500,000, the proportions are very nearly reversed, there being but 500,000—or rather over one-third—women and children. There are, however, several trades in Classes 2 and 3 where the proportions of women and children range as high, and in some classes higher, than in the textile trades—such as the manufacture of pottery, paper, tobacco, hats and caps, millinery, &c.—in some of which women and children comprise more than 90 per cent of the total number employed. So that no general deduction can be drawn from this classification of the proportions of the different persons employed in the various classes, and the discrepancies and anomalies which are created by the regulations and provisions under these Acts are many and various. They relate not only to the age, education, and employment of children, the hours of labour and limit of work, hours for meals and rest, and the number and times of holidays, but also to sanitary and protective provisions, which vary greatly in all the three classes; and I will, in a few sentences, shortly refer to each of these points of difference. Under the Act of 1874, which affects only the textile trades, no child is allowed to work under the age of 10, and then only for half-a-day, either in the morning or afternoon on alternate days, coupled in each case with a compulsory school attendance; and working full-time is forbidden until the age of 14, unless the child has attained a certain educational standard at the age of 13; whereas in the trades, under Classes 2 and 3, a child may begin work at the age of 8 years, and work full-time at 13, irrespective of any educational test. In coal mines, the child may work full-time at 12 years; and in agricultural labour, there is no limit of age at which the child may not work. As regards education, children employed under Classes 1 and 2 are under similar regulations. If the morning and afternoon system be adopted, the child must attend school the other half of the day for three hours. If the alternate system, it must attend every other day for five hours, and the school must be certified as efficient; whereas, under Class 3, education may be at any

school, and 10 hours per week is the limit; in coal mining, 20 hours in a fortnight; but in metalliferous mining, and in all other trades, there does not appear to be any regulation whatever. No doubt the Education Act of 1876, which makes a certain standard of education, or a certain number of school attendances, a condition precedent to the employment of children in any manufacturing labour, and fixing the age at 10, will remedy the greatest of these anomalies; but it does not remedy the anomaly of half-time, which still affects certain industries, nor the requirement as to the educational test at the age of 13, and this requirement is most injuriously affecting the textile trade, without any corresponding advantages. It is found by practical experience that a great proportion of children of the age of 13 are not able to pass the examination prescribed, and the consequence in nearly all cases is not that they continue to attend school, and work half-time, as heretofore—for there is no such compulsory power—but they either idle about, doing nothing, or, if there are other trades in the immediate neighbourhood where this requirement is not in force, they generally work there—a system which operates greatly to the loss and disadvantage, not only of the employer—who has taught the child his trade and is then deprived of its labour, but also to the child itself—who is thus driven to learn another trade at the most critical period of its life. As an illustration of the actual working, at one of our largest manufacturing establishments in the West Riding of Yorkshire, where between 2,000 and 3,000 men, women, and children are employed, I may mention that the proportion of children who cannot pass the educational standard was last year equal to 62 per cent of the total children employed, and the loss in wages alone is between £11 and £12 a-year for each child. Now, this, Sir, is of serious consequence to the head of the family at all times, and more especially in these depressed times of short-time and lower wages. The absurdity, too, of this exceptional requisition is the more glaring when it is considered that the children under the half-time system must all have completed their full number of school attendances, and that generally the most stupid or careless child at school is often physi-

cally the best fitted for, and the most capable of, work. As regards the hours of labour and for meals and rest, in the textile trade, under the Act of 1871, the limit of work is 10 hours per day, and six on Saturday, with half-an-hour extra for cleaning, making a total of 56½ hours per week. But there must be an interval of two hours each day for meals and rest, and there must be no continuous stretch of work beyond four hours at any time. Under Classes 2 and 3 the day's work is extended to 10½ hours, while the hours for meals and rest are diminished by half-an-hour, and the continuous stretch is extended to five hours in Class 2, and in Class 3 there is no limit at all. The period in which work can be carried on in all textile trades is 12 hours per day—between 6 A.M. and 6 P.M., or 7 A.M. and 7 P.M., and not later than two on Saturday; while in Classes 2 and 3 the period is extended indefinitely in certain cases to 17 hours between 5 A.M. and 10 P.M., and on Saturday till 4.30 P.M.; and in mining and some other trades there is no restriction at all, and work may be carried on continuously at all hours of the day and night. By this Bill several of these discrepancies are proposed to be done away with, but many are retained; and, curiously enough, it is proposed that bleaching dye works should be transferred into the textile class for certain purposes—the hours of work being limited to 10—but the stretch of work and other matters remaining the same as they are now. But why this particular industry should be specially singled out, and partly assimilated and partly not, and all other trades in Classes 2 and 3 be left in these respects as they are now, I am at a loss to conceive, and it will, I think, puzzle the Home Secretary to explain and justify them. With regard to holidays, the distinctions are still more fanciful and anomalous. In the textile trades, besides the Saturday half-holiday, there must be eight other half-holidays during the year, and two full-holidays—namely, Christmas Day and Good Friday; but, singularly enough, there is no regulation against working on Sunday. On the other hand, in Class 2, working on Sunday is specially prohibited, except at blastfurnaces, or in works where masters and men are all Jews; but there is no holiday on Saturday until after 4.30 P.M., and four

whole holidays may be substituted for the eight half-holidays. And in Class 3, and in all mining trades, there is no regulation whatever as to holidays, so that in these trades work may be carried on from day to day and week to week the whole year through, so far as legislation is concerned, without any break or cessation whatever. By this Bill the holidays in textile and non-textile trades are generally assimilated, except as to the Saturday half-holiday, which, in textile factories, must commence at 1.30, in non-textile at 2.0, and in workshops at 4.30; but the latter can scarcely be looked upon as a half-holiday at all. Sunday work is, however, done away with altogether, except at blast furnaces; and the Jews in future are not to be allowed to work on that day, but they may work till a late hour on Saturday night, or they may have two whole-holidays in succession, as they prefer. The sanitary, protective, and general provisions also vary greatly in the three classes, Class 1 being again singled out for special distinction. Textile factories have, under heavy penalties, to be lime-washed at fixed periods; machinery has to be fenced off; the gearing cannot be cleaned while in motion; meals may not be taken while at work, or even within the mill-rooms; inspection and reports by Factory Inspectors and Medical Officers have to be made periodically; certificates of age and physical fitness have to be obtained; accidents have to be reported; and a variety of other inquisitorial and expensive requirements are imposed, few of which apply to trades in Class 2, and none to trades in Class 3. Here, again, the Bill extends several of the textile provisions to non-textile trades, but not all, and very few of them are extended to workshops. Such, Sir, are some of the irregularities, anomalies, and absurdities in the law as it now stands, many of which will, as has been shown, remain if this Bill be passed in its present form. It is not easy to conjecture how they would have arisen except upon the assumption that the exigencies of the piecemeal legislation resorted to from time to time left no other course open; each Bill being introduced to remedy a special grievance, and being the subject of a special compromise. This being so, it is quite certain that if legislation had now to be begun *de novo*, few, if any, of these discrepancies would

be introduced; and as this Consolidation and Amendment Bill affords a fitting opportunity for dealing with them, it is to be hoped that they will be entirely swept away, and the whole law assimilated. Any legislative interference with the carrying on of trade and the liberty of labour requires justification, and can only be justified on either social, educational, or sanitary grounds. As regards the two first, no one can possibly contend that those employed in the textile trades are entitled to social and educational privileges which those engaged in other trades are not equally entitled to, and it is, therefore, upon sanitary grounds alone that the justification for these distinctions—if justification there be—must be found. I, however, deny that the textile trades can, with any justice, be subjected to the sweeping condemnation which such exceptional legislation stamps them with. The various processes in those trades are not, taking them as a whole, specially unhealthy, nor do they place an undue continuous strain upon the system of the operative more than many processes in the non-textile trades. Taking individual manufactures, there are several in Class 2 and 3 which are quite as injurious to health, and tax the energies and attention of the workman quite as much, and, in some instances, in a far greater degree than in any of the textile processes. I will not attempt to excite the sympathy of this House by detailing any of the harrowing descriptions which the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) used periodically to bring forth on the annual production of his Nine Hours' Bill; but I will give a few plain quotations from the official reports of some of the Factory Inspectors. In bleach works, according to Mr. Redgrave, the Chief Inspector of Factories—

"The work is carried on in a sort of oven. The women work barefooted and almost naked, at a temperature of 120 degrees."

In the Turkey red dye works, the steam, according to Sub-Inspector Henderson

"is so dense that he had to walk blindfold through the works, and to take hold of the coat tail of the manager to guide him."

In salt works, the vapour is described as so thick that you cannot see half-a-yard before you; the men and women working together in the lightest possible

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clothing; one of the processes which they call "drawing" being carried on close to the pans filled with scalding water, into which there is nothing to prevent them falling—and all this in a place of almost utter darkness. In pottery making, there is one process where "fine dust is thrown off, which creates a disease of the lungs ending in a few years in death;" and the workshops of Birmingham are described by Mr. Baker as

"a disgrace to the country—long, low, dirty, damp houses, like human rabbit-warrens, into which women and children have to burrow into their appointed holes, and anything more deadening to one's physical and moral energies than to work all their years in such places we could not conceive."

In other trades, such as white lead making, silvering of glass, millstone cutting, nail and rivet making, lucifer match dipping, glass works, and many others, the circumstances are equally appalling and far more deleterious to health and morality than any of the textile processes. Now, Sir, I assert that in none of the textile trades are there any processes which can be stigmatized in such terms as these, and yet they are singled out for special restrictions as if they were the worst of all trades, and as if the persons employed in them required special care and protection. As regards the continuous strain upon the energies and system of the workpeople—of which so much has been said and made—I may mention that in printing and bleach works, hand-loom weaving, pottery making, fustian cutting, nail manufacturing, and almost all occupations connected with the metal trades, and a variety of other trades, the strain is far greater than in many of the textile processes; and if we turn from particular trades to the general health of the districts which may be said to be the special seats of the textile and other industries, and comparing the rates of mortality according to the last decimal period for 1861 to 1871, we find that, taking 15 of the principal textile towns—as Bolton, Bury, Halifax, Huddersfield, &c.—the average death rate is 25·34 per 1,000 of the population; while in 15 of the large non-textile manufacturing towns—such as Liverpool, Birmingham, Sheffield, Newcastle, Wolverhampton, &c.—the average death rate per 1,000 is 26·37;

showing a positive balance in favour of the seats of textile trades. I maintain, therefore, that whether viewed as regards unhealthiness of the individual trades, the strain upon the system, or on the general mortality of the district, the textile trades bear a most favourable comparison; and that, at all events, they do not deserve the invidious distinction of being singled out for special and exceptional legislation on these grounds. In my opinion, the true and proper remedy, in case of special unhealthiness in any particular trades, is to enact and enforce more stringent provisions as to the carrying on of that trade by still further curtailing, if need be, the hours of labour and stretch of work, and absolutely prohibiting the employment of women and children in labour which is physically and morally unsuitable for them. And I am glad to observe that as regards some specified trades, in the Bill now before us, some such provisions are introduced. But in this respect the Bill falls short of what is required, and it should be made generally applicable to all processes which are specially unhealthy or unsuitable. Such, Sir, being the state of things now, and difficult of comprehension as their origin is, it is still more difficult to understand the reasons which have induced Her Majesty's Government to retain in the Bill so many of these invidious and irritating distinctions. But the solution is no doubt to be found in the Report of the Factory and Workshops Commission, which was issued in 1876, for it is upon the lines of that Report that this Bill has evidently been constructed. Now, Sir, this Report is unquestionably entitled to great consideration; and though I do not altogether concur in its suggestions and conclusions, yet I join cordially in expressing my indebtedness to the Gentlemen who undertook the laborious duties and responsibilities of that Commission for the careful and impartial manner in which they conducted their inquiries, and for the able and exhaustive Report which they have given. I must confess, however, that upon the first announcement of the constitution of the Commission, I had some misgivings as to the result. I thought, in common with many others, that the absence of Members practically conversant with the working of the laws in relation to the manufactures affected, and to be affected,



by the inquiry was a mistake, and that the Report would not inspire that confidence which would make it generally acceptable; and it is a curious fact that the only Member of the Commission who can be said to be connected with trade, in the sense of its being the business of his life—I need scarcely say that I refer to my hon. Friend the Member for Wigan (Mr. Knowles), whom I am glad to see in his place to-day, and the benefit of whose practical experience we shall, I hope, have the pleasure of hearing and receiving this evening—thought it his duty to make a separate Report, and, while agreeing with his Colleagues in their general recommendations, yet strongly and vigorously protested against their being applied to the particular trade with which he is connected and identified; and had there been on the Commission other Members practically conversant with the working of other trades, they, too, might have thought it their duty to have similarly protested and reported; and thus we should have had the extraordinary phenomenon of a series of separate Reports from practical men who, though agreeing generally with each other as regarded other trades, yet each exempted his own particular trade—thus presenting, in the aggregate, a Report which would have been against any opposition or extension whatever. Let us, Sir, however, see what are the views and opinions of the Factory Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors, who, from their great practical experience and official position, are entitled to the greatest weight and consideration. First in importance is the evidence of Mr. Redgrave, the Chief Inspector, who says that—

“The main difficulties as regards uniformity in the law, arise from the fact that the circumstances of the different trades vary. But,” he adds, “the main restriction could be made fairly uniform without injury to the employers at all.”

And Mr. Baker—the other Chief Inspector—in reference to the unequal conditions of the law, emphatically says, “I would equalize all;” and of the 43 assistant Sub-Inspectors, a very large proportion express themselves decidedly in favour of uniformity, many of them giving most cogent reasons in favour of it, and those who do not altogether concur are yet agreed in recommending a degree of uniformity beyond what the Bill proposes. But what are the reasons

*Mr. Tennant*

given by the Commissioners themselves in their Report against uniformity? To my mind they are most meagre and unsatisfactory. First, it is said there has been no general demand for it from other trades. To this argument I altogether demur. It is scarcely to be expected that masters will come forward and volunteer to be put under further restrictions; and as for the workpeople themselves, so far as we know their views—and, speaking for myself, I have had communications from associations and unions from all parts of the Kingdom—they are all strongly in favour of it. If we take the evidence given before the Commission, many masters expressed themselves either willing to come under the same law, or as indifferent to it, and those who objected did so on the ground that they had been interfered with quite enough already—a proposition from which we should none of us, I think, dissent—and the only operatives who expressed contrary views were some strong-minded females, accompanied by advocates of women's rights, who objected on the ground that they were perfectly competent to act and judge for themselves, and repudiated any thought of protection or interference, either by the law or from any other source. But surely, if the general feeling of employers and certain women were adverse, that is no reason why the great majority of women and children in these trades should be less cared for than those in textile trades. Another reason against the change assigned is the smaller proportion of women and children employed in the non-textile trades; but that, as we have seen from the statistics I before quoted, does not apply to all these trades; and, besides, there are, as we have also seen, upwards of 500,000 women and children employed in those trades; and though I do not admit mere numbers really affect the argument, yet surely 500,000 is a sufficient number to be worthy the attention of Parliament. A further reason is assigned that there is already great competition in those trades, and that to cripple trade further would be to cast a burden upon employers which, in the present state of things, they could not stand up against. But this is an argument against all factory legislation whatever, and as the textile trades are now subjected to quite as great, if not greater,

competition, and at this moment are suffering under as heavy a depression as other trades, it is scarcely fair, not only to ignore this, but to handicap them still more by subjecting them to exceptional restrictions, as well as unfair competition, in the labour market. It surely cannot be contended that the Lancashire spinner or the Yorkshire woollen manufacturer is less entitled to the consideration of this House or of the country than the Birmingham button makers or the Sheffield steel manufacturers; nor that the wretched girl, so pathetically described by the hon. Member for Sheffield, as trudging to her work on "a cold winter's morning bedrabbled up to the waist in wet," is less worthy of our pity and regard because she is tramping to a low, damp, cramped hovel of a workshop, than if she were going into the warm, comfortable, and well-ventilated rooms of the spinning mill or the weaving shed. And now I will add but a few words more, for I feel I have already trespassed too long, and I thank the House for the indulgence it has shown me. I do not ask the House to adopt my Amendment upon the grounds which the Commissioners, somewhat cynically, lay down in their Report—namely, for the sake of uniformity, or for the sake of elegance in the Statute Book, though the latter, if only as a Parliamentary novelty and as a precedent for future legislation, would be much to be desired; but I ask on the more solid and prosaic ground of common justice and common sense that employers and employed should, in all trades, be placed as nearly as possible on the same footing. There must, of course, be exceptions and exemptions. The varieties and exigencies of our various trades and manufactures necessitate this; but these exceptions should be made equally applicable to all trades and processes of manufacture, and to draw a hard-and-fast line between textile and non-textile trades is most unfair. The object of my Amendment might, no doubt, be effected by a modification of the Act of 1874; but that Act having passed so recently with the almost unanimous voice of the present Parliament, and with the general approval of the country, must be considered as a Parliamentary settlement of factory legislation for the present. I must, however, confess that my views as to the general policy of these Acts have been undergoing a great change, owing mainly

to the severe competition we are suffering from our manufacturing rivals in other countries, whose freedom from all restrictions confers enormous advantages which it is almost impossible to contend against; and the time will come, and is not so far distant as many of us may imagine, when all these legislative restrictions on the freedom of labour, and all this Parliamentary interference with the right of contract between employer and employed will be swept from the Statute Book, and master and workman will be left unfettered to make their own arrangements in their own way. But that time is not yet. No one appreciates more highly than I do the many and great advantages which have resulted from the passing of the first Factory Act, now nearly half-a-century ago; but no one can contend that the monstrous evils and abuses that then existed would be tolerated for a moment in this present age of enlightenment of public opinion and spread of education, and as these influences make themselves more and more felt—as they are gradually but surely doing—relaxations of these restrictions will assuredly follow. But in the meantime, and so long as labour requires the protection of the State, let that protection be granted equally and universally; and I trust I shall not appeal in vain to the House, not, on the one hand, to subject certain classes of manufacture to invidious restrictions and unfair competition, nor, on the other hand, to withhold from large numbers of operatives those social, educational, and sanitary blessings which should alike be extended to all.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in any measure for the consolidation and amendment of the Law relating to Factories and Workshops, it is desirable, in the interests alike of employers and employed, that all trades and manufactures employing the same class of labour should be placed upon the same footing, and under the same protective and restrictive regulations,"—(*Mr. Tennant*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR CHARLES FORSTER, as the Representative of a working-class constituency, offered his warm congratulations to the right hon. Gentleman oppo-

site (Mr. Cross) on the introduction of a valuable measure which well deserved their support; but desired to mention two points that were not sufficiently provided for. The first was the "sweating system," under which employers of labour, instead of providing proper workshops, gave the work out to their *employés* to be done at their own homes. Those homes were dark dwellings, defective in every way, and official Reports showed that their condition was deplorable. Through that system fevers were communicated to clothes, and they thus became the means of conveying disease to other districts. It was a fact that large bundles of clothes so made up were seen every Saturday night at a principal London railway station. He would suggest that a provision should be inserted in the Bill requiring all employers of labour to furnish a list of all those to whom they sent out work, and that all those who used houses for performing the work in should register the houses. A list, too, should be kept at the police stations, so that they might be inspected in the same manner as common lodging houses. The other point he wished to press upon the attention of the Home Secretary and the House was, the point brought before the right hon. Gentleman by a deputation from the Trades Council last year—the employment of women and children in the nail and chain trade. The Report of Mr. Baker revealed the evils connected with the employment of women, and in order that the matter might be fully considered, he would give notice that in Committee he would move that in nail and chain making the employment of women and children be done away with. The Reports of the Inspectors showed that the women earned wages which the men spent, while the public safety was imperilled by weak work and bad iron. In other respects the Bill would have his support. In his idea it was conceived in the spirit of the Artizans' Dwellings Act, and was an appropriate sequel to that excellent measure.

Mr. KNOWLES desired to explain that he had protested against the inquiries of the Commission being extended to the coal trade simply because that trade was the subject of special legislation. With regard to the nail and chain trade, he, for one, thought Mr. Baker's Report exaggerated, for the Commission who had reported on the subject took a

great deal of trouble in their inquiries, and they were agreeably surprised at the condition of the women and children. He (Mr. Knowles) employed women and children in agriculture cotton mills and in bleach works too, and he was certain that employment in the latter was very nice for women and children. What had been said about those industries by the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Tennant) must have been quoted from Reports that were somewhat out of date, for the Commission were surprised to find the people employed in them in such a healthy condition. He thought they had gone far enough in handicapping the trades of this country, seeing the deplorable condition they were now in; but no one would dispute the desirability of consolidating the numerous Acts of Parliament—18 in number—which existed on the subject of labour, and affecting as they did several cognate trades, so as to obviate the discontent and jealousies that arose in some places, and particularly in Birmingham, because one manufacturer who employed 48 persons was under the Workshops Act and another who employed 50 was under the Factory Act. Then, again, the different arrangements which existed for the meal times and hours of going to business caused a heavier expense to be incurred by the father of a family and loss and inconvenience to the employer. It was impossible for the Inspectors to do their duty under the present system, and the consolidation would effect a benefit both to masters and men. What he desired was the consolidation of the existing Acts, and he believed that everyone would appreciate the Bill before the House. It was a wise and judicious measure to which he could give his hearty support, subject to a few alterations in matters of detail which could easily be made in Committee.

Mr. MUNDELLA warmly supported the Bill, regarding it as most useful and valuable. The country had long felt the want of some measure of the kind, and he was particularly glad that it was proposed to put workshops and factories in the same category. Absolute uniformity being unattainable, the Bill did all that was possible in that direction. Apparently, the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Tennant) did not wish to disturb the settlement effected by the Act of 1874, as he recognized the fact that every branch of industry, great and

small, could not possibly come under its operation. Let them take the textile industries—76 per cent of those employed in them were women and children; but in a workshop in another occupation there would be three or four boys and 100 men. It would be simply impossible to lay down an absolute rule for those boys as they might in so large an occupation as the textile industries. The law, however, as it stood, was in such an unsatisfactory state, that it was impossible for a parent to tell at what age his child might be employed in the different industries of the country. Some degree of elasticity was necessary, though the Bill did much to secure uniformity—as, for instance, with respect to age, which was fixed at 10 for all industries. The Educational Inspectors last year had spoken very highly of the Act, because it did not allow children up to 13 to work full-time unless they were in the Fourth Standard. At Keighley, the chairman of the school board had reported that out of more than 400 children examined for permission to work full-time no fewer than 340 were rejected. These facts showed that nothing could better stimulate parents to attend to the education of their children, and he was very glad that the Bill put every child under the Act of 1874. He would remind the House that the Bill rather equalized than increased the restrictions on labour; and it was noticeable that, whilst we had been discussing the question, factory legislation had been extended in all industrial countries with the sole exception of Belgium, where, in the branches of textile industry, in which young children were employed, no advance had been made. It was worthy of notice that in that country they dared not open their ports for fear of foreign competition. Switzerland would not benefit in the race of competition by any change which it had made in its factory legislation, for there an Act had been passed by the extremely democratic *ad referendum* process, by which a child was now forbidden to be a half-timer until it had passed its 13th year, while we began the half-time system at 10 years. The French Factory Act fixed that age at 11 years; while in Germany the age was fixed at 12 years; and children were not allowed to be full-timers till the age of 14, and then they must attend school so many hours a week until the age of 16. In that case

it was clear that the Bill could not harm the interests of British labour. Neither did he think it would work any injustice to capitalists. He regarded the Bill as a whole as a very useful measure; but the effect of it, he was afraid, would be—in the Midland Counties, for instance, where there was a mixed agricultural and manufacturing population—that a child on attaining its 10th year would be sent to work full-time in some agricultural employment, and be employed full-time in manufacturing work when it was 14, and thus lose the advantages of receiving a good education altogether. The result, he might add, of so neglecting the education of agricultural children would be to fill the towns with the ignorance of the villages. That loophole he was sorry to see; but he trusted, however, that the provisions of the Bill would be carefully considered in Committee, and that hon. Members on both sides would unite in their efforts to render it a useful and practical measure as well as a valuable addition to our legislation on the subject.

MR. FIELDEN said, he could not allow a Bill affecting the hours of labour in factories to pass a second reading without some remark. This Bill had his entire approval, except in one or two minor points affecting its machinery. The Ten Hours' Bill was a household word in the family of his father; and when, in 1846, his father succeeded to the leadership of that question, it was with the greatest pain and distress that he found Sir Robert Peel throwing the whole force of his Government into the scale against the Bill. However, in the very next year, 1847, it became law, and he (Mr. Fielden) remembered the rejoicings by which the passing of that great measure was celebrated. He wished to point out to the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Tennant), that when he proposed to put all classes of labour upon the same footing, he should remember that in all these matters of factory legislation, progress had been made by very slow steps, and that what the hon. Member now proposed had been discussed over and over again. In all its legislation upon the subject, Parliament had been guided by experience, and had gradually extended the operations of the Acts from one trade to another. It was so far back as 1816 that his father began to take that deep interest in factory labour which he never

laid aside, and in 1847 he accomplished the great object of his life, the passing of the Ten Hours Bill, in spite of all opposition. The fact was, that, at this time, so great were the evils of over-working women and children employed in the textile manufactures of the Kingdom, that a great and overwhelming majority of all classes were in favour of restriction. After that other industries were brought under the operations of the Factory Acts; and the results were watched by masters and men with great anxiety, many of the former believing the trade would be ruined, and the latter fearing to lose the great benefits they had obtained. The result was that the effects of the Act were proved beyond doubt to be beneficial not only to the workpeople, but to the trade itself; and in later years the same principles had been legally extended to other branches of industry. The hon. Member for Leeds seemed from his Amendment to overlook the fact that in the application of restrictions on the employment of children, young persons, and women, in all the different branches of industry, the greatest care had been taken to deal fairly and justly and not oppressively with the interests of the masters, and to provide for the health of the women and children engaged in laborious occupations without interfering injuriously with trade. With regard to restricting the hours of labour, he trusted that the hon. Member for Leeds did not imply by what he had said that he hoped the time would come when all restrictions in that respect should come to an end. When the Acts affecting the employment of women and children had come before the House, persons who owned textile manufactories had over and over again protested against owners of bleach works, for instance, not being put on the same footing as owners of such manufactories. But it had been shown before Parliamentary Committees that the circumstances of the trade were such that a uniform rule could not be laid down. He (Mr. Fielden) felt certain that the present depression of trade had nothing to do with the restriction of the hours of labour. It had arisen from many other causes which it would not be fair or right to bring into the discussion on the present Bill. It had not arisen in any way from the legislation which had taken place with regard to the employment of women and children in factories. The fact was that

*Mr. Fielden*

since we began to restrict the hours of labour in this country, we had experienced more prosperous and profitable times—the masters having made larger profits, and the workmen having been better off, enjoying more leisure and better health and higher wages—than we had before. That was extremely gratifying, and he trusted, therefore, that the hon. Member for Leeds would pause before recommending such a course as his observations appeared to suggest, and that he would not ignore the great benefits which the restrictions in question had conferred both on employers and on employed. He (Mr. Fielden) was old enough to remember the miserable condition of the workpeople employed in the factories of Manchester and other large manufacturing towns prior to the passing of the Ten Hours' Bill, and he was ashamed to think that in free England, as it was called, such a state of things could have been allowed to exist. When he noticed the great improvement effected since then, he felt an honest pride that his father had accomplished the great work he did. With reference to the proposal that children might be employed at 13 years of age if they reached a certain Educational Standard, whereas otherwise they could not be employed till 14, he might make one remark. Weak children were often very proficient in brain work; and it frequently happened, on the other hand, that boys and girls who were physically strong were not so quick in the power of acquiring knowledge. The effect of such a clause, therefore, would be to allow weak and delicate children to be employed sooner than robust children. In conclusion, he thanked the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary for having introduced the Bill, which would be a most valuable one, and he hoped the Government would endeavour to pass it as quickly as the Forms of the House would permit.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary to the employment of juvenile labour in the streets, in selling newspapers, matches, and other small articles. It was very distressing, he was sure, to hon. Members to see some of these small boys, and also in many cases girls, employed in this labour; and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be able to devise some provision for securing the education of the young persons employed in this sort of occupa-

tion. He was aware there were great difficulties in this matter, but he thought the School Boards might be aided with such cases by insisting on the production of certificates of school attendance or other education from children employed in selling newspapers and other articles in the streets. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would be ready to consider a clause of this kind if it was brought forward, for no doubt abuses prevailed. It was proposed to put other trades under the Factories and Workshops Act as well as the textile manufactures. No doubt there was a great deal to be said for this, and no doubt the Act might be extended with great advantage; but what had already been done had been of great benefit not only in the largest spheres of labour, but in many other smaller trades as well. He quite agreed with the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. Fielden) that the present depression of trade had not been caused by the legislation restricting the hours of labour. In the county which he represented, the last Factory Act was hailed by the manufacturers, with few exceptions, as a great boon. It established in the county one uniform set of rules and regulations, to which all the manufacturers, or a great majority of them, were ready to conform. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary was conferring a great benefit on the employers of labour by consolidating the Factories and Workshops Acts, and he quite agreed with the hope expressed that the Bill might pass.

MR. WHEELHOUSE begged to add his voice to that of those hon. Gentlemen who had already expressed their satisfaction at seeing such a measure before the House. It was not, as some had stated, 18 or 19 Acts, but from 45 to 50 that were consolidated in this Bill. He was extremely anxious that, if possible, before the Bill went into Committee, the Home Secretary should add some provisions which would meet the case of those who took work from large workshops to their own homes. And there was another matter. In many cases old rags were collected in large quantities and taken to the mills to be worked up a second time into cloth by means of a machine called the "devil." From the way in which the materials were treated while being collected, and even, also, when undergoing that process, if there

was one method more likely than another to disseminate fever and all kinds of epidemics through the length and breadth of the land, it was by allowing a process of that description to be carried on without some regulation. When either of those classes of materials were allowed to go to the houses of the poorer classes of workmen, they became the means of spreading disease in all our large towns. He also thought that a clause should be inserted in the Bill to arrange—if possible, without undue interference—the hours at which persons employed in factories should not only have their breakfasts and dinners supplied to them, so as to secure the greatest, and, therefore, the most comfortable, domestic regulations practicable. He did not think that the clauses which dealt with sleeping accommodation in the neighbourhood of bakehouses went far enough. He would be glad that where there was sleeping accommodation in connection with mills, factories, or workshops, it should be of the amplest possible description.

MR. MACDONALD thanked the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Cross) for introducing the Bill, which he believed would be a great improvement on the present legislation, and would be satisfactory in many respects; and he sincerely hoped that the time would not be far distant when agricultural labourers would also reap the advantages which it was proposed to confer on other classes by the measure, and would be subjected to a like restriction. He quite agreed with what the hon. Member for Forfarshire (Mr. Barclay) had said with reference to children who sold newspapers, and he trusted that a larger number of those who were employed in that trade and in selling matches would be included in the provisions of the Bill, so that it would be impossible for them to evade the Education Act as they did at present. Besides those, however, there were the children of those who went to sea, and he hoped, also, that the children of bleachers and dyers would be looked after; because he was sure that anything done in their behalf would meet with the approbation of the working classes throughout the country. He had heard that a deputation would wait upon the right hon. Gentleman to-morrow from the master bleachers of the United Kingdom, and that it would have the

benefit of the influence of the Member for Wigan (Mr. Knowles). He hoped, however, the right hon. Gentleman would not be seduced to depart from the lines laid down. He (Mr. Macdonald) was well acquainted with the operative bleachers, and he knew that they had agitated for a long time in favour of a measure such as the present. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman had introduced the measure, and he again expressed his gratitude to him for doing so, and he could assure him that any aid he (Mr. Macdonald) could give him to pass it into law was at his disposal.

THE O'CONNOR DON said, he had been a Member of the Royal Commission on whose Report this Bill was mainly founded. He had differed from his Colleagues on certain important points—six in number—and as the right hon. Gentleman had adopted his views on four out of those six points, he certainly did not rise to offer any opposition to the Bill. At the same time, there were certain defects in it which he thought might with advantage be remedied. One principle for which he contended on the Royal Commission was that restriction upon the labour of adult women could only be justified by its being shown that the work in which they were engaged without restriction was injurious to their health, and that they should not, for mere uniformity sake, interfere with that work unless injury was proved. That he understood to be the principle adopted by the right hon. Gentleman when he introduced the Bill. But it was not carried out. The Bill proposed to place new restrictions on women's labour, when it was carried on in workshops in which young persons or children were employed, not, evidently, for the sake of the women, but for the sake of the young persons or children; and if this were fair, the same principle should be extended to men. Again, in Clause 16, which related to what was called domestic employment, it might be necessary to have rules with reference to work carried on in the homes of working people; but it would be extremely difficult to carry out such rules. He presumed that nothing would be done to prevent working people keeping their doors locked. At the time when an Inspector under this Bill knocked at the door the mother and children might be employed in stitching; but

they could cease immediately on the knock being heard, and when the door was opened they would be found doing nothing. These provisions, therefore, regarding work in the homes of the people were likely to be of very little use, whilst most inquisitorial in their character; and he strongly deprecated placing any unnecessary restrictions on work in recognized workshops, which might have the effect of driving the work into the homes. He feared the result of the provision with regard to the education of children would be that in many instances they would receive less education than if the Bill never passed at all. For example, in straw-plaiting children were employed not for the value of the work they might do, but in order that they might learn the trade, which they must do at an early age. Mothers who were now in the habit of sending their children to school full-time every day, and of employing them a few hours in the evening at straw-plaiting would be seriously inconvenienced by the operation of the Bill, and would probably send their children to school only for half-time, and then employ them in the morning and in the afternoon every alternate week. With regard to the surgeons' certificates, his right hon. Friend proposed that a certificate should be required in factories and not in workshops, and at every change of employment not under the same employer. He himself thought the surgeons' certificates were of very little use, and that the provision requiring them to be given at every change of employment ought not to be upheld. With regard to the nail and chain districts, the Commissioners had inquired very carefully into their condition, and they came to the conclusion that there was nothing in the employment of an unhealthy character. There were no stronger women to be found in England than were to be seen in these districts. He should, however, take another opportunity of calling attention to the various points of the Bill which, in his opinion, required amendment.

MR. HIBBERT, as the Representative of a district (Oldham) which contained more factories than any other district in Lancashire or in the country, wished to thank the Home Secretary for bringing in this Bill. He believed it would be a boon to the persons employed in the

*Mr. Macdonald*

cotton factories and in other modes of labour. It was important in dealing with this subject not to make the regulations more strict and difficult, but to consider the wants of the various trades and fix the hours of labour so as to make them, as far as possible, compatible with the requirements of the different trades and manufactories of the country. He could not give his support to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Tennant), for he regarded it as far more important that time should be regulated from an educational point of view than from the point of view of the actual working hours.

SIR HENRY JACKSON regretted that the Home Secretary did not propose by his Bill to relax any of the restraints imposed by Sub-section 6 of Clause 11, which re-enacted a clause of the Act of 1874, to the effect that no young person or woman should be employed continuously for more than four-and-a-half hours without an interval of half-an-hour for meals. Instead of doing good, that enactment had, in certain light textile industries, done serious harm, and had caused great inconvenience. It imposed far greater fatigue on young persons than the old five-hours' system. In summer time it produced no inconvenience; but in winter time the young persons were compelled, under the four-and-a-half hours' limit, to leave their homes at an early hour, and to get a hurried meal in the factory; whereas, under the old system, they used to get their breakfasts at home, and went to their work refreshed. He hoped the Home Secretary would take this matter into consideration, as the proposal he now made was supported by the Report of the Royal Commissioners.

MR. SHAW said, he could not vote for the Amendment. He had no sympathy with those who had wished to extend the operation of this Act. Instead of extending it, the Home Secretary should endeavour to lessen its restrictions. He could confirm what had been said by the hon. and learned Baronet the Member for Coventry (Sir Henry Jackson), and he thought the Bill would operate very injuriously on small industries. As it was legislation made by manufacturers, he supposed it would have the effect of promoting their interests. He was sorry to say that in

Ireland they had very few extensive manufactories except in Belfast. There were, however, a good many small manufactories scattered throughout the country. In 1874, when the last Bill was before the House, a concession was made in their favour; but he thought that bringing them under the Act at all would be very injurious to their operations, especially in the South and South-west of Ireland. In Committee he should ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he could not except those industries from the Bill? A hard-and-fast line should not be drawn. There had been an exception in the case of mills worked by water power which he hoped would be respected. It would be an immense hardship that the inspection should be conducted by men who knew nothing of the business. A general principle should be laid down, and left as far as possible to the local authorities to be worked out. Adult women and children ought to be relieved from restrictions. He thought they could not go too far in extending sanitary arrangements as regarded factories.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, he could assure the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken that nothing could be further from his intention than to do anything which could tend to injure the manufactories of Ireland, and that he entirely agreed with him as to the expediency of not laying down a hard-and-fast line in legislation such as that now proposed. The Bill was, he admitted, a difficult one to understand; but if the hon. Gentleman had had time to master its provisions, he would find that one of its special principles was that no such line should be drawn. He did not think, he might add, that it imposed a single new restriction; indeed, any change which it might effect would be in the direction of greater freedom. In the case of certain scutch mills, to which reference had been made in the course of the discussion, it was under the consideration of the Government whether some regulations should not be introduced; but, in their case, also, there was no desire to have anything like a hard-and-fast line. As to water mills, the provisions of 1874 were simply reproduced. In reply to the hon. and learned Member for Coventry (Sir Henry Jackson)—whose remarks, of course, applied more par-



ticularly to the ribbon trade—the question raised by him, together with a similar suggestion from the hon. Member for Sheffield (Mr. Mundella), with regard to the hosiery trade, might be considered in Committee; but he wished it to be distinctly understood that in reference to textile fabrics generally, he could not consent to do away with the four-and-a-half hours' limit. He felt it, in the next place, necessary to say a few words with regard to the Inspectors; and he need scarcely tell the House that his object was to secure the services of men in that capacity who would most heartily and efficiently perform their duties. In that respect the Government had been successful, and a body of men who more satisfactorily did their work he did not know. As to the observations of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), he begged, before replying to them, to thank him and his fellow-Commissioners for the great labour which they had bestowed on their Report. No one could have wished for a more exhaustive Report, and, although the Government could not agree with all its recommendations, it had been of the greatest use to the Government in framing the Bill. He entirely concurred in the view which was taken by the hon. Gentleman with respect to the labour of adult women. The Legislature, he thought, ought to be extremely careful how it interfered with that labour. That view was embodied in the Bill, which contained a great many provisions in their favour. He had been very much struck, he might add, by a suggestion of the hon. Gentleman about drawing a distinction between day-work and piece-work; but, having paid considerable attention to the subject, he had come to the conclusion that it was impossible to introduce any such legislative provision with respect to it as he advocated. As to what the hon. Member had said about domestic workshops, he would observe that in the Bill drawn last year only the word workshops had been used; but when the definition of factories came to be dealt with, it was found absolutely necessary to enumerate certain factories, in order to include which the clause in the Bill was drawn. As to education, the objection which had been raised as the Bill stood before was, that it was quite in the power of the parents to

take care that their children never went to school until the afternoon, when they would probably be so tired that they would not receive the same advantages as if they had attended school in the morning. The sub-section was drawn, therefore, so as to make such a shift in the time that they might receive the benefit of education in the morning as well as the afternoon. As to the question of certificates, he held a strong opinion that they must be retained; and whilst not going the whole length of the views of the Commission, the Bill, to his mind, provided all that was necessary in this respect. An hon. Member had asked what was meant by a recognized school? There were certain schools which for ordinary practical purposes were real schools, though they did not come within the scope of the Education Act; and it was proposed that, in order to prevent children having too far to go to school, Inspectors should have power to recognize certain schools of that class for the children to go to. The hon. and learned Member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse) suggested that provision should be made for all working children in the country dining at the same time. That, he feared, would be a piece of tyranny which would scarcely be submitted to.

MR. WHEELHOUSE explained that what he meant was he should be glad that children who worked together should have dinner together whenever they conveniently could.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS said, he was glad to hear his hon. and learned Friend's explanation, in which he quite concurred. The hon. Member for Stafford (Mr. Macdonald), and he thought for Walsall (Sir Charles Forster), too, spoke about the "sweating system." Now, that was a question that was taken into consideration, and, to a great extent, the real evils in that system had been met. All the depositions he had received had been satisfied with what he had laid before them. He did not much wonder at people not finding out what had been done, because the definition clause had been altered in one instance. He had also the half-time question before him, and it was quite true he had received a number of deputations with respect to it; but until a great many more good reasons had been given him for doing so, he could not alter his view

of it. The hon. and learned Member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse) had also referred to the sleeping places in connection with bakehouses; but that provision had been introduced not for the sake of the people, but for the sake of the bread. The hon. Members for Forfar (Mr. Barclay) and Sheffield (Mr. Mundella) expressed a wish to see the educational provisions of the Bill extended to street children and agricultural children. Well, as to the latter, he hoped that under the recent Act, Boards of Guardians would look after them and see that they were educated. It would certainly be impossible to include all within the scope of the present Bill. They should, however, be content to proceed by steps. But, with regard to street children, he ventured to suggest that the school boards would really form a very great power, which, in the course of the next few years, would see that all children who worked in the streets were sent to school. He was much amused at hearing one day that a school board, desiring to ascertain whether all the children of a certain district attended school, sent there four or five men with "Punch" shows about midday, and with the result that the shows were surrounded by children who ought to have been at school. That, however, he thought was taking a rather unfair advantage of them. In regard to the remark of the hon. Member for Walsall, as to the chain and nail makers, he was bound to say, on reading the Report, that he agreed with the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) that they did not need any legislative protection. He would now briefly refer to the Resolution of his hon. Friend the Member for Leeds (Mr. Tennant). He thanked his hon. Friend for the manner in which he had brought his Motion forward, but could not regard the proposition of his hon. Friend from the point of view he did. To introduce absolute uniformity would fatally interfere with the working of the Factory Acts, as had been clearly shown by his hon. Friend the Member for Yorkshire (Mr. Fielden), the labours of whose father they all so entirely recognized, and whose memory would long continue to be regarded with reverence. His hon. Friend had accurately described how the system of Factory Acts had been worked up. It had, no doubt,

been somewhat of a tentative system. Had the course now suggested by his hon. Friend the Member for Leeds been originally followed, the Factory Acts would have been found so oppressive that they would soon be inoperative. It came to this—that they should lower all trades to the same level, or raise every trade and bring them under the provisions of the Act of 1874—a fact which would work extreme hardship throughout the country. He could not, therefore, consent to the adoption of his hon. Friend's Resolution, and hoped it would not be pressed. He begged to thank hon. Members on both sides for the cordial reception they had given to the Bill, and trusted it would do one thing which was so essential in all those trades—namely, enable people who were under the law really to understand it. As the Acts now stood, he defied any person who was not a lawyer—and he defied most lawyers—to say as to any particular point what was absolutely the state of the law. There had been about 45 Acts to be dealt with, and he was bound to say that he received from the draftsman to whom the framing of the Bill was committed, and to whom it was a labour of love, the greatest possible assistance. He would conclude by expressing a hope that hon. Members who might have Amendments to propose would kindly consult with him before they placed them on the Paper. Nothing was more disheartening than 20 or 30 pages of Amendments; and if hon. Members took the course he ventured to suggest, their labours would, he trusted, be greatly lightened.

MR. TENNANT said, that he had not expected that the Home Secretary would have accepted his Motion. He was, however, quite satisfied with the discussion that had taken place, and reserved to himself the right to propose such Amendments in Committee as would meet the principle laid down in his present Motion. He was quite willing to withdraw his Amendment upon the second reading.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for Thursday 21st February.

## ELECTION OF ALDERMEN (CUMULATIVE VOTE) BILL—[BILL 71.]

*(Mr. Wheelhouse, Mr. Isaac, Mr. Tennant.)*

## SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. WHEELHOUSE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, remarked that its object was to give a cumulative vote in the election of aldermen in boroughs, in order to secure the introduction upon the aldermanic bench of members who held different views to those entertained by the majority of the members of the town council in certain large boroughs. The hon. Member was proceeding to explain its provisions, when—

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at a quarter  
after Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 12th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading—*  
*Contagious Diseases (Animals) (22).*

THE CAPE—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK.  
QUESTION.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY asked the Lord President of the Council, Whether it was the intention of the Government to lay on the Table Papers relating to the disturbances at the Cape of Good Hope?

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in reply, said, that almost immediately all the Papers relating to the subject up to the end of December would be laid on the Table.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.  
QUESTION.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I rise to ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether

he will consider it his duty to afford any further information to the House with respect to the state of affairs in the East?

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, the Question of the noble Earl is one of a very general and comprehensive character; so much so, that I scarcely know in what special form he and your Lordships desire I should answer it. Perhaps I may say that with regard to the movements of the British Fleet, which I take to be the matter of the most pressing interest at the present moment, I hope that when your Lordships meet again, in 48 hours, we shall be in a position to state that the intention which we announced some days ago has been carried into effect, and that our ships are at Constantinople. My Lords, with regard to the question of the Conference, there is nothing altered in the situation during the last few days. All the Powers have agreed to the principle that a Conference should be held. The only remaining difference is as to the place of meeting, and I do not think that that difference is likely to give rise to much difficulty. My Lords, with regard to the movements of the Russian Army I can add nothing—nothing that is certain or authentic—to the statements contained in the Circular Telegram of Prince Gortchakoff which has appeared in all the newspapers in Europe.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, as the noble Earl has remarked, my Question was of a general character. I made it so purposely because I did not wish to press for an Answer from the noble Earl on any particular point if it were not convenient for him to give one. I now desire to ask a particular Question; but I do not press for a formal Answer to it, unless the noble Earl thinks fit to reply to it in that way. Yesterday the noble Earl stated that a difficulty had been experienced in respect of the passage of our ships through the Dardanelles; but he expected that an arrangement on the subject would be come to with the Porte. Indeed, he was sanguine in that expectation. I wish to know now, Whether he is able to give your Lordships any additional information with reference to the entry of those ships? The noble Earl also stated that three other European Powers had applied for firmans. This, also, is a point on which further information would be desirable.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, with regard to the first Question of the noble Earl, I think it is better that I should reserve my Answer till Thursday, when no doubt I shall be in a position to speak more fully and satisfactorily than I can do now. With regard to the Question respecting the other Powers which applied for firmans, the position is this—The French and Italian Governments two days ago authorized their Ambassadors to apply for firmans to admit their ships to the Dardanelles. What passed between those Ambassadors and the Porte I, of course, do not know with any exactness; but it appears that, in consequence of their representations, their Governments have thought fit, for the present, to suspend sending their ships up, and consequently, I presume, the firmans have not been demanded. With regard to the third Power, as I stated yesterday, a demand for a firman was made by the Ambassador of that Power, but I know nothing more.

#### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) BILL.

##### BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON rose to call attention to the Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Cattle Plague and Importation of Live Stock; and to present a Bill to amend the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act, 1869. He felt that, even at a time when the Eastern Question was absorbing so much attention, there was no need that he should apologize to their Lordships for bringing the subject before them. It was one that interested all classes of the country; and at the outset of his remarks, he wished to lay down this as a proposition on which he meant to base all his statements, and all his arguments—that the interests of all classes were involved in it; and, believing that to be the case, the Government, in the Bill which he should lay on the Table, drew no distinction between the interest of the consumer and the interest of the producer in the matter; because they believed those interests to be entirely identical. It was not advisable in any case to set up class against class, and in this instance it would be particularly inadvisable. In laying before their Lord-

ships the circumstances which had led to the preparation of the Bill he should present, he would first touch shortly upon the previous inquiries that had been made into the subject, and the legislation which had already taken place; but it would not be necessary for him to go back further than the Cattle Plague of 1865-6-7—a period most fatal to our flocks and herds. During the prevalence of that very disastrous plague, our flocks and herds were so decimated that the Government thought it desirable that a Royal Commission should be appointed to inquire into the subject. Among others who served on that Royal Commission was his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India. In 1866 there were two Acts relating to this subject—one applying to England and Scotland, and the other to Ireland. All previous investigations culminated in the passing of the Act of 1869, which applied to England and Scotland. The principle of that measure in regard to foreign animals was that it regulated foreign importation, giving power to the Privy Council to prohibit importation from any country where there was disease, to define the ports where foreign animals should be landed and where they should be slaughtered if the Privy Council thought fit; and providing that if foreign animals were on their arrival found healthy, they should be allowed to go at large after a detention of some 12 hours. Under the provisions of that Act no cattle had, since 1872, been allowed to come to this country from Russia; and, since the outbreak of Cattle Plague in the spring of last year, the same restriction had been passed as regarded Germany and Belgium. The principle of the Act of 1869 with regard to home stock was, to speak generally, that everything was left to the local authorities of the country, though the Privy Council had a general superintendence over their acts. When he reminded their Lordships that in England and Scotland there were 411 local authorities, it was by no means surprising that the rules and regulations passed by them should be extremely varied and diverse—there being, in short, a total want of uniformity. He was not there to find fault with the operation of the Act of 1869. He knew it contained many valuable provisions that had done

much good; but he thought it was not unreasonable to believe that, during the period of nearly 10 years which had elapsed since that Act was passed, there might be some defects brought to light seeming to require legislation in order to put them right. Notes of these defects had been kept both during the time of his Predecessor and himself, and he hoped and believed they were dealt with in the Bill he was about to present. In 1873 a Committee was appointed to inquire into the working of the Act of 1869. That Committee made a Report containing certain recommendations, and when he was appointed to the Office he now had the honour to hold, it became his duty to look into that Report carefully. There were some of the recommendations which he thought it desirable to carry out—notably the employment of travelling Inspectors throughout the country. This measure had proved very satisfactory in bringing about a marked improvement in the cleansing and disinfecting of ships, railway trucks, loading pens, and other places where cattle were kept; and in giving effect to the regulations in respect to those subjects which it was the duty of those Inspectors to see carried out, the Privy Council had recovered penalties against offending companies. Some of the recommendations of the Committee of 1873 could not be carried out without legislation, and he did not then think the time had come when Parliament ought to be asked to grant further powers in the matter. He preferred to wait till a time when the Government would be in a position to propose a more comprehensive measure than they could at that time have submitted, believing, as he did, that piecemeal legislation in connection with the food supply of the country was not desirable. Between 1874 and 1876 there was a considerable amount of foot-and-mouth disease and pleuro-pneumonia throughout the country. Constant complaints were made to him, and more stringent measures pressed upon him. The want of uniformity throughout the country was very much dwelt upon, and he was asked if the time had not arrived for the correcting of these abuses. In the early part of 1877 the Cattle Plague made its appearance at Deptford and Hull through cattle brought into the country from Hamburgh, and rapidly spread through the metropolis,

the consequence being that the alarm which had previously existed greatly increased. The Privy Council passed Orders dealing with foreign cattle, and the local authorities, in accordance with the power given them under the Act of 1869, attempted to deal with the disease. But it became clear, especially when the disease had existed some time in the metropolis, that the local authorities, although acting in the most exemplary manner, had not the requisite power to cope with it. The disease continued to spread, and Her Majesty's Government came to the conclusion that the time had arrived when the Privy Council should take the matter into their own hands. That was done, and very stringent measures were adopted. He was not, indeed, certain that the Privy Council had not even exceeded its powers; but it was thought necessary to stamp out the disease by every means in the power of the Government, and stamped out it was in the course of the year. Whilst the disease was in progress, he was much urged to exclude from this country all foreign animals, not only on account of the Cattle Plague, but on account of other diseases, such as foot-and-mouth disease and pleuro-pneumonia. When he was urged to take that course by memorials and deputations, he was not prepared to accede to the proposal; though possibly, under the 75th section of the Act of 1869, the Privy Council might have made an Order against such importation. He thought, however, that such a measure, if within the letter, would certainly be outside the spirit of the Act, and that there was not sufficient information as to the advisability of such prohibition to justify the Government in at once proposing legislation with that object. A new feature just then had also been introduced into the matter—the importation of dead meat and live cattle from America; and, under all the circumstances, Her Majesty's Government considered that the time had arrived when a Committee ought to be appointed to inquire into the whole subject. A Committee of the House of Commons was appointed accordingly, and upon that Committee there were Members who represented the Scotch and Irish interests, county Members, and Members who represented some of the largest manufacturing towns

in the Kingdom; and the Committee so constituted was entitled to the highest consideration. The terms of the Reference to that Committee were—

"To inquire into the causes of the recent outbreak of Cattle Plague, and the measures taken for its repression, and into the effect which the importation of live foreign animals had upon the introduction of disease into this country, and upon the supply and price of food."

Before he came to the Report of the Committee, he wished to draw a distinction between the Cattle Plague—Rinderpest proper—and other contagious diseases which had been so disastrous to the live stock—foot-and-mouth disease and pleuro-pneumonia—because it was often the case that they were all mixed up together in public estimation, and that sufficient distinction was not drawn between them. With regard to the Cattle Plague or Rinderpest, he had made up his mind, from experience gained in dealing with it, that it ought to be dealt with by the central authority. The Committee of last year came to the same conclusion, and he proposed, in respect of it to adopt the recommendation of the Committee. As to the other cattle diseases, there were three things which he desired to ask. First, whether those diseases inflicted such injury on the community as made it worth while to stamp them out? Second, whether there was any prospect of success in an endeavour to stamp them out? Third, what were the restrictions necessary for stamping them out? It was proved before the Committee by eminent agriculturists from various parts of the Kingdom, that pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth disease were far more injurious to this country than even Cattle Plague itself, for the reason that whilst the latter was a rare occurrence, the former were very prevalent in the country. In proof of what he had just been saying, he thought it right to adduce to the House some of the evidence on the subject. In the evidence given to the Committee by Mr. Booth, one of the most eminent of our agriculturists, and a gentleman constantly engaged in the breeding and rearing of cattle, there were these Questions and Answers—

"2,243. Have you experienced, during the time that you have bred stock, great losses from foot-and-mouth disease and other diseases?—

From foot-and-mouth disease especially I have experienced very great losses.

"2,244. It, in fact, almost ruined your herd, did it not?—Between 1869 and 1872 my herd was reduced by foot-and-mouth disease by more than one-half.

"2,245. You have had it more than once, have you not?—I had five separate attacks in my herd in less than three years.

"2,267. You said a few moments ago that between 1869 and 1872, owing to foot-and-mouth disease, your herd dwindled down to half; how did you lose those animals?—Breeding animals are particularly liable to abortion by disease. I will give an instance. In 1872 I had 17 cows in one pasture, and they all went down with disease, and the produce of the whole of those 17 cows was one calf. Against that I may set the present year, when we are perfectly healthy, and I have upwards of 40 calves on the farm at the present time.

"2,268. Do you think that that was entirely owing to foot-and-mouth disease?—I have not the slightest hesitation in saying so."

He would now refer to the evidence of another gentleman well known in the North of England, and a man of great practical knowledge in agriculture. He alluded to Mr. Jacob Wilson. Speaking of cattle sent to him, he said—

"A very few days after their arrival foot-and-mouth disease broke out, and instead of getting fat during that summer they dragged their weary length along until the following spring, and I lost three months of my keep. Instead of my then being able to sell them, pleuro-pneumonia appeared among them, and especially among those which had been most severely handled by foot-and-mouth disease.

"4,794. That represents, then, to the consumers of the country a clear loss of nearly a year of the feeding properties of your farm?—Very much like it, because I only get three-fourths of the value at the finish.

"4,795. But looking at it from the consumers' point of view, that strengthens your argument that these diseases reduce enormously the food of the people?—Yes, and not only so, but instead of my having two lots of cattle fed off in the time, I could only get one lot fed off.

"4,897. With dairy stock I suppose the loss is very severe?—Very severe; there is no saying where the end of it is; because, not only do you sacrifice the breeding power of your valuable cows, but you lose your produce, you lose your time, and the consequence is that the country loses its stock.

"4,799. These risks, in your opinion, make it absolutely necessary not only for the protection of the farming interest in the country, but for the production of the food that is supplied to the people, that steps should be taken to eradicate diseases which are attended by such risks?—They do. In the face of all this disease people dare not go into breeding, and I may say that, following up the question with regard to the outbreak of 1865, we are well aware that a great many farmers have never since pursued the same system which up to that time they had been

accustomed to pursue; they dare not do it. They prefer going to a market and buying other cattle which are probably nearer the butcher, so that in case of an outbreak they are prepared to send them off on the shortest notice, the risk being less, rather than keep valuable cows and risk the loss of the cows themselves and also of their produce."

Another gentleman, from whose evidence he should like to quote, was Mr. Howard, formerly M.P. for Bedford. Here were two or three of the questions in Mr. Howard's examination—

"8,166. Have those complaints been general in your county as well as in your own herd?—Yes; in one year we had in the small county of Bedford 38,000 animals attacked with contagious diseases.

"8,169. 1872 was the time when the last outbreak of cattle plague occurred in this country?—Yes; I could not charge my memory exactly, but I know it was four or five years ago. At the lowest estimate it would entail a loss of £60,000 upon the country.

"8,179. I understand you to say that you believe the supply to the consumer has been very much diminished in consequence not only of the losses by disease, but of the smaller amount of cattle that have been kept for fear of those diseases?—These diseases, as every Member of the Committee must see, are deterrent; farmers who have suffered serious losses are naturally deterred from keeping on with the system which entails upon them such very serious losses, and many have adopted the plan of buying in their stock instead of breeding. That has been done to a very considerable extent. Many farmers who used to breed and rear cattle have abandoned that practice for the comparatively safer plan of buying in their store stock."

From that evidence, which could not be controverted, it appeared that there was a considerable loss, not alone to the producer, but also to the consumer of food, arising from that disease. And this did not affect the produce in meat alone, because the production of milk, butter, and cheese was very much affected by the loss of cattle in the country. The outbreak of 1865 was so great, that in Cheshire there was a great deal of pasture rendered useless, and persons travelling through the country could actually see places where heaps of cattle had been slaughtered and buried. Having this testimony, which might be multiplied *ad infinitum*, it was not surprising to find the following paragraph in the Report of the Committee:—

"It was abundantly proved in evidence that the ravages of cattle plague since the Act of 1869, and the diminution of the breeding herds of the kingdom from the fear of breaking out of cattle plague are as nothing compared with

the losses inflicted and the enterprise checked by pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth complaint. In addition to the losses to the community of animals actually destroyed by either of those diseases, or slaughtered to prevent the spread of pleuro-pneumonia, the agricultural and other witnesses laid great stress on the fact, that whatever loss fell upon the farmer from the deterioration of his stock through foot-and-mouth complaint, reacted injuriously on the consumer, by the diminution in the number of fat stock which the farmer was able to place on the market in a given time."

Mr. Booth, on one occasion, fattened bullocks in August, he was offered £34 each for them; but the disease having broken out among them, he could only obtain £35 each at Christmas. Besides, their Lordships would also recollect that Mr. Wilson stated that it took him twice as long to fatten a given number of bullocks in consequence of the disease. The existence of the evil he considered to be abundantly proved; and he thought he had shown that it was worth while to stamp out those diseases. He now came to the second question—what were the prospects of success? Fortunately, in that matter he could be guided by the experience of what had taken place in past years. He found that the experience of the period from 1865 to 1867, when the Cattle Plague restrictions were in full force, showed that this country was never so free from cattle disease as during that time. That was shown before the Committee. Again, at the end of 1876, he was told by the veterinary advisers of the Privy Council that the foot-and-mouth disease had commenced to show itself throughout the country, and that, according to calculations based upon experience, the epidemic would be at its height in the following—that was to say last—summer. Then came the Cattle Plague of last year, and though the foot-and-mouth disease ought to have been at its height from March to November, not a single case of that disease occurred within the metropolitan market, and very little in the country. He thought that was sufficient to show that, under certain restrictions, those diseases could be stamped out; and it now became his duty to point out the restrictions necessary. First of all, then, in regard to the home restrictions which were necessary. He thought there was very little doubt that if they could stop the movement of all stock throughout the country, in the course of 12 months

the diseases might be stamped out. But he was quite aware that the inconvenience and loss which would arise from such a measure as that would be so great that it could not be carried out; and, therefore, he was not prepared to ask their Lordships to adopt it. He believed it would be quite sufficient for the purpose in view to deal with each district in which the disease broke out. He would have the most stringent regulations carried out in a given area, and so far he would follow the recommendation of the Committee as contained in Paragraph 20 of their Report. In that paragraph they recommended—

“That before the regulations for prohibiting and restricting the importation of live stock be carried into effect all movement of cattle be prohibited, except under licence, in every district throughout the United Kingdom where either pleuro-pneumonia or foot-and-mouth disease exists; that fairs and markets be placed under similar restrictions, and absolute prohibition of movement be enforced against infected farms for periods varying from two months in pleuro-pneumonia to 28 days in outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease.”

He was quite aware that those restrictions must press very heavily on agriculturists residing in infected districts, and that the farmers must be very severely tried by such regulations; but those classes, in evidence before the Committee, expressed their willingness to submit to them—as doubtless they would, if they felt that it would be for the good of the community, and if there was any prospect of exterminating the disease—and he was prepared to ask their Lordships to give effect to that recommendation of the Committee which was embodied in the Bill. It was obvious, however, that it would be useless to attempt to impose upon the holders of stock in the country such a restriction unless all means were taken for preventing the introduction of disease from abroad. That disease did come from foreign countries no one would be inclined to dispute. It appeared from the last Reports of the Veterinary Inspectors of the Privy Council, that in 1876 the number of animals arriving from abroad in which disease was detected amounted to 11,662. Of these, 9,359 had foot-and-mouth disease, 2,262 had sheep scab, 80 had sheep pox, 11 had pleuro-pneumonia. The countries from which they came were—From Germany, 5,684; from Belgium, 3,824; from Holland, 1,056; from France, 926;

from Portugal, 158; from Spain, 14—total, 11,662. These animals, with the whole of the cargoes of which they formed part, were slaughtered, and these numbers, therefore, gave a very inadequate idea of the danger incurred if by chance one cargo having among it the seeds of disease should escape detection. The total number of animals imported from abroad in 1876 amounted to 1,416,956, and no system of inspection could be so perfect that every case of disease among such large numbers could be detected. One cargo escaping with the infection of foot-and-mouth among it and sold alive in the country might spread the disease in half-a-dozen counties in a fortnight. According to a Return moved for by the hon. Member for Northallerton, it appeared that in the three years ended the 31st of March, 1877, there were landed 12,308 cargoes, of which 1,458 had diseased animals. In view of that risk, he had been urged more than once to prohibit the importation of all live stock from abroad, the argument being that the cattle should come in the form of dead meat. Logically, that, no doubt, would be the safest, as well as the most effectual course; but he did not think that there was as yet sufficient experience on the Continent of the sending of cattle over as dead meat—as at present was the case from America—to justify the Government in going so far as to adopt that measure. In order, however, to make the home restrictions bearable, he thought it absolutely necessary that all foreign animals should be slaughtered at the port of landing, and accordingly provisions to that end had been inserted in the Bill. It might interest their Lordships to know that the quantities of foreign cattle coming to this country were not very large. The total number of animals in the United Kingdom in 1876 was 38,179,825, and the total number of animals imported from abroad in the same year was only 1,416,956, or about one thirty-seventh of the whole stock of the country. It was remarkable that the importations from Ireland during the same period were more numerous than from abroad—namely, 1,866,462; so that the House would see that the country was not altogether dependent on foreign supplies. He mentioned that, because some persons considered that this country could not go on very well



without such supply. In view of the recommendations of the Committee and the proposals in the Bill, two points had to be considered. One, what would be the effect of the restrictions in respect of supply; and the other, what would be their effect with regard to price? Now, it appeared from an official Return that in 1877, though there were less live cattle imported into this country than in 1876 by 353,298 cwt., yet during the same time there was a gain in the imported dead meat to the extent of 509,927 cwt.; and that showed that the trade had accommodated itself to the altered circumstances, and that the consumers were none the worse off. Valuable evidence on that subject was given to the Committee by Mr. Rudkin, Chairman of the Markets Committee of the Corporation of London. In his examination were these questions and answers—

“8,959. You think, that, in fact, all foreign countries should be treated as scheduled countries, and that animals from those countries should be landed at certain defined ports in England where they should be slaughtered?—Yes, I think so; and I do not think that in those circumstances there would be any real detriment either to the trade or to the consignor.

“9,134. You can assure the Committee almost positively that, taking such a town as Leeds, for instance, it would not suffer so far as its supply from London was concerned if it could only get dead meat from London without getting live meat from London?—Simply with the exception of the offal, and that difficulty I say can be very readily overcome if the trade will only turn their attention to it in a practical form.

“9,135. With that exception, you feel sure that as much beef or mutton would arrive at Leeds from London as arrives there now?—Quite so; in fact they are now receiving large quantities; van loads after van loads go away from Deptford every day. The vans are so constructed that the sheep are slaughtered and they are placed on hooks on rails in the vans; they come from the slaughter-house, and they are sent straight away by rail at once.

“9,161. Therefore you do not anticipate any difficulty in the great centres of industry if the animals are all slaughtered at the port of embarkation?—The fact that London is now supplied from the country with 175,000 tons of meat per annum proves that meat can fairly and properly be killed in this country and brought to London to be consumed.”

He had got further evidence to show what quantities of meat were carried from all parts of the country. He had applied to the railway companies; but as it appeared that in the case of most of them their accounts were so mixed up that a return of the dead meat carried by them would take more time in its

preparation than he would like to ask them to give to it, he had only a Return from the Great Northern Railway Company which was to this effect—

“The total weight of meat carried by the Great Northern Railway from all places in 1876 was 18,118 tons; in 1877 it was 21,236 tons, an increase of 3,118 tons.”

That weight represented 60,000 bullocks, and he thought, therefore, that there need be no alarm at the effect of the restrictions in respect of the supply of meat to towns. From the present system of railway traffic, dead meat was sent from the Metropolitan Market all over the country, and it appeared in evidence that meat killed in London sometimes found its way down to Wales and came back to London as genuine Welsh mutton. He could not, however, say whether there was any truth in the assertion. Now with regard to prices. In the Metropolitan Meat Market the mean average wholesale price of beef during 11 months of 1876, when there was less restriction than in 1877, on account of the Cattle Plague in the latter year, was 5s. 1d. per stone, and of mutton 5s. 7½d. The prices from February to November, 1877, were—beef, 5s. 2d., and mutton 6s. 2d. a stone; the difference of price as between the two years being in beef one-eighth of a penny, and in mutton 7-16ths of a penny per lb. He might observe that in the case of mutton such returns were usually not so accurate as in the case of beef, as the former was sold sometimes with the wool, and sometimes without it. Therefore he found that the Committee, having carefully considered the matter, came to the conclusion—in which he entirely agreed—that the slaughter of animals at the port of landing was not likely to discourage foreign importation, decrease the quantity of meat brought to market, or affect the price of meat. Before proceeding to the provisions of the Bill, he would ask the attention of their Lordships to the recommendations of the Committee with respect to Ireland. In the 38th paragraph of their Report the Committee recommended that the restrictions applicable to Great Britain should be extended to Ireland, or else that ports should be specified in Great Britain to which alone importation of live animals from Ireland should be lawful, the animals not being permitted to be taken

inland unless examined and passed by a Privy Council Inspector. He felt bound to say he did not concur in the alternative recommendation proposed by the Committee. The object of the Government in dealing with this question had been to treat Ireland exactly as they dealt with every other part of the United Kingdom. They wished the trade to be equally free, but the restrictions designed for England would also be equally applied to Ireland. Accordingly the provisions respecting infected areas were introduced in the Bill for Ireland as well as for England and Scotland, but the alternative did not find a place in the measure. It was known that disease sometimes came from Ireland, though he believed that originally it got to that country from this; but if by the operations of the Bill they were able to stamp out disease in this country, they would be able, he believed, to do the same in Ireland. He hoped the time would arrive when it would not be necessary to have any portion of the United Kingdom under these severe restrictions; but in order to do that, it was absolutely essential that we should not import disease from foreign countries. In regard to the principal provisions of the Bill, it, in the first place, repealed all the existing Acts of Parliament. These were 10 in number, eight of them affecting Ireland, and two England and Scotland. All of those would be consolidated into one Act by the Bill which he proposed to lay on the Table. In order to give the necessary time for perfecting arrangements, the Bill would not come into operation till 1879. The first part of the Bill contained the general preliminary provisions, very like large interpretation clauses, setting forth what was meant by certain terms and modes of procedure. The second part applied to England, and contained generally the principal enactments in the Bill, which were afterwards applied to Scotland, and subsequently to Ireland. The first part of the Bill dealt with Cattle Plagues, and the second with infected districts and places and the slaughter of cattle. The whole powers of dealing with Cattle Plague were proposed to be vested in the Privy Council, and that being so, the compensation for slaughter on account of Cattle Plague was to come out of the Imperial funds. Then, with regard to pleuro-pneumonia and foot-and-mouth

disease, there was a declaration relating to infected districts, with restrictions of 56 days to apply in all cases of pleuro-pneumonia, and 28 days in cases of foot-and-mouth disease. The Schedule contained very stringent restrictions, being, in fact, those recommended by the Select Committee which sat upon the subject, and they amounted really to a stoppage of the movement of stock in all infected districts. The Bill also contained a new provision prohibiting removal of cattle into infected districts. Slaughter on account of pleuro-pneumonia was to be compensated for out of the local rates, and the compensation was set forth in the Bill as in the case of Cattle Plague. There were provisions in the Bill for prohibiting the exposure of diseased animals in the markets. There were also provisions for regulating the notices as to disease and other matters connected with the slaughter of animals affected with disease. And then there was another matter which the Bill would deal with which was one of great domestic interest—one which he thought should be seriously dealt with—namely, the securing of a better supply of milk to this country. A provision was inserted in the Bill for regulating dairies and matters connected with the milk trade. With reference to foreign animals, the Bill would not altogether carry out the recommendations of the Committee. The Committee recommended that there should be a statutory enactment preventing the importation of all animals from Russia and of cattle from Germany and Belgium; and that, as regarded other countries, they should be dealt with by the Privy Council if they thought it necessary; but the Government did not think that there should be a statutory enactment affecting any country. It appeared to them that the powers of the Privy Council had been sufficiently strong to prevent cattle coming into this country from an infected country, and that it would be invidious to place the power recommended in an Act of Parliament. If the Privy Council were to be trusted not to allow infected animals to come to this country from any other part of Europe, it would be competent to them to apply the power possessed by them to Russia. But other matters recommended by the Committee the Government generally adopted. There was power in the

Bill for slaughtering all foreign animals at the port of landing, and the cases of animals intended for dairy and breeding purposes and for exhibition were provided for. The Channel Islands and the Isle of Man were exceptionally dealt with. The third part, applying to Scotland, had a few provisions necessary to meet exceptional cases. The last part applied to Ireland. He had now gone through all the parts of the Bill, and hoped that he had not exhausted their Lordships' patience. The subject was one of very great importance, and ought not to be dealt with lightly, and he thought that in bringing forward a measure of this kind, he should put before their Lordships all the reasons which induced the Government to take the steps which they thought were necessary. They had three objects in view. One was that there should be a consolidation of the law; the second that uniformity should be ensured in the regulations; and the third that, if possible, the disease might be extinguished. As to the first, he thought no one would be found to dispute the advantage of putting into one Act, and that not at all a long Act, the 10 Acts which now related to the Cattle Disease. Then, with regard to uniformity; since he had had the honour of holding his present Office he had felt that if there was one thing more than another that was wanted on this subject, it was that there should be uniformity of procedure throughout the country; and he thought the measures proposed in this Bill would tend to promote such uniformity. Thirdly, and lastly, with regard to the extinction of the disease, he did entertain a hope that if the Bill were passed as presented to their Lordships, and its stringent provisions were adopted by the stoppage of fairs and markets and the killing of foreign animals at the ports of landing, at a not very distant time the disease would be stamped out of the country, and he felt certain that if it were stamped out of the country a very great benefit would be conferred on all classes of the community.

Bill for making better provision respecting contagious and infectious diseases of cattle and other animals—*Presented* (The LORD PRESIDENT).

THE MARQUESS OF RIPON did not intend to express a judgment at that stage of the Bill upon its provisions, but

*The Duke of Richmond and Gordon*

would reserve his remarks until he had considered them more attentively. Although he was one of the authors of the Act of 1869, he was quite ready to admit that nothing was more probable than that the experience of nine or 10 years had shown that that measure was capable of improvement. At the same time, it should be remembered that the powers of the present law had been sufficiently strong to stamp out the Cattle Plague last year, and, above all, it had formed a machinery which was available to carry into effect farther improvements. The most restrictive portions of this Bill appeared to be directed, not so much against the Cattle Plague as against other diseases to which cattle were liable, and he thought that they would press heavily upon the farming interests. He thought that greater necessity than had already been adduced should be shown both for the proposed restrictions on the home and foreign trade. It was distinctly laid down by the Committee, and must be borne in mind in dealing with this subject now, that if the proposals of the Government, that all cattle brought from abroad should be slaughtered at the port of entry were adopted, stringent restrictions must, at the same time, be imposed upon the internal cattle trade. He would, however, reserve his opinion as to the slaughter of foreign animals, and would further point out that it rested with those who proposed restrictions upon trade to prove that they were necessary. Whether the diseases other than the Cattle Plague had reached us originally from abroad or not, it was certain that they had now attained such a head, that no mere restrictions upon the foreign supply of cattle would be sufficient to stamp them out. Indeed, he must confess he was a little sceptical as to the possibility of a stamping out of foot-and-mouth disease. It might be possible, perhaps; but he was sure it would be a work of the greatest difficulty, and he doubted, further, whether it would be found worth the restrictions that might be necessary to ensure it. He had heard with satisfaction the tone in which the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) had opened his remarks, and his admission that this question concerned not only agricultural interests but those of the consumers. When the Bill came on for a second reading, and

when it got into Committee, the House would have to determine whether the restrictions proposed to be imposed under the Bill were consistent with the due supply of meat to the large towns. It must also be borne in mind that the poorer portions of the community were large consumers of certain internal portions of animals which would not be imported with the dead carcass. He thought that the proposals in the Bill with regard to Ireland were just, and that the noble Duke was quite right in declining to impose the unnecessary and most undesirable restrictions upon the Irish cattle trade which had been suggested by the Report of the Committee. Though that Report had been much referred to, it should be remembered that it had not been carried unanimously, and that therefore its recommendations, and this among them, carried less weight, as there was a difference of opinion upon them. The whole subject was a most intricate one, and it involved interests which it was most difficult to reconcile with each other; but the noble Duke would find that both sides of the House would be disposed to look at this measure dispassionately, and to give his proposals the fairest and fullest consideration. He trusted, however, that, in view of such a course being adopted, the noble Duke would not fix a very early day for taking the second reading of the Bill, so that ample time might be given for carefully weighing his proposals.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON said, he should not ask their Lordships to read the Bill a second time until that day three weeks.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET understood the principle of the Bill to be protection against disease, and not protection against competition. That point should be clearly understood, inasmuch as the misapprehension had got abroad that under the plea of protection from disease this Bill was really establishing protection from competition. He thought that ample powers existed for dealing with the Cattle Plague; but he considered that more stringent powers might be given to the Government for stamping out the other diseases and for dealing with dairies. In respect to the foot-and-mouth disease, he did not agree with the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Ripon) that it could not be exterminated; on the contrary, he thought that it might

be gradually stamped out by constant attention and supervision. The milk from cows affected with that complaint was unfit for human consumption, and its sale ought to be prevented. He understood that pleuro-pneumonia existed at all times in some of the London dairies, and that was a sound reason why those establishments should be subject to inspection.

LORD DUNSANY wished that foot-and-mouth disease had not been mixed up with Cattle Plague; there was as much difference between Cattle Plague and foot-and-mouth disease, as there was between hydrophobia and whooping-cough. He learned from a high practical authority, that the average mortality in Ireland from the foot-and-mouth disease did not exceed 1 per cent. As to the provisions of the Bill in reference to quarantine, he asked the House to consider what would be the effect of stopping the sale of a farm for two months in the middle of the summer. It would really be equivalent to depriving a grazier of the whole profits of a season. He contended that the local authorities should be entrusted with powers in regard to isolation, and in Ireland nobody was better qualified to define what should be an infected district than the police. He approved of the course adopted by the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond and Gordon) in not making any distinction between England and Ireland, and not adopting the alternative recommended by the Committee.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY asked whether any distinction would be made between store cattle and fat cattle at the ports of landing in regard to the slaughtering, and whether the restrictions would apply to cattle imported from America?

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in reply, said, no distinction could be drawn between fat and store cattle, which would be slaughtered alike at the port of landing. Some exception would be made in the case of dairy, breeding, and exhibition animals; but the rules to be drawn under the Bill would apply in the same way to cattle imported from America as to imports from any other foreign country.

THE MARQUESS OF HUNTLY wished to know whether in Scotland the Act would supersede the action of the local authorities? He thought that the Act

in force in Scotland was quite sufficient for all purposes, and his belief was that they could not stamp out pleuro-pneumonia, as, when least expected, it broke out suddenly.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND AND GORDON, in reply, said, that the proposed regulations of the Bill would supersede all those in force in Scotland as in England. It was intended to treat the local authorities in Scotland in precisely the same manner as the local authorities in England, so far as Cattle Plague regulations were concerned.

Bill read 1<sup>st</sup>; and to be *printed*. (No. 22.)

House adjourned at a quarter before Seven o'clock, to Thursday next, half-past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 12th February, 1878.*

### PRIVATE BUSINESS.

#### MANCHESTER CORPORATION WATER BILL (*by Order*).

##### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. E. S. HOWARD: Sir, in rising to move the rejection of this Bill, I feel that the first thing I must do is to state the reasons why I feel myself justified in taking this rather unusual course. I can assure the House that I should not have undertaken so great a responsibility if I had not received the assurance of a very high and impartial authority that the circumstances of the case will justify such a proceeding. The first contention of the promoters of the Bill is that it would be unprecedented to refuse or to reject a Bill of this kind on the second reading, unless its object is of a novel character and contrary to public policy

or general law. I do not pretend that the object of the Bill is altogether of a novel character; but I do say that the Bill raises questions which were never raised before, and of such importance that they ought not to be dealt with in the ordinary manner. Now, Sir, from time to time there have appeared in the local newspapers in the North statements that such and such a town—sometimes Newcastle, sometimes Liverpool, and sometimes Manchester—was contemplating a scheme for obtaining a supply of water from one or other of the Lakes. Hitherto all these schemes have come to nothing, and this is the first of the kind that has seriously been brought forward. At first I thought, and others thought the same, that there was nothing unreasonable in the proposal. Most hon. Members are aware that Glasgow is supplied with water from Loch Katrine, and it was naturally thought that if Manchester was in want of water, and there was no other available source of supply, and Manchester could afford the expense of bringing it from so great a distance, there was nothing unreasonable in going to Thirlmere for the supply. But when Mr. Bateman's plans and estimates were made known, we who live in the Lake District changed our opinion; for we found that there was hardly any analogy between that scheme and that of Loch Katrine, and it involved such great changes in the natural features of the Lake District that we could no longer look upon it with indifference. Under these circumstances, we thought it not unreasonable to ask the House to postpone the Bill, in order that a full and public inquiry might take place. We think that the natural scenery of the Lake District is worth preserving, and we know that there are many schemes of this sort on foot. Liverpool contemplates a scheme of this kind, but proposes to go to Wales to carry it out. Wigan and other towns are in the same condition; and therefore we think it better to have a Select Committee or a Royal Commission to consider the whole question of the water supply of these manufacturing districts, in order to see how far recourse may be made to the Lakes, and under what conditions and limitations. We are strengthened in our request by the Report of the Duke of Richmond's Royal Commission, which

*The Marquess of Huntly*

sat on the Metropolitan Water Supply in 1869. That Commission was instructed also to inquire into the supply of the provincial towns; but they reported that such an inquiry would be one of great magnitude, and would involve a great amount of geographical and topographical knowledge over the whole country. They, therefore, found it impossible to undertake that further inquiry without further powers, and they resolved to complete their Report on the lesser subject—the Metropolitan Water Supply—and to limit their recommendations on the larger question to general principles. They prepared an elaborate map of the geographical distribution of sources of water, and they recommended shortly—first, that no town or district should be allowed to appropriate the source of supply which naturally and geographically belonged to the town or district nearer to that source, unless there were special circumstances which justified that appropriation; secondly, that when a town or district was supplied from a line or conduit from a distance, provision should be made for the supply of all places on that line; and, thirdly, that on introducing a Water Supply Bill to Parliament, efforts should be made to make the measure applicable to as large a district as possible, and not to limit it to the town immediately needing the supply. Now these are important questions, and it is quite worth while to have a Select Committee or a Royal Commission to inquire into them. But the promoters of this Bill object to any opposition, chiefly on three grounds. First, they say our objections are entirely sentimental, and such as no sensible or practical man would listen to for a moment; then they urge that the wants of Manchester are very pressing; and, lastly, that they have no other source of supply. Now, first let me answer their objection that our agitation against the Bill is purely sentimental, and ought not to be listened to. Although they object to our sentimental views, they have condescended to meet us on our own ground. Mr. Grave, the Chairman of the Waterworks Committee of the Manchester Corporation, and the real author of this scheme, and Mr. Bateman, and the Waterworks Committee themselves, all consider that the beauty of Lake Thirlmere will be very much enhanced if this scheme is carried out. Mr. Bateman

says the size of the Lake should correspond with the loftiness of the surrounding mountains; that Thirlmere is very small and the mountains around it very high; and that the carrying out of the Manchester scheme would make the Lake much more in harmony with the surrounding scenery. Mr. Grave, in a recent letter to *The Times*, says that "Nature has been for years at work destroying her own primitive and untouched beauty." Lake Thirlmere, in fact, is growing very old and very ugly, and it is high time that it should be restored by the appliances of engineering art—that object being attained by turning Thirlmere into a reservoir to supply Manchester with water. Then some of the arguments against us are founded upon questions of mathematical accuracy; for instance, if Thirlmere is very beautiful with only 300 acres of water, how much more beautiful must it be when its area is increased to 700 acres. One island at present in the Lake will be submerged by the Manchester scheme; but in place of that they propose to produce two new ones, and if one island is beautiful, two, of course, will be twice as pretty. Then they propose to construct a dam which will raise the level of the Lake 50 feet. That dam is to be invisible except to persons on the top. It is to be as irregular and picturesque in form as the neighbouring crag and rocks; it is to be ornamented with beautiful shrubs; and last, but not least, in future the place will, no doubt, become the habitat of rare birds. That is the last straw which is to break the back of our sentimental opposition. They propose to buy—if they have not bought already—10,000 acres of the adjoining common ground, and they are quite prepared to throw that open to the public for ever, and to make two brand new roads all round the Lake. The Lake and its surroundings are, in fact, to be converted into an extensive people's park, with a serpentine containing two artificial islands in the middle, and a great broad path all round. But there are some people who, after all, prefer Thirlmere as it is—small, wild, and inaccessible. We have been taunted with being sentimentalists and enthusiasts; but I do not see anything wicked in that. I can appeal to Lancashire sympathy on this question. I regret that the right hon. Gentleman the Home

Secretary is not now in his place, because I should like to appeal to him. Not long ago he delivered a lecture on what is called "Truth in Art," and in that he said that he entertained great objections to people who wore sham buttons on their boots. If he is such an advocate for truth in art, surely we might have counted on his advocacy in endeavouring in our poor way to preserve the truth of nature. So much, then, for our sentimental opposition. I now come to what Mr. Grave calls "the absolute wants of 2,000,000 of people." In the first place, I must point out that that statement is not exactly an accurate one. I am afraid that Mr. Grave's mind must have got muddled with his own magnificence, or with the magnificence of Manchester, for so far from there being 2,000,000 of people, there are only 800,000. The statements which I now make are taken from Mr. Grave and the Waterworks Committee of the Manchester Corporation. The district which Manchester is to supply is 84 square miles in extent, and comprises 800,000 persons. The present source of water supply, Mr. Grave stated, in the summer would afford 25,500,000 gallons per day; but Mr. Bateman has since reduced the amount to 24,000,000 gallons. In 1875 Mr. Bateman reported to the Waterworks Committee that, owing to the large increase in the demand for trading and other purposes, the supply per head of population was 22 gallons per day. By a very easy calculation, we find that the 24,000,000 gallons per day would supply 1,000,000 persons with 24 gallons per head per day, which would be a thoroughly ample supply; and if the population of Manchester increases at the same rate in the future as it did during the 10 years before the last Census, in 10 years' time the population would not have reached 1,000,000, but would be something over 900,000. If, as Mr. Bateman says, the present supply will produce 24,000,000 gallons per day, there would be an ample supply for over 900,000 persons at the very liberal allowance of 24 gallons per head per day. That is not my statement of a liberal allowance—it is the statement both of the Waterworks Committee and of Mr. Bateman—and therefore we say that Manchester can be in no great want of water for 10 years to come. Mr. Bateman argues from an

opposite point of view; and, taking the increased consumption year by year, he says that during the last two years the increase has been as much as 1,200,000 gallons per day, and that you cannot count on a less increase than 1,000,000 gallons per day for each year to come. Well, the people of Manchester now require 18,000,000 gallons per day, and by this calculation they will require in 10 years 28,000,000 gallons per day. But as Mr. Bateman before considered that 22 gallons per head was sufficient, we cannot think that 28 gallons per head is a necessity. Such a supply must be in the nature of a luxury; and therefore we cannot say that the Manchester Corporation have proved their case as to the absolute necessity of having this Water Bill passed immediately. But I may be told that I am proving too much, and that it is quite impossible that a Corporation like that of Manchester should have come to Parliament with a Bill of this sort if they had not good reasons for doing so. But, in the first place, why is such a Bill asked for? I believe they have already expended much money in buying the property. Mr. Grave lives in the neighbourhood, and he has been carefully nursing the whole district for two or three years, buying here and there. Until the whole scheme came out, they did not anticipate that anybody could say "No" to Manchester, and they believed that Parliament would be no exception to the rule. They thought that, having spent thousands of pounds in the matter, they could easily get Parliament to ratify the purchase. The present waterworks of Manchester were commenced about 22 years ago, and it was then estimated by Mr. Bateman that the cost would be £460,000, and that it would provide a supply of 34,000,000 gallons per day. But the actual cost has been over £2,000,000, and the supply of water that Manchester has acquired by it has shrunk from 34,000,000 to 24,000,000 gallons per day. The result of that is, that the Manchester Corporation find that though they thought that, like wise men, they had provided for many generations to come, that is not the case, and the income arising from the city is not sufficient, without hardship, to bear the cost of the introduction of a supply for the future. The consequence has been that they have come to Parliament with Bills to extend their

*Mr. E. S. Howard*

area of supply, intending to sell the surplus, which may in time be required for future generations for trading purposes outside the city, and thus increase the revenue of the Water Committee. Let me read the statement of Alderman King, who tried to go into the figures of the case; but who was unable to do so, principally because the Waterworks Committee of his own Corporation refused to give him any information whatever. But still he found out as much as he possibly could. He says the anxiety to sell water is manifested in a variety of ways, and the Waterworks Committee have congratulated the Council on the increased funds obtained by its sale. Mr. King read several extracts from the Committee's Reports, congratulating the Council on selling the water for trading purposes, and went on to show that they had passed two Acts since the first by which they had extended the area of supply. The last Act, passed in 1863, showed how great was the anxiety to do that. I need not quote any further to show the anxiety of the Corporation to sell their water, to extend the trade around the city, and thus to increase their own revenues. The result is, that they think they will be short of water much sooner than they expected years ago. We are told that the welfare of the poor people in and around Manchester depends on the prosperity of that city, and that its prosperity depends on the extension of trade. But I do not think the extension of trade is so much to be depended upon. What have we seen lately? There was a time, not long ago, when the expansion of our trade was considerable—new mines were opened, new mills set at work, and new factories, and thousands of people were brought into all these districts to share in the prosperity which was to result from the extension of trade. And now, Sir, what has happened? Bad times have come, trade has become dull and depressed, and these extensions of industry cannot be carried on any longer with profit. The mines are closed, the mills and factories are shut up, and thousands of people have been thrown out of work, with nothing to do but to become paupers and subsist on the charity of the public. I do not profess to understand these questions of political economy; but, if all this is the necessary consequence of the extension

of trade, I do not think the result is satisfactory to many people. It is a grave and serious question whether we are justified in encouraging a forced extension of trade. I have shown that the object of the Corporation of Manchester in their proposal is to extend the trade in order to benefit their revenues. Within Manchester they do not require the water for domestic or sanitary wants; and, in point of fact, it will be found that this is a gigantic speculation to carry out these works at an estimated cost of £4,000,000, which will probably be increased to £6,000,000 before the works are executed, without adding one farthing to their own rates. I say, Sir, that these are very important questions, and they ought not to be settled—as they will be settled if this Bill is allowed to proceed—in the ordinary way. We know that other large towns—such as Liverpool and Wigan—will be wanting water at some time or other, and will probably want to come to the Lakes. Why, then, should not a Royal Commission, or Select Committee, first hold this inquiry which we ask for? Such a tribunal would lay down certain regulations, and every Bill brought in would have to be subject to these regulations, and there would not be the necessity which now exists of fighting such a Bill as the present at enormous expense. I must say that throughout the whole country we have found the greatest public interest alive on this question. We have had Petitions from every county in the country, and from several thousand persons representing every rank and position, all interested, and all wishing to preserve the Lake District, if possible, as far as they can reasonably do so. On the other hand, the friends of the Bill have presented Petitions, which they say are from the people of the locality. I do not wish to weary the House by reading letters on the subject; but the whole of these Petitions have been got up in the most scandalous manner, and many of them have been signed by fraud. When it is represented that the Local Boards of Penrith, of Grasmere, and of Keswick have petitioned in favour of the Bill, it must be remembered that the Petition was carried in the Penrith Board by six votes to five, and in the Grasmere Board by four to three; and, of the four who were in its favour, three were publicans and one was a



Painter. I have endeavoured to show, as well as I can, that our "sentimental opposition" to this Bill is not so unreasonable as some seem to think; that we do not wish to press it to an unreasonable extent; that the Bill is not intended to supply Manchester's domestic and sanitary wants, but is much more in the nature of a trading speculation. I have endeavoured to show that there are very grave questions raised by the Bill, which ought to be matter for national inquiry, and ought not to be left to be fought out by a few poor land-owners on one side and a powerful Corporation on the other. The sequel to the Duke of Richmond's Commission has never taken place, for there has never been an inquiry—as the Commissioners suggested—into the water supply for manufacturing districts. Therefore, thanking the House for the attention which it has given to me, and in order that an inquiry may take place, I beg to move that this Bill be read a second time on this day six months.

MR. W. LOWTHER: In seconding the Amendment for the rejection of this Bill, I may say that my hon. Friend the Member for East Cumberland (Mr. E. S. Howard) has put the case so ably before the House, that there is little for me to add to it, and in what I have to say I will be as brief as I can. I appear here to-day, Sir, as a Representative of a very beautiful part of the country, for Westmoreland is one of the most beautiful counties in England; but if this plan be carried out, a very beautiful part of the country will be very much disfigured. The Lake, we are told, would be raised 35 feet, and that alone would cause the submergence of a large portion of the land. The Corporation of Manchester wishes to take 11,000 acres of land in the neighbourhood for this purpose, and 6,000 acres more between Thirlmere and Manchester, thereby occupying a very large space. The area of the Lake would be increased from 335 acres to 800 acres. My hon. Friend opposite has already dwelt upon the pretence that the Manchester Corporation are going to beautify that part of the country. If they will only leave it alone, we believe it would be quite as well. Manchester has herself admitted the beauty of that part of the country, and has also admitted "that that beauty would be very much interfered with and very much destroyed

by this plan." The Corporation of Manchester is, no doubt, very powerful and very rich, and this is very much a question of who has the longer purse. The Manchester Corporation despises those who are opposed to this scheme; but if I know anything of the feeling which animates the British House of Commons, I think its Members will be rather inclined to take the part of the weaker side, and will not allow this scheme to be carried into effect. We shall, I dare say, be told that this is not the first time on which water has been taken for household and other similar purposes from a Lake. Well, no doubt, that is so. The case of Loch Katrine may be mentioned; but I am not aware that in that case any disfigurement was caused to the natural features of the Lake. Further, it is possible, that dwellers on the borders of Loch Katrine thought it better that the water of the Loch should be sold for the use of the people of Glasgow. We have another instance of a Lake being taken for a town in the case of Ennerdale, in Cumberland—water from which is taken by the town of Whitehaven, and the Lake is used to supply the ships at Whitehaven with excellent water; but if anyone who is fond of the picturesque will go to Ennerdale, he will find that there is no dam there, and nothing at all which is disfiguring. According to the provisions of the Lands Clauses Consolidation Act, I believe that any surplus land which is taken, but not used, must be offered for sale to the surrounding proprietors. But in this Bill the Manchester Corporation puts that provision entirely on one side, and says it is not to apply to the surplus land which it may acquire. Another provision is, that if what is called the "Curtilage" is touched, those who touch it are bound to take the whole of the property. But an exception from this provision in their own favour is made by the Corporation of Manchester in this instance. Then there is another exception to be made in favour of Manchester in regard to mines, for any regulations with regard to mines are in this case to be entirely put on one side. The amount of space which will be required for conducting the water is equal to that which would be required for a railway, and the water is to be carried by five lines of pipes, and those lines are not to be put down all at once; but one line is to be put down every five

*Mr. E. S. Howard*

years, so that the part of the country through which the pipes pass will be in a continual state of disorder, and will constantly be being pulled to pieces. The people of Manchester and the neighbourhood are now 800,000 in number, and they propose, it is said, to take water enough for 3,000,000. But where are those 3,000,000? Our belief is that such a scheme will not be wanted for 20 years. Then, again, the Corporation of Manchester do not pretend to state that this water is wanted for domestic or sanitary purposes. They merely say that it is wanted. No doubt it is wanted. The Corporation of Manchester see a great opening for doing a very good business. I should not be at all surprised if, in the course of time, they find that this water will supply other places on the route to Manchester, and that they can as a result get their water in Manchester for nothing at all. Manchester was not always the great town it is now. In 1753 Manchester had only 23,000 inhabitants. Hon. Members have, no doubt, received a document from the Manchester Corporation, in which they say that it is wholly unprecedented to reject a Private Bill unless it is one of a novel character. Well, this Bill I consider one of a very novel character. Then it is said it is promoted by a large Corporation. It is promoted by a large Corporation; but that is no reason why injustice should be done and why the weaker side should go to the wall. And then they say that a large sum of money has been expended, and, therefore, that the Bill ought to pass. Now, that is a very bold statement, and I should not have thought that they had the amount of boldness to say that because they had spent a large sum of money, the Bill ought to pass. They say that the engineering works proposed are of the most trifling description, and will show nothing whatever to offend the eye. On the plans which have been deposited, however, we see embankments 10 and even 17 feet high. Then there is an aqueduct. The water must be carried over the valley somehow, that is clear, and hon. Gentlemen will understand whether that can be done without interfering with the scenery. I am quite willing, however, to leave the matter to the Committee, confident as I am that, though Manchester is powerful and rich, there are many Members who will recognize the

necessity of looking after the interests of less powerful and poorer districts.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. Stafford Howard.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. BIRLEY: I think I shall best consult the convenience of the House by making my remarks as short as possible. I very much regret that the hon. Member for East Cumberland (*Mr. E. S. Howard*) and the hon. Member for Westmoreland (*Mr. W. Lowther*) should have thought it necessary to oppose this Bill on the second reading. No argument has been brought forward which would justify the House in rejecting a Bill of this character at this stage. It has not been proved that the Bill will injuriously affect the health and the social enjoyment of those who are affected by it. On the contrary, we have high authority that the case is very much the reverse. I rely upon this—that if it be necessary for the health and comfort of the people of Manchester and neighbourhood, the arguments used by our opponents fall to the ground. I insist that this is the case. Now, the hon. Member for East Cumberland has attempted to show that we have plenty of water for many years to come. He, perhaps, calls five or six years many years; but it is absolutely necessary that we should look further ahead, and to provide for the factories as well as the domestic supply of a great town like Manchester; and therefore I appeal to hon. Members to allow this Bill to be read a second time. I should have thought that the case of *Loch Katrine* would afford *prima facie* a precedent for the Bill going to a second reading. People near *Loch Katrine* have benefited by the scheme, and I expect that those near *Thirlmere* will benefit also. The hon. Member for East Cumberland said that for a comparatively small district the Corporation of Manchester wanted a very large supply of water. It must be borne in mind, however, that the supply which they give for trading purposes to neighbouring towns is only what they are bound to give by statutory obligations. Then there was another argument he

used—that we are monopolizing the water, and that many other towns with superior claims are thus deprived of the opportunity of getting a supply. In regard to this, I would conceive—though I have no authority for saying it—that the Corporation of Manchester would have no objection to place itself under an obligation to supply a certain quantity of water to those towns. It is hardly necessary to go further; but certain statements have been made as to the effect of the works on the scenery; and in regard to this part of the subject I have only to say that there will be very few parts of the works visible. We are not going to have great ugly embankments, or anything of that kind. Most of the conduit-pipes will be under ground, and though we have to cross the River Lune, care will be taken that the aqueduct shall not be an eyesore. There has been a great deal of talk about the picturesque scenery, and so far as I am concerned I wish to see the picturesque scenery retained; at the same time, however, utility must prevail. In the 15th and 16th centuries poets seemed to regard the Lake District as a very charming country to live out of; while, so lately as a century ago, Gray, writing on the same subject, passed by Thirlmere with very slender praise, and when he came to Gasmere he remarked—

“Not a single red tile, no staring gentleman’s house breaks in upon the repose of this unsuspected Paradise: but all is peace, rusticity, and happy poverty in its sweetest, most becoming attire.”

There is a remarkable difference among the arbiters of taste on the subject, for the Thirlmere Defence Association writes admiringly of 10 miles of valuable and picturesque residential properties between Grasmere and Windermere. I hope the second reading of this Bill will be agreed to.

MR. RODWELL: I should like to say just a very few words on this question, which appears to be one of a very important character, and has caused a very considerable degree of excitement outside, as well as inside, the walls of this House, and not the less so, because I understand—in fact, I know—that the Corporation of Manchester have taken steps to call the attention of different boroughs to this question, and have asked them to use any influence they

could to assist the passing of the Bill. The consideration of this question has consequently assumed far larger proportions than is customary with ordinary Private Bills. I do not propose for one moment, especially after the able and lucid speech of the hon. Member for East Cumberland, to enter into any of the details. I would only ask the House whether it is prepared to approve of a Bill founded on two decidedly novel principles? And here I hope I may be excused for suggesting that if the Bill passes the present stage as it is, the Select Committee will probably consider itself precluded from considering these two novel principles? The population of Manchester is 800,000, and it is proposed by this Bill to take powers for supplying water sufficient for 3,000,000 people. The promoters propose to raise £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 for the purpose of carrying out of the undertaking, and of recouping themselves for engaging in so gigantic a speculation. Legislation has never hitherto given any such powers to a Corporation. No public body has ever been clothed with statutory powers for the purpose of making profit out of the commodity of water, and, therefore, I say this is a novel principle in the Bill now before us. The second novel principle is in connection with the question of taking water from distant watersheds. This question was discussed in the Report of the Royal Commission on Water Supplies which sat in 1869 under the presidency of the noble Duke (the Duke of Richmond). The proposal here is for Manchester to take water from a district more than 100 miles off. That question was more than once glanced at by the Committee on Water Supply of the Metropolis, and, strange to say, Mr. Bateman, who is the engineer of this large scheme, stated that where towns went for a supply of water at a great distance, not only the wants of the neighbourhoods of the supply, but the intermediate district, should be recognized and considered in discussing the scheme. Now, in this particular instance, the wants of the intermediate district are peculiarly ignored, and no provision is made for the wants of the intermediate district. The Committee reported that—

“The Legislature is most jealous in watching the proposal of a town to take water from the gathering ground of another town,”

*Mr. Birley*

—and this is the case here—

“so as to deprive that other town of water nearer such gathering ground.”

Mr. Bateman has put this argument in the case of Liverpool, and I may quote his words—

“I think it is wrong for Liverpool to take its supply of water from the gathering ground, where there are such densely-populated places as Blackburn and Wigan, and the places contiguous to Liverpool. Liverpool has put its paw on that supply, and has put it out of the power of certain districts to draw their supply from their own immediate neighbourhood.”

It seems to me that Manchester intends to put its paw on those towns between Thirlmere and Manchester. I agree with Mr. Bateman about Liverpool, and the same thing applies equally to the Thirlmere scheme. Mr. Bateman further says that for any supply taken from a neighbouring town Liverpool ought to be held liable; but there is no provision in this Bill to save their rights, and, therefore, this argument ought not to be lost sight of. The Report says—

“Now, when circumstances render it necessary that water should be brought from a distance, it should be taken to include in the scheme the supply of all places along the route.”

I ask why, looking at this Report, is this Bill to be referred to a Committee affirming a principle in direct contravention of the Report of the Commission? The Report said the tendency towards that principle ought always to be considered in the arrangement of the water supply of towns. In this case Manchester is alone, and it has ignored the wants of the whole of the surrounding district and has appropriated it all to itself. These are the two positions which I venture to take, and I contend that the principle contained in this Bill is not in accordance with the suggestion of the Commission. I think this Bill ought not to go to a Select Committee, where the opponents will be bound down by technical rules; and I defy anyone to show that a large question of this character can be brought before a Select Committee. The reasons I urge are these—In the first place, with regard to *locus standi*, one knows how in this case certain admissions have been made with regard to the *locus standi*. But there are many people who never can be heard who have interests in this particular

neighbourhood. I have been in communication with different persons, friends of my own, who go to the Lake District from Cambridge in the vacation, who are very much interested in this question, and these people cannot be heard before a Select Committee, and therefore a Select Committee is not the proper tribunal to which this Bill should be referred. You want some tribunal that would have more scope, so that you may have a fuller inquiry into the merits of the question without being hampered by technical rules. I can give an analogous instance in the New Forest Bill. There it was an interference with the lords of the manor and the rights of the New Forest. That Committee examined the hon. Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett), and it was looked at rather as a national question. I venture to think that some Committee or Commission might take the matter in hand and report on the whole subject, and not only upon the details, but upon the principles. If I wanted precedents, there was the Gas Bill of the Metropolis. There it was recognized that a Private Bill could not enter into the question of principle. That very important question must arise before the Private Bill Committee, and I speak from an experience of 27 days in contesting the supply of water for Edinburgh. You have to put forward alternative schemes. Committees are always reluctant to enter upon schemes, if they do so in a spirit of fairness, without having plans. It is impossible to have them in this case. In this particular instance it may be very hard to produce plans, involving, as the case does, so many interests; but parties will be affected in those gathering grounds who will be shut out if they go before a Committee. Therefore, this Bill should be referred to a special Committee to inquire into this matter. With regard to the people of Manchester, I am in a position to state that Manchester is not all agreed on this subject; and now that Manchester is aware of the scope of the Bill, when they know its details and have had them ventilated, there is a growing feeling that the question should not be decided at once and in haste. Now, they would be precluded from being heard, because they are represented by the Corporation and City Council, and they are parties which might well be heard. Now, £4,000,000,

to my idea, is a very large sum for speculation. I have, as shortly and clearly as I can, stated the reasons why this Bill should not pass its second reading. There is no immediate hurry. There are no instances of people languishing for want of water. It can well lie over this Session, and a full inquiry be held. After such an inquiry as I have indicated, then it could be referred to the ordinary tribunal. There are other matters in regard to which I could have wished to say a few words; but I do not wish to detain the House, and therefore I will conclude by saying that I think it would be much more satisfactory to all interested in such a scheme to have its merits considered by a public Commission.

**MR. JACOB BRIGHT:** The hon. and learned Member opposite (Mr. Rodwell) seems to think that Manchester is guilty of a great injustice to the neighbouring towns by promoting this scheme. It is a little curious that none of the neighbouring towns have petitioned against it. The real fact is, that the minor towns are benefited by Manchester going to Thirlmere. Manchester leaves many other gathering grounds, being able to afford to promote a large scheme like this. We should not go there for water if we did not want it, and we should not produce this scheme unless we thought it the best scheme available. The opponents have spoken of the Bill as if we did not want the water. If you want to show that we have plenty of water, let this Bill pass its second reading. We are sure we can show to the Committee that we have no other available source of supply suitable to our wants, and cannot get water anywhere else at such a cost. It has been said that this is a very great scheme, and that the quantity of water is excessive. We have now 25,000,000 gallons per day. It is true that this would give 50,000,000 gallons extra. Well, we shall want that extra quantity. The consumption of water in Manchester is a small consumption, and is only about one-half of the consumption of Glasgow, and it arises from the fact that the Manchester Corporation have made a stringent rule in order to limit the consumption of water. We wish the consumption of water to be abundant and lavishly used, and that, we think, would be for the benefit of the health and comfort of the population. The hon. Member who

moved the rejection of the Bill has spoken of this as a novel Bill and a novel scheme. Why, it is an exact parallel to the Glasgow and Loch Katrine scheme. Glasgow goes to Loch Katrine for water, and it takes the water to Glasgow exactly as we propose to take this water to Manchester. The Loch Katrine schemes raised the levels of the Lakes in Scotland. One of the Lakes was raised 25 feet; that was interfered with. Let me tell hon. Members that within the district which the Corporation is to supply the water needed is for an annual increase of 5,000 houses. But 5,000 houses is a very great increase of houses in a year, and with the increase of houses there is an increase of industries, and of industries requiring water. The people of Manchester have to make very stringent provisions at present to limit the supply. But we think that it is as necessary to supply the people with water as it is necessary to supply their homes with food. In the Lake District there are 76 considerable Lakes; but of those there are only three sufficiently elevated to enable water to be supplied to Manchester by the force of gravitation. One of these Lakes we propose to use. It is a small Lake; it is one of those Lakes least visited and least known. It is a Lake the greater portion of which is seen only by pedestrians, but never is seen by people in carriages—at least, a considerable portion of it is so. The hotel-keepers in the district say that they never knew of an instance in which anyone took a carriage out for Thirlmere. Something has been said about the Petitions against the Bill. Why, in the district of Lake Thirlmere, or in the Lake District, we have 10 signatures in favour of the Bill to one that is presented from the other side. Then, with regard to the opinion of Manchester, the hon. and learned Member says that there is a growing feeling in Manchester against this scheme. There are 64 members of the Town Council, and out of the 64 members only four have voted against this scheme. In Manchester and the district we do not possess all the advantages of life. We have a bad climate; we live, necessarily, in a smoky sky. There are countries where an abundance of water is not wanted, but it is wanted for us. I hope that this House will hesitate long before obstructing this

*Mr. Rodwell*

Bill. In Committee we are prepared with abundance of evidence. It is said that we have nothing to say; but almost every objection raised here is an objection that can only be made in Committee.

MR. RAIKES: It cannot be denied that this is a very interesting debate on a very important subject, and I think those of the hon. Members who have addressed the House from both sides have given valuable contributions to what is a very difficult question. The hon. Members for East Cumberland and Westmoreland put forward their objections, with which the public has been for some time familiar, with regard to this particular scheme; but they may be summed up under these three heads—there is the question of scenery; there is the question of the private rights that would be affected, though those are not so much touched upon; and there is the question as to the propriety of enabling a Corporation like Manchester to be a proprietor of a large estate in a very distant part of the country. I think it was admitted that the objection on the ground of scenery is, after all, a secondary objection, and that if a case of necessity can be shown, even those hon. Members will not insist upon their views of the picturesque overriding public utility. The question of the private rights that may be affected by an aqueduct of this enormous length, passing through 113 miles of perhaps the most difficult country in the Kingdom, is also a very important one, and that is a sort of question that would best be considered in Committee. Then there is the other question as to whether the Corporation of Manchester should be allowed to become the proprietor of some 11,000 acres of land in Westmoreland and Cumberland, and, I believe, about 6,000 acres on their proposed line. That is a novel question, and one which, in its especial application to Manchester, might be very well dealt with in Committee. But when I said just now that the difficulty raised with regard to the scenery of the Lake District was, in my opinion, only a secondary difficulty, I meant to point out that the question of necessity was the one which ought primarily to occupy the attention of the House. With regard to a matter of this description, if the promoters of this Bill have made out

their case to the satisfaction of the House, and an absolute necessity exists for this measure, then I think we need not trouble ourselves about other objections. But if they have failed to do so, I think the case would be one rather for the consideration of the House than for the consideration of any Committee upstairs. What is the case as put by the hon. Members for Manchester, who have both very fairly, and I think very moderately, stated the case of the promoters? They have told us—and there is no question between the figures on the two sides—that they have at present a water supply of some 25,000,000 gallons per day for a population of 800,000 persons, and the supply required is at the rate of 22 gallons per head per diem. It is perfectly clear, therefore, that the water supply is adequate to the supply of 1,100,000 persons, which is 300,000 persons in excess of the existing population. We are told that Manchester is growing so rapidly that in the course of a very few years the population will have mounted from 800,000 to 1,100,000, and that then the necessity for this large additional supply will arise. I think I know something of Lancashire myself, and probably most hon. Members know something of that great county; but I certainly was not aware that the progress of Manchester, although considerable, was relatively so great as compared with the other populations surrounding as was sought to be pointed out to us. There are other parts of the county in which the progress of population is much greater relatively than in Manchester. Therefore, if the question of increase of population is to be discussed, these communities also deserve consideration. What do the Corporation of Manchester propose that we should do? Give them a water supply of 50,000,000 gallons daily for this population, in addition to their present supply of 25,000,000 gallons daily. That can only prospectively become an inadequate supply, and yet the Corporation of Manchester ask that they might be supplied with such additional supply of water as will give them a supply equal to the demands of a population of 3,500,000 people. I think that a piece of very heroic municipal legislation. There are some in this country, and even in this House, who consider that it becomes the great municipalities to adopt a more

ambitious and enterprising attitude than that which has hitherto characterized them. From that standpoint, we may regard this as being a step very legitimately taken on the part of the Corporation of Manchester, but still marking something in the nature of a new departure in the relation of the municipal bodies to the country at large. If Manchester is to be allowed this new supply of water, if Manchester is to take a sufficient supply for the whole county of Lancaster, you have to consider the three different bodies which may be affected by this heroic and enterprising legislation. First of all, you must consider the case of the ratepayers of Manchester. Are the ratepayers of Manchester to be subjected to an immense amount of, at all events, temporary burden, to raise a sum equivalent, they say, to a sum of £3,000,000 or £4,000,000; but which would possibly reach £7,000,000 or £8,000,000 before the scheme could be carried out completely? Secondly, are the owners of property throughout 100 miles to be exposed to such an interference with their property as would necessarily be caused by the formation of a gigantic culvert, which, I believe, must be of a size equal to that which would carry a double line of rails? Are all the other populations of Lancashire—Accrington, Blackburn, Wigan, Preston, and Bolton to be obliged to go to Manchester suing humbly for water for all time to come? Are we to suppose that Manchester does not intend to monopolize the water supply, or to deal in water, because it is not mentioned in the Bill? Of course, it is not; but it will be mentioned in future Bills. In future years you will have these populations asking you to legalize Bills empowering them to go to Manchester for water. I am sorry to detain the House so long on this question; but it appears to be one of the most important questions the House can consider. If the question stood as it was left by the speech of the hon. Members who first addressed the House, I should feel it my duty, although exceedingly reluctant to take such a course, to vote against the second reading of the Bill. But a suggestion has been thrown out by my hon. and learned Friend behind me the Member for Cambridge-shire (Mr. Rodwell), which I hope the House will adopt, and I trust to hear

from the Government before the debate closes some indication of their views. It is impossible that such a Bill as this could be considered upstairs by an ordinary Private Bill Committee; and I would suggest that it should be referred to a Hybrid Committee, which is one of the most useful parts of the arrangements of this House. Before such a Committee persons might be examined who have not those sharply-defined interests which are usually represented before a Private Committee. Such a Committee might consider this question through all its bearings, public as well as private; and they might, at all events, lay down a principle for the guidance of the House in dealing with future questions connected with the water supply of populous districts. If such a scheme should be laid down by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, I think we should not be justified in refusing the second reading of the Bill. But unless such a scheme is likely to be adopted by the House, I should most reluctantly, but as a matter of duty, find it impossible to support the second reading.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I quite agree with the course which has been recommended by the hon. Gentleman who has just spoken; and, if the House will allow me, I will support it on one ground, which he scarcely refers to. I do think that the public are concerned in the question. I am very sorry to throw any obstacle in the way of my hon. Friends the Members for Manchester. I do not think we ought to throw any obstacle in the way of our large cities obtaining an adequate supply of water. It is possible that Manchester may be now asking for more water than most other towns, and perhaps for more water than appears to be necessary; but if so, I think it is a fault on the right side, and I should be sorry to throw any obstacle in its way. But, on the other hand, in the manner in which they propose to get their water, I do think they are likely to interfere with the public interests. Now, I hope I shall not be thought to be Quixotic, or over-sentimental, when I say that the scenery of the Lakes is a public interest. My hon. Friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. Birley) quoted the lines of a poet 100 years ago, in which the writer did

not appear at that time to regard the Lake scenery with the eye of an artist. He appears to have been horrified and disgusted by the mountain scenery rather than pleased with it. But that is not the feeling now, and I do not look forward to any period when such notions will prevail again. We have in this part of England some of the most beautiful scenery in the world, and it is the object of the House of Commons and of the country to preserve it. Some of the supporters of this scheme think that the scheme would not injure the Lake which will be principally affected by it. I wish hon. Members would go down to the district and look at the Lake, and see for themselves what is going to be done. We are told, in the first place, that Thirlmere is a Lake which very few people go to see, and that most tourists who visit the Lakes pass it by without seeing it. Now, all you have to do, if you wish to see Thirlmere, is to go from Ambleside to Keswick and go round the Lake. A very little time will enable you to see its beauties, and to discover that it is one of the most beautiful objects in England. The Corporation of Manchester say they are not going to spoil it. Yet they are going to put on the top of this beautiful Lake a great big reservoir, which may go up and down some 50 feet at least. ["No, no!"] I certainly believe myself, and I have some little knowledge of the Lake District, that it will go up and down some 50 feet on account of the conditions of the rainfall in the district. A very heavy rainfall is very often followed by a season of drought, and I believe the engineers are perfectly right in arranging for such a fluctuation of the level of the reservoir. The consequence will be that, instead of a very beautiful Lake, you will have a great pond, with a constant exposure of mud or ugly shingle. ["No, no!"] At any rate, if the hon. Member who says "No" will visit some of the other Lakes in the neighbourhood, I believe he will come to the conclusion that there may be a good deal of mud. Loch Katrine has been mentioned, but Loch Katrine is not a parallel case. Loch Katrine is so large that in supplying Glasgow with water there is no perceptible alteration in the Loch. It would be very different in the case of Thirlmere. Now, I quite admit that if Manchester cannot get water except

by going to Thirlmere, even if the consequence would be that the Lake would be utterly spoiled, then the Lake must be spoiled. Manchester must have enough water for its drinking, washing, and sanitary purposes. There cannot be a doubt that in arranging this matter there ought not to be a question between scenery and a proper supply of water to any large population; but if, instead of this being the only place from which Manchester can get a supply, it turns out that Manchester could get it from many other places, I think that fact would make a great deal of difference in the view we should feel inclined to take of the question. It is said that there is a gentleman of great energy—I have not the honour of his personal acquaintance—who has set his mind on going to Thirlmere—that it is his great wish to carry out his plan in regard to Thirlmere; but that is not a sufficient reason why the beauty of the Lakes should be sacrificed, nor is it a sufficient reason why the Corporation should spend £4,000,000, which will probably grow to £6,000,000, upon this particular scheme. The present estimate is, I believe, £3,700,000; but there is very little doubt that the actual expenditure would be considerably more. That, however, is a question for the ratepayers of Manchester, and not for me. Taking the lowest estimate—namely, £3,700,000, if it was only a case of spending £100,000 or £200,000 more, I then think Manchester ought to be opposed. Gentlemen may say—"Why don't you let all these questions go to the Committee, by which they can be carefully inquired into?" For this simple reason—the Private Bill Committees are engaged in the examination of those who are personally interested in the questions involved, and you cannot expect the general public or the whole population of England, who are interested, to attend and give evidence; or to pay large engineering bills or counsels' fees, or to appear before a Committee to state their case merely through some riparian owner. Therefore, I support the suggestion of my hon. Friend that the question should be sent to a special Committee *ad hoc*, because I believe the public ought to be represented, as it is a public question. I hardly think that the promoters themselves will object to such a course. Surely they will acknow-



ledge that the English people have some interest in such scenery as this, and will admit that it is quite fair they should be thoroughly heard before a Committee. I can only say that my vote will depend on whether such an arrangement can be made. I should myself prefer that there should be a general inquiry by a Committee or a Commission into the water supply of the large manufacturing towns, and I think London ought to be included. The inquiry should extend to how far there ought to be a supply obtained from those districts where there is a great rainfall, and under what conditions it should be given. It may be considered rather hard on Manchester to oblige them to wait until there has been such an inquiry; but I must say that one argument they use is not an argument at all. If the Corporation of Manchester has chosen in some measure to forestall the decision of Parliament by buying property at a considerable cost, they must take the consequences. Our object, however, now is to secure a thorough inquiry, and if a Hybrid Committee is appointed for that purpose then, I think, we ought not to vote against the second reading of the Bill. Otherwise, I shall be obliged personally to vote for the Amendment.

MR. BIRLEY: If it be the wish of the House, I am prepared to accept the proposition of the Chairman of Ways and Means.

MR. CHARLEY: I wish to state, as representing the largest community adjoining Manchester—Salford—that the Corporation of that borough have passed a unanimous vote in favour of the Bill, and have asked me to support it, and I have much pleasure in doing so. The hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) seemed to think that there had been some difference of opinion among the neighbouring communities. My hon. Friend the Member for Chester (Mr. Raikes) seemed to think there had not been a large increase in the neighbouring population. Speaking for Salford, all I can say is that in 1871 the population was 120,000, and that it is now nearly 200,000. Therefore, as far as Salford is concerned, the hon. Member for Chester's view is erroneous. The alleged grievance is a sentimental one, and, in my humble judgment, the interests involved in a sentimental grievance ought not for a single moment to be allowed to weigh

against the interests represented by the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Birley) and myself.

MR. FLETCHER: As a resident in the county of Cumberland, and in the neighbourhood of the great works proposed to be carried out by the Manchester Corporation, and representing the opinion of a great many of the residents of the Lake District, I trust the House will pardon me if I detain them for two or three minutes. I will not enter at all into the engineering matters which are connected with this scheme, but I will allude merely to its æsthetic aspect, which must be interesting to every Member of the House. It seems to me that there is a good deal of misapprehension as to what is proposed to be done by the Manchester Corporation. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) has alluded to the question of the rise and fall of the Lake. He seems to be altogether under an error as to what is proposed to be done. I can assure the House that even if the Corporation draw the full 5,000,000 gallons per day which they propose to take, the Lake will not rise or fall more than it does at the present moment. The effect of this Bill will be to reclaim 11,000 or 12,000 acres of the most beautiful part of Cumberland from the incursions of those æsthetic gentlemen who come down surveying the district and building Gothic villas upon the shores of this beautiful Lake. The Corporation of Manchester have no intention of selling any portion of the area for building purposes; and, in fact, so far from Thirlmere being spoiled, I look upon it as a great public improvement, and as a brand plucked from the burning. You will find that every advantageous point has been seized by these æsthetic gentlemen for building their villas and for discharging their sewage into the Lake. There is nothing whatever proposed to be done by this Bill which would be prejudicial in the slightest respect to the county of Cumberland. If there is one town which is more interested than another in the preservation of the beauty of the Lake it is the town of Keswick, and what do I find? In a town of 700 ratepayers 650 are in favour of the Bill of the Manchester Corporation. They believe that so far from the Lake of Thirlmere being spoiled by

*Mr. W. E. Forster*

what is proposed to be done, it will practically be improved. This is a great scheme, and a scheme which ought not to be burked in its inception, and I hope the House will, by a large majority, pass the second reading of the Bill.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH: I think the House has probably by this time heard enough of the arguments for and against the second reading of this most important Bill. The provisions of the measure were brought before me some weeks ago by a deputation from Manchester; and I had the advantage of hearing from the accomplished engineer of that borough his views as to the mode in which it was proposed to carry out this scheme. I think the House will admit on all sides that there is much that is novel in this plan, something *prima facie* objectionable, and a great deal that ought not to be considered and decided by an ordinary Private Bill Committee. Now, I have always felt that there is a great difficulty in getting upon a Private Bill Committee a fair and adequate representation of the public interests involved in such a measure as this. But it appears to me that it would be a harsh and unusual proceeding to refuse the second reading of a Bill involving a matter of so much importance to so great a community as Manchester. On the other hand, it is equally unreasonable that it should go before the Private Bill Committee, where, as was stated by my hon. Friend the Chairman of Committee of Ways and Means, these interests have no chance of being heard. I therefore propose the following Reference to the Committee:—

“That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee of nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House and Four by the Committee of Selection; and that such of the Petitioners as shall have presented Petitions for or against the Bill may, if they think fit, be heard before such Committee by their counsel or agents; that it be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire into and report upon the water supply of Manchester and the neighbourhood, and how far and under what conditions permission shall be given to make use of any of the Cumberland or Westmoreland Lakes for such supply, having particular regard to the requirements of the population in the immediate vicinity of the Lakes; and to report whether any, or, if so what, provision will be required to be made.”

This proposition, I believe, covers all the points which have been raised in the course of the debate, and if the House should be of opinion that the

Bill should be read a second time, I will move a Resolution in accordance with the suggestion I have made.

MR. PERCY WYNDHAM: I will not enter into the merits of the case, as we now understand that the scope of the inquiry is to be very much enlarged; but I wish to put a Question to my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board. If we are to understand that an inquiry of this nature will be entered into, it must necessarily cost an immense amount of money. Who is to pay the expense of opposing the Bill? The opponents will be virtually fighting the battle of the United Kingdom, and I would suggest that instead of referring the Bill to a Select Committee, there should be a Royal Commission.

MR. DODSON: I understand the proposition of my hon. Friend the Chairman of Committees to have been endorsed by my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board, and that proposition is that the Bill should be sent to a Hybrid Committee, which is to hear all the opponents who have petitioned against the Bill; and, further, that that Committee is to have power to call what witnesses they please, and to inquire into the general subject, just as if it were a public Committee, to whom a subject of public interest had been referred. If that be the proposition intended by the Chairman of Committees, and endorsed by my right hon. Friend on behalf of the Government, I must say it appears to me to be a very proper course to adopt under the circumstances; and if I may venture to give advice to the hon. Member who has submitted a Motion on the subject, it would be to advise him to agree to that proposition.

MR. E. S. HOWARD: I shall be very willing to accept this solution of the difficulty. I do not think we should ask any more, and I shall therefore withdraw the Amendment.

MR. FAWCETT: I wish to ask a question before the Bill is read a second time. It has been admitted that this is a public question, and one in which the whole country is interested. The President of the Local Government Board has read out something which he proposes, but what he read was very imperfectly heard, and without having seen it on the Paper, we are asked to assent to

it. What I wish to ask is that we should have at least 24 hours to consider the terms of this Reference before we actually decide upon adopting the proposal. I may be under a mistake; but it seems to me, as far as I gathered the words, the terms of the Reference he proposes will omit what seems to me to be the gist of the whole inquiry—that is, whether if this additional water be necessary for Manchester, it cannot be obtained except from the Lakes? I think the great majority of this House and of the country think that if she can get it from any other place it is not desirable she should go to the Lakes, because the Lakes are particularly beautiful pieces of scenery which ought to be preserved. Therefore, it seems to me that the terms of Reference are not sufficient, but that there should be an Instruction to the Committee that they should not only make inquiry about the Lakes, but also inquiry as to whether the necessary water could not be obtained from any other place?

MR. NEWDEGATE: I desire to make only one observation. I think the House is giving the Corporation enormous powers—I believe almost rash powers—for a work which is in the nature of a speculation supported by public money. We have before the House a Bill for creating some uniformity, some consolidation, in the governments of counties and towns. At present the districts affected by this scheme are in want, by the admission of the House, of that public representation and concentration of powers which is desirable; and I rejoice that the Government has brought in a measure which may adjust the differences and the powers that now exist as between the large borough interested and districts which will be affected by this scheme.

MR. WHITWELL: I beg to endorse the suggestion of the hon. Member for Hackney that the President of the Local Government Board should give us 24 hours; because I believe there is no doubt that within the district from which this proposal is undertaking to take water there is sufficient water to provide the whole Kingdom, if properly utilized. This is an important question, and I hope the Reference will be put on the Paper before it is finally debated.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH: It is necessary that I should put the first part of

the Reference now, otherwise the Bill would go to an ordinary Committee. But as it seems to be the desire of the House, I will put the words of the Instruction which I propose to move on the Paper, and then the House will adopt it or not, as it thinks fit.

MR. GOLDSMID: It would, I think, be a much more regular course to postpone the second reading of the Bill until we know the exact terms of Reference. As I entirely concur in the observations made by my hon. Friend the Member for Hackney, I propose to move the adjournment of this debate, and to fix it for Thursday, in order to enable us to see the whole of the terms of Reference. This is a matter of public importance, and ought not to be hurried over; and the city of Manchester will gain nothing by precipitation. I think we shall be consulting the interests of Manchester and the country affected if we adjourn the whole matter till Thursday. I beg to move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. SPEAKER: Does any hon. Member second this Motion?

MR. FAWCETT rose to second the Motion.

MR. SPEAKER: It is not competent for the hon. Member for Hackney to second the Motion, as he has already spoken in the debate.

MR. BIGGAR then rose and said: I second the Motion.

MR. SPEAKER declared that the Motion of the hon. Member (Mr. Goldsmid) could not be put.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."

MR. GOLDSMID moved the adjournment of the debate.

MR. BIGGAR seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—*(Mr. Goldsmid.)*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: It seems to me hardly convenient to adjourn the debate. ~~THE~~ Members who have considered the subject have already taken part in the discussion, and I do not know whether they wish to speak again. I believe it would be far more convenient that the course suggested by my right hon.

*Mr. Fawcett*

Friend the President of the Local Government Board should be followed—that is to say, that the House should now decide that the Bill is to be sent to a Committee. It would be quite right, as suggested by the hon. Member for Hackney and others, that opportunity should be afforded to hon. Members of seeing the precise terms of the Reference; and what my right hon. Friend proposes to do is nothing more than a simple Motion that the question be referred to a Committee; and then he will propose to put on the paper the Instructions which are to be given to the Committee. These Instructions will come under the notice of the House, and can be discussed and settled at the convenience of the House.

MR. GOLDSMID: We shall be satisfied with this assurance, and I withdraw my Motion.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* to a Select Committee of Nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House and Four by the Committee of Selection; and that such of the Petitioners as shall have presented their Petitions against the Bill may, if they think fit, be heard before such Committee, by themselves, their Counsel or Agents.—(*Mr. Selater-Booth*.)

And, on February 18, *Ordered*, That Mr. LYON PLAYFAIR, Mr. SALT, Mr. RODWELL, Sir UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, and Mr. KNOWLES be Members of the Committee.—(*Mr. Selater-Booth*.)

## QUESTIONS.

### SOUTH AFRICAN CONFEDERATION— THE ZULU KING.—QUESTION.

MR. E. JENKINS asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has received information that Mr. Frank J. Colenso and Dr. Walter Smith have been appointed by Cetywayo, the Zulu King, his agents in Natal to communicate with the British authorities; and, whether, having regard to the desirability of establishing direct diplomatic relations with the Zulus, Her Majesty's Government will consent to recognize Messrs Colenso and Smith as Cetywayo's agents?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I have received information that letters have been addressed by Messrs. Colenso

and Smith to Sir Henry Bulwer and Sir Theophilus Shepstone, in which they, being British subjects, claim to be recognized by the Governments of Natal and the Transvaal as agents of the Zulu King. But it appears at least doubtful whether any such appointment has been made by Cetywayo himself, as communications recently received from him in the ordinary way make no mention of anything of the kind; and, in any event, I think there are obvious objections to the recognition of persons in the position of these gentlemen, who are, I believe, practising lawyers in the Colony of Natal, without any special connection with the Zulus, as diplomatic agents from an independent Native King to the Colonial Government under which they live.

### FISHERIES—DENMARK—RE-APPEARANCE OF THE HERRINGS.—QUESTION.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, To obtain and furnish the House with information as to the accuracy of the statement in the "Times" of the 7th February, in regard to the shoals of herrings having this winter resorted or returned to the Swedish coasts?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS: We have heard, Sir, from the English Consul at Gothenburg, who reports that—

"The shoals of herrings of a large kind which disappeared from that coast in 1809 have made their appearance there again."

Letters on this subject have been prepared, and shall shortly be laid on the Table.

### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE DARDANELLES—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET.—QUESTION.

MAJOR NOLAN asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, If the order forwarded to detach a squadron towards Constantinople was of a character sufficiently stringent to relieve the Admiral commanding the Mediterranean Fleet from responsibility should the squadron's line of retreat be seriously threatened?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Mr. Speaker, the orders which have been forwarded to the Admiral commanding the Fleet in the Mediterranean are of a clear and

distinct character. They have been sent upon the responsibility of the Government; and it would be extremely inconvenient and inconsistent with my duty, at the present moment, to state the nature of the orders.

**THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE DARDANELLES—THE CONDITIONS OF PEACE.—QUESTION.**

**SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF** asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any answer has been received to Lord Derby's Despatch to Lord Augustus Loftus of 31st January 1878, stating that Her Majesty's Government had received with satisfaction the statement that Prince Gortchakoff had no objection to suppressing altogether the article in the conditions of peace communicated by Count Schouvaloff on the 25th January, referring to an understanding between Russia and Turkey in regard to the Straits, and further stating that Her Majesty's Government would be glad to learn that the Russian Government had suppressed it accordingly?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** No, Sir, no answer has been received to that despatch.

**INDIA—SIR JOHN STRACHEY'S SPEECHES.—QUESTION.**

**GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR** asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he will move for a Copy of Sir John Strachey's former Speech, in addition to the Speech more recently made by Sir John Strachey, which has been laid upon the Table?

**LORD GEORGE HAMILTON:** parts of the former speech which were relevant to the speech of last year were included in the Return of which I spoke, and, therefore, I do not think it will be necessary to move as the hon. and gallant Member suggests.

**SALE OF FOOD AND DRUGS ACT, 1875. QUESTION.**

**MR. ANDERSON** asked the President of the Local Government Board, If his attention has been called to a recent decision by the High Court of Justiciary, Scotland, concerning "The Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875," by which five Judges have decided that no offence

can be proved on evidence taken from any article specially brought for analysis, the buyer in such case not having been prejudiced in the purposes for which he bought it; and, further, that two of the Judges, Lords Moncrieff and Young, expressed the opinion that the 6th section does not prevent tampering with an article to the deterioration of its quality, if without the addition of extraneous matter; and, whether he purposes taking any steps to prevent the Act in question becoming a dead letter?

**MR. SCLATER-BOTH:** My attention has been called to the decision by the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland to which the hon. Gentleman refers, and I regret that I have not had an opportunity of conferring with the Lord Advocate on the subject. It seems that previous to the Scottish case alluded to no question had been raised in England as to the validity of a prosecution under the Sale of Food and Drugs Act by a person who purchases only with a view to analysis, and in the cases which have occurred since, the magistrates have decided against the objection when raised. I concur in that view, which, be it observed, is also the view of some of the Scottish Judges, and I cannot believe that the High Court of Justice, if appealed to, will come to any other decision. I am, therefore, not prepared, as at present advised, to introduce an amending Bill, though, if my anticipations were disappointed, such step might be necessary.

**THE EASTERN QUESTION — THE RUSSIAN CONDITIONS OF PEACE, 1877. QUESTION.**

**SIR ALEXANDER GORDON** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House Copies of the Conditions of Peace required by the Emperor of Russia which were communicated to the Earl of Derby by Count Schouvaloff in July 1877; of a Despatch from the Earl of Derby to Mr. Layard, dated the 28th day of July 1877, instructing him to sound the Sultan on the subject of possible terms of Peace; and, of Mr. Layard's reply reporting his interview with the Sultan on the subject?

**MR. BOURKE:** In reply to my hon. and gallant Friend, I have to state that the conditions of peace alluded to in the

*Mr. W. H. Smith*

Question were communicated to Her Majesty's Government last July in the most confidential manner by the Russian Ambassador. It would not, therefore, be proper for Her Majesty's Government to lay them upon the Table of the House; besides which they relate to a condition of things long since gone by, and therefore no practical benefit could result from producing them. With regard to the other two Questions which my hon. and gallant Friend has asked me, I think if he will look at the Paper, Turkey, No. 2, page 4, he will find there a despatch from the Earl of Derby to Mr. Layard, which contains practically the information in the other two despatches mentioned, and there is, therefore, no necessity for producing the Papers alluded to.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON: There is nothing in the despatch as to Mr. Layard's interview with the Sultan.

MR. BOURKE: I think there is, and I will read the despatch. The Earl of Derby, writing to Mr. Layard on December 25th last, said—

"With reference to my despatch of the 24th instant, your Excellency will bear in mind that on the 28th July last, Her Majesty's Government authorized you confidentially to sound the Sultan on the subject of possible terms of peace, and to state that should His Majesty be disposed to open negotiations, you might assure him that he might rely upon the friendly offices of Her Majesty's Government, which would be exerted with a view to obtain for him the most favourable terms possible under the circumstances; but Her Majesty's Government were not disposed to take the initiative in proposing any conditions. Your Excellency replied that you had reason to believe that conditions of peace could not at that time be proposed or listened to, but that you had informed His Majesty that should there be a favourable opportunity for opening negotiations for peace, he might rely on the friendly offices of Her Majesty's Government. You added that you did not think that anything more could then be done. The language held by you to the Sultan was approved by Her Majesty's Government."

#### SOUTH AFRICA.—QUESTION.

MR. KNATCHBULL - HUGESSEN asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will lay upon the Table any Papers connected with the disturbances in South Africa?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: A volume containing the Correspondence up to the end of 1877 has been prepared, and will shortly be presented, and

a further collection of Papers is also being prepared; but the necessity of frequent reference to them has delayed the printing. All possible despatch will be used.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE TWELVE-THIRTY RULE. QUESTION.

MR. PARNELL wished to ask the Speaker a Question as to a Notice of Amendment given by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. C. Lewis) to his intended Motion for leave to bring in a Bill relating to Absentee Proprietors (Ireland). That Amendment was to substitute for his Motion the following Resolution:—

1 "That, in the opinion of this House, it is inexpedient to attempt to interfere between landlord and tenant in reference to the sale and purchase of a tenant's holding, and that all such matters should be left to negotiation between the parties concerned."

He wished to know, Whether such a Motion was in accordance with the custom and usage of the House; and, if so, whether he should be prevented by the action of the Sessional Order relating to half-past 12 o'clock from asking leave after that hour?

MR. SPEAKER: An application for leave to bring in a Bill is in the form of a Motion before the House, and every Motion is subject to Amendment. The hon. Member for Londonderry is therefore entitled to move the Amendment which he has placed on the Paper. It is true that a practice has prevailed in recent years of allowing Bills to be introduced before the judgment of the House is taken upon them; but that does not preclude an hon. Member from moving an Amendment, if he thinks proper, on the application for leave to bring in the Bill. There can be no doubt that the Notice of Amendment by the hon. Member for Londonderry does bring the Bill within the operation of the Rule with regard to not taking opposed Business after half-past 12 o'clock.

MR. PARNELL: I must request the indulgence of the House for a moment to point out—"Order, order!" If necessary, to put myself in Order I shall conclude with a Motion.

**MR. SPEAKER:** It has been my duty on several occasions to point out to the House the great inconvenience resulting from the practice of hon. Members, who are not satisfied with the Answers given to their Questions, rising to move the Adjournment. If the hon. Member is not satisfied with the Answer now given from the Chair, I submit that it is scarcely consistent with propriety to move the Adjournment of the House.

**MR. PARNELL:** I am perfectly satisfied, Sir, with the Answer you have been kind enough to give me; and, as it appears that the practice of moving the Adjournment of the House under these circumstances is deemed equivalent to expressing dissatisfaction with the Answer, I shall not further persist.

POOR LAW (SCOTLAND)—  
DEPORTATION OF IRISH PAUPERS.  
QUESTION.

**MAJOR NOLAN** asked the Lord Advocate, If his attention has been called to the case of Agnes Adams, a woman born in Dungannon, in the county Tyrone, who had been many years resident in Scotland, who was, under a warrant granted by two Justices of the Peace for the city of Glasgow, removed from Glasgow and delivered to the Master of Thomastown Union, in the county of Kilkenny, though it appears she was not born in, nor had ever been resident in, and was not in any way connected with, the county of Kilkenny; whether he can state was any, and, if so, what examination made by the said Justices before they addressed a warrant to compel the Thomastown Union to receive Agnes Adams; has any investigation been made into the conduct of the said Justices in the matter, and what has been the result of the investigation; and, is there any remedy for the injury suffered by the Thomastown Union, and in what way can that Union be recouped the expenses occasioned by Agnes Adams having been thus illegally left a charge on that Union?

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS:** The Lord Advocate is confined to his room with severe inflammation of the chest, but he is expected here on Thursday.

**MAJOR NOLAN:** I shall repeat the Question on that day.

MOTION.

CHURCH LIVINGS.—RESOLUTION.

**MR. LEATHAM,** in rising to call attention to the traffic in Church livings, and to move—

“That it is desirable to adopt measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law, and checking abuses in the sale of livings in private patronage,”

said: Mr. Speaker, I have purposely adhered to the words of the Resolution passed last year, with the full concurrence of the Government, and by the unanimous vote of this House. I have done so, because I am desirous of securing the same unanimity to-day, which, with the assistance of my hon. Friend the Member for South-east Lancashire (Mr. Hardcastle), I was fortunate in securing last year; not because I do not think that the scandals and abuses in connection with the disposal of private patronage are not great enough, and patent enough, to have warranted a far stronger expression of opinion on the part of this House, and one which I shall not hesitate to embody in a Resolution at some future time, if it shall please the House to pass this Motion to-night; and if this reiterated expression of opinion on the part of the House shall meet with no further recognition on the part of the Government than that which they have bestowed upon the Motion of last year. And I express myself a little strongly, Sir, because I never remember, since I have had the honour of a seat in this House, that when a Resolution has received the unanimous assent of the House, and has been passed with the full concurrence of Her Majesty's Ministers, the Government of the day has thought itself entitled to pass such a Resolution by—I do not say with contempt—but in absolute silence. Let me remind my right hon. Friend, who has the chief charge of domestic legislation in this House, of what fell from him during the debate last year. My right hon. Friend stated that—

“He felt bound to say that in this case there was proof of abuse, and he hoped, on whichever side of the House he might be sitting, he should never be found standing up for that which he believed to be an abuse.”

He said further—

“This was a matter with which he had endeavoured to deal by a Bill which he introduced, as a private Member, in 1870, and he did not desire to shrink from a single word which he used on that occasion.”—[3 *Hansard*, cccxxv. 315.]

Now, what were the words which he used on that occasion?—

“When they loved an institution,” he said, “as they all loved the Church, they ought to scrutinize every abuse; and the moment they found one they should sweep it away.”—[3 *Hansard*, cci. 538.]

He then asked the House to put an end to what he justly called “a great scandal to the Church, and an absolute insult to parishioners;” and the House appeared to be perfectly willing to do so, for it read a second time, without a single dissentient voice, my right hon. Friend’s Bill on the 11th of May; but, for some reason which I think my right hon. Friend has yet to explain, that was positively the very last which we heard of his Bill. [He loved the Church so well that he thought such an abuse as this should be swept away in a moment. Many moments have since elapsed, yet my right hon. Friend has never renewed his attempt; and, to judge from the Answer which he made to a Question of mine at the commencement of the Session, there is no longer much of the ambition of a sweep, in the feeling with which he regards this “scandal” and this “insult.” But when this question came up again last year, my right hon. Friend’s love of the Church blazed forth afresh. He not only confirmed everything which had fallen from him before, but he added the important declaration that—

“In his opinion, the taking of money for the sale of a next presentation was in the same category as the taking of money for giving a vote for a Member of that House. He could not see the distinction.”—[3 *Hansard*, cccxxv. 315.]

And yet, though he thinks the sale of a next presentation as bad as bribery, though he thinks that such an abuse should be swept away in a moment, and though he is now armed with a unanimous Resolution of this House empowering him to deal with the question, he meets Parliament with his mind so fascinated by the roads and bridges of Scotland, that he has no leisure to deal with it at all. And it cannot be because

my right hon. Friend stands alone in the Cabinet in his detestation of these abuses; for I remember that another right hon. Friend of mine, who, for a great Chief of warriors, I have always regarded as the most ecclesiastically-minded person in the House, stood manfully by him in his support of his Bill. I mean the Secretary of State for War. What he said was that—

“The Church of England did not consist of patrons and clergy alone, but of the flock also; and by this Bill the position of the flock was properly recognized.”—[3 *Hansard*, cci. 547.]

And yet this proper position of the flock remains as completely unrecognized now as when the proper position of these two right hon. Gentlemen was still unrecognized by the country. Now, I cannot see the advantage which the public derives from the expression of these admirable sentiments on the part of right hon. Gentlemen, if, when they have the opportunity of bringing them into practice, and when they are further encouraged to do so by that unanimous vote of this House, which used to be considered as a command, they entirely refrain from moving in the matter. Why is it, I should like to know, that everyone who puts his hand to this plough turns back? Is it because it is supposed that this question touches upon the rights of property? I remember that one voice was raised in this sense last year, that of my hon. Friend the Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means (Mr. Raikes). I wish that my hon. Friend had gone to a division. I should like the country to know precisely who they are in this House who regard the right of presentation less as a matter of trust than a matter of property. What said my hon. Friend?—

“The recommendations of the Committee of the other House, that the right of appointment should be considered as a trust, appeared to him to be begging the whole question. The point to be determined was not whether the right of presentation was a matter of trust, but a matter of property—a right, no doubt, to be governed and controlled in the interests of decency and propriety, but yet a right which was a matter of property.”—[3 *Hansard*, cccxxv. 317.]

Now, my hon. Friend spoke at so late an hour that he had scarcely time to develop his argument. If he had done so, I think that he would have added another proposition which I find in—



variably coupled with it, in the reasoning of those who take this particular line, and it is this—that when a man is ordained by the Bishop, something happens which makes him an eligible presentee to any living in the Kingdom. Proceeding upon these two propositions, why should we not go on to say—and I am quoting now from an able defence of the existing system which was published when it was attacked by the Bishop of Peterborough—why should we not go on to say that

“the best thing which could happen to the Church would be to sweep away the Simony Laws into the waste-paper basket?”

“Laws,” which we are told, “were enacted when witches bestrode a broomstick;” and, further—

“That any person, with the sanction of the Ordinary, should have the right of purchasing any benefice, vacant or full;”

and that, since

“fathers have bequeathed to their sons advowsons as their sole patrimony, women have gone to the altar, settlements have been made,”

and so forth; all “on the faith of the inviolable sanction of English law,” any changes in the law which may have the effect of cheapening this vast property in the market would be just so much confiscation and robbery; and the Bishop of Peterborough’s Bill, because it threatened to do so, was “a crimson sin.” Now, if we are to grant the premises, it is perhaps difficult to point out a flaw in this argument; but if so, what are we compelled to infer? Why, that the Church of England is hopelessly saddled with a burthen which must weigh her to the earth. For if we are to be logical, if we are to sweep the Laws of Simony into the waste-paper basket, if we are to have free trade in benefices, vacant or full, how will the Church appear to the people, if not as a vast commercial organization for the profitable preaching of the Gospel? And I should like to know what Church has ever existed, which has dared to present so brazen a front to the world, as that? Why, such a Church could not exist in this country for an hour! But if this be not the true notion of the rights of patrons, what is? There is only one other notion possible, and it is this—a notion sustained by all the laws and canons which have been passed upon the subject—that this kind

of property carries a solemn trust, that the right of the patron to derive benefit from this property is strictly limited by the right of the congregation to enjoy the ministrations of a fit and proper person; therefore, that all methods of dealing with this property which defraud the congregation of that right ought to be prohibited by law, and that a law which does so prohibit them is no law of confiscation and robbery, but a measure of justice. Now, before I leave this point, let me quote a few words from a very powerful Pastoral delivered by the Bishop of Peterborough upon this subject a year or two ago; and I cannot help saying, in passing, that I think the highest praise is due to that right rev. Prelate for the courageous and unsparing censure which he has poured upon those who not only perpetrate these abuses, but defend them. Indeed, almost single-handed, I may say, he stood up in the House of Lords for the rights of religion against the claims of property—

“My answer to such a claim,” he said, “is simply this. You are asking compensation for the loss of an immoral increment, and your claim is as immoral as the gain which you say will be lost to you. I ask you, if you have the courage to do so, to state plainly the items for which you claim compensation—for the privilege of forcing on a parish a paralytic pastor, so much; for the right to appoint a clergyman so scandalous that he cannot bring sufficient testimonials to his character, so much; for the right to appoint an octogenarian clergyman, in order to sell the living over his head, so much; and for the right generally to hurt the souls of parishioners for the sake of our private gain, so much.”

And now, Sir, let me turn to quite another kind of objection—that which comes from hon. Friends of mine who think that the terms of this Motion are not nearly broad enough. I was almost startled, when this subject was under discussion last year, by the attitude of hon. Friends of mine, who rose, in midnight wrath, and denounced the very innocent verbal compromise into which I entered with the view of securing unanimity. That happy oblivion which overtakes so much of the eloquence of the small hours, prevents my re-producing the terms in which my hon. Friends condemned my apostacy; but I remember that my hon. Friend the Member for Peterborough (Mr. Whalley) spoke of many clergymen of the Church of Eng-

land as "atrocious and abominable Sepoys"—whatever that might mean—and that, with almost equal vivacity, my hon. Friend the Member for Hackney (Mr. Fawcett) declared that not for a moment could he agree that there was any difference between the sale of a next presentation and the sale of an advowson; and that what he condemned *in toto* was the sale of a spiritual charge at all. Now, I am prepared to go almost all lengths with my hon. Friend in his condemnation, not only of the sale of next presentations, but of the sale of advowsons in gross; but what I would venture to point out to him is, that it is quite unnecessary for us to enter at all into this controversy to-night. This Resolution simply affirms that these scandals and abuses exist, and that it is desirable to take legislative measures to prevent them; and surely the Radicalism of my hon. Friend does not carry him so far as to make him prefer no bread to half-a-loaf. If I were framing a grand declaration of opinion upon this whole subject, I should introduce many things into this Resolution which I have purposely omitted. But what chance would there be that such a Resolution should pass the present House of Commons, or that it should lead to future legislation? We are practical men here; and to refuse all reforms because we cannot obtain every reform is a concession to abstract theory to which I, for one, will never stoop. Now, Sir, what are the scandals and abuses at which this Motion is chiefly aimed? I do not know that I can do better than to quote a paragraph from the evidence which the Bishop of Exeter gave before the Bishop of Peterborough's Committee; for, with great clearness, and at the same time with great moderation, that right rev. Prelate stated what the chief of those evils are—

"I think the worst evil of all," he said, "is the shock to the religious feeling of a great number of people, especially of the artisan class, and the lower middle class, who, I think, find it a very great hindrance to them, and a stumbling-block, greater than it is quite easy for more educated people to measure. I think the evil is so great, that it cuts as it were, at the very reason for the existence of a Church at all, because a Church only exists to help people to be Christians, and to be better Christians; and this, I think, is a positive hindrance in their way. I have constantly found, in conversation with them, that they look upon it as a personal humiliation when the advowson of the parish in which they live is sold; and I have no doubt at all that in

that class a considerable number of quiet, religious people become Nonconformists simply from their hatred of what seems to them so exceedingly wrong in principle. That, I think, is the worst evil. But, then, I think, in the second place, there is a very great evil in the demoralization of the Clergy. In respect to this matter, I find constantly that the artificial character of the Law of Simony has the effect of making clergymen insensible to the evils of Simoniacal transactions altogether. I have known of very good men who were mixed up with transactions of this kind, who seemed not to be at all aware of the evil to which they were lending themselves."

And he proceeds to give an instance—

"Then, in the third place," he goes on to say, "I think it is a very serious evil that there should be the scandal of such sales; that it should be constantly in the mouths of the enemies of the Church of England that positions in the Church are matters of barter and sale; and everybody is aware that it is constantly used by Nonconformists as an argument against the Church, and used with very considerable effect, to my knowledge. Then, in the fourth place, I think that the practice of sales has, to a very great degree, demoralized the patrons. The patrons very generally take a much lower view of their duty in the matter than they would take if there were no such thing as the sale of a living, and if a man felt only that he was a trustee, bound to find the best clergyman he could for the parish that was thus entrusted to his charge. I have not any doubt at all that the market-value of livings is higher in consequence of this general idea that a patron is not bound to find the best man that he can, and, indeed, that he is barely bound to find even a fit man—that is to say, he is bound to find a man who is legally fit, a man who could not be proved to be unfit; but that he is not bound to take any very great pains to find a man who certainly is fit. Then, lastly, there can be no question at all that the present practice of the sale of advowsons and next presentations gives great facilities for abuse, and I have known instances of very serious abuse."—[*Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 61-62.]

It will be observed that the Bishop divides those evils under five heads, and, with the permission of the House, I should like to say a few words upon two or three of them. And first, as to the shock to religious feeling. The Bishops themselves are all valuable witnesses to this fact—

"The sale of livings," says the Bishop of Manchester, "is a scandal, an evil, an abuse of a high and solemn trust, so pernicious in its influence, that every well-wisher of the Church ought to desire its removal. There was no scandal in the Church of England that so alienated, and kept alienated, the great Nonconformist bodies from them—bodies whom it should be the desire of every Churchman to bring back to the fold—so much as the sight of such things as he had mentioned."

Take an authority from quite another school of opinion in the Church—

"Shall any man," said the Bishop of Lincoln in his Pastoral for 1874, "treat Christian congregations, the sheep and lambs of Christ, as if they were only like the beasts that perish, to be carried from pens in market-places to slaughter-houses in the shambles? This is what is done by those Christian priests who, like the shepherds denounced in Ezekiel, undertake the pastoral office in order to eat the fat and clothe themselves with the wool."

Now I have only quoted from three right rev. Prelates; but I might have quoted from the whole Bench, for this is an evil so great and glaring, and so entirely indefensible, that if we hold our peace even the Bishops cry out. And now, Sir, just to show how frequently these next presentations change hands, when the system of sales has free play, and the odd uses which are made of them, let me take the history of one living, the presentation to which is uniformly sold. I will take that of Wilmslow in Cheshire, a living worth some £1,600 a-year, in the gift of the Roman Catholic family of Dr. Trafford, and therefore invariably sold—at least, it has been for 217 years. Let us go back, say, to the life-time of the existing generation. In 1814 the Rev. Mr. Clowes bought it for his sister who had married the Rev. Joseph Bradshaw. The Rev. Joseph Bradshaw was duly instituted; and when, in 1824, he was upon his deathbed, the next presentation was sold in a great hurry in the hunting field for £6,000 to Mr. E. Vijor Fox. As the incumbent was *in articulo mortis* when the sale was made, the Bishop refused to institute the presentee of the new patron; whereupon the latter brought three actions against the Bishop, in the last of which he was successful. The litigation, however, lasted during several years, and in the meantime the Crown twice presented to the living. Immediately before the promotion to a Bishopric of the second presentee of the Crown, Mr. Fox, who had by this time won his action, sold the living to a Mr. Chambers, who bought it for his daughter. The daughter married a Mr. Brownlow, and made him rector in 1829. This poor Mr. Brownlow had a great deal to answer for. He was one of those extremely delicate men who are always dying yet never die. For 43 years he acted as a perfect decoy to the spiritual

speculators of the district; and no less than three gentlemen in succession purchased the living for their sons, and finally threw up their bargains in despair, all through Mr. Brownlow's unreasonable attachment to life. Finally, Mr. Cope, the last of them, two years before Mr. Brownlow died for the last time, sold the presentation to a gentleman, who bought it for his daughter; and I am glad to say that that lady now reigns happily at the rectory. Now, the House will observe that the presentation to this living has been made thrice by a lady—indeed, it is wonderful how eager ladies are to buy next presentations, or rather it would be wonderful if we did not see how much they managed to purchase at the same time. I am told that it is quite a common thing in Cheshire for next presentations to be bought for ladies. There are Wilmslow and Ashton—of which I spoke last year—and Cheadle, which possesses the farther distinction of having its religious aspirations ministered to by a gentleman who, I believe, beyond all controversy, is the very best judge of dogs in England. Well, but, Sir, as to that demoralization of the Clergy, of which the Bishop of Exeter speaks. If anyone has any doubt of that, he has only to turn to a letter which appeared in the leading journal a few days after our last debate upon this subject, and which was signed "An-Essex Rector." This poor man is in great alarm about his spiritual property; indeed, I doubt whether Alexander the Coppersmith was in a greater panic. With reference to that debate, he says—

"There was no allusion made to the Clerical patrons. There are many men, like myself, with most of their property invested in Church livings. The majority of such advowsons were either purchased by their fathers for them, or left them by will. To stop the sale of advowsons would be starvation to their widows and children. In Essex alone we have something like \$15,000 a-year, or £150,000, in such property; and for the sake of our children, we, the Clerical patrons, must defend the sale of Church property, which we hold to be justice in its truest sense.

He concludes his letter thus—

"It is impossible that any clergyman presented for life, or as a step in promotion, can take the same interest in a parish as one who is patron as well as rector, and who trusts to be succeeded by his own son. Should any remedy be sought for stopping the sale of Church property, the son—however unfitted—of the rector must be ordained, if only for saving property

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to his family. Far better to do away with the oath of Simony, and allow the sale honestly, which would be for the good of the Church generally."

So that it has come to this—the cure of souls is regarded as so much family property to be handed down from father to son. I do not know that I have often come across so barefaced an expression of clerical opinion as this is; but it has one kind of value. It accounts for a great deal in the evidence contained in the Blue Book, which would otherwise be incomprehensible, if not incredible. For example, there is a complete consensus of opinion among witnesses as to the low view which appears to be taken by many clergymen of the binding nature of the declaration against Simony. And let the House bear in mind that the witnesses are none of them inimical to the Church or unfriendly to the Clergy. They are all either dignitaries of the Church, or men whom dignitaries delight to honour. We may accept, therefore, what they say as the literal truth, coloured, if it be coloured at all, by a natural tenderness for the system which they are describing, and under the shadow of which they have passed their lives. Now, Mr. Few, whose experience must have been enormous, speaks most strongly of what he calls the "density" of the Clergy in this respect. He says that their "density is quite remarkable." But what says Mr. Bridges? Who is Mr. Bridges? He is a solicitor in large practice in London, who has been concerned professionally for the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for the Corporation of the Sons of the Clergy, for the Clergy Orphan Corporation, and for a body of Church Patronage Trustees; and he was asked these questions with regard to the Oath, and gave these answers—

"You think, it being a legal oath, persons not of a legal mind may not quite understand it?—Yet, such persons may be very much embarrassed, or else they may come to the conclusion, which I have often seen arrived at by clergymen, that the whole thing is an absurdity, and that they may get through the matter in the best way they can. That I know to be a very common state of mind.—Have you known instances of that kind? Yes; there have been many instances in which I have been fortunate enough to stop proceedings of this kind, and there have been other cases in which I have not been so fortunate, but in which the proceedings have gone on in spite of every remonstrance.—Have you had clergymen of really good repute and

character come to you, and propose to carry out a transaction which you knew to be Simoniacal, although they did not? Undoubtedly; clergymen have frequently come to me in this kind of way: some clerical agent whom they have consulted has introduced them to some other clergyman, or to some patron, with whom the transaction was to be carried out, and they have got into correspondence with that other clergyman direct; and the letters which have been shown to me have frequently constituted what, in my judgment, was a Simoniacal contract. I have then pointed out the fact, and gone into the matter; but in spite of that I have known that the transaction has been carried out, although not through my instrumentality.—You have known that to occur in the case of clergymen who were patrons, and who were selling benefices, as well as in the case of clergymen who were buying benefices?—Undoubtedly. I have put it in this way, and it shows the state of conscience which prevails upon the subject. A patron, who was also an incumbent, has made an arrangement with some clergyman to purchase his living, and on its being pointed out, as I did, that the purchasing clergyman would have a difficulty in taking the oath, the remark was made, 'that is, of course, his affair,' which I ventured to point out was not entirely the case."—[*Minutes of Evidence*, pp. 37, 38.]

Well, Sir, after that evidence we are not surprised at the statement which is categorically made by Mr. Lee, secretary to many Bishops, that "evasions of the Law are almost universal."—[*Ibid.* p. 31.] But the examination of Mr. Bridges proceeded as follows:—

"Are you also of opinion that the secrecy connected with transactions of this kind is mischievous in its effects? I think it is very mischievous, practically, as a moral question. When you are consulted upon these matters, you hardly venture to put the thing down in writing in the first instance, for fear you may commit, you do not know to what extent, the person who consults you? I have frequently had to go to counsel for a conference, without having anything put on paper, wishing to see whether the transaction is Simoniacal or not, before venturing to go any further.—As I understand it, secrecy is specially observed by clerical agents; they announce in their circulars and advertisements that the transaction will be strictly private? That appears to be the case with a certain class of clerical agents who advertise very freely. For instance, they advertise that they consider strict privacy vital to arrangements of this kind.—You have seen such advertisements, have you not? Yes; I see them constantly. You cannot read *The Ecclesiastical Gazette* without seeing them; the last number was full of them."—[*Ibid.* p. 39.]

And in this connection I may remind the House of the result of the calculation into which I entered minutely last year—as to the number of livings which are at this moment in the hands of these advertising agents for barter or sale.

Making allowance for duplicate advertisements, I found that upwards of 2,000 livings, or one-fourth of the whole saleable patronage of the Church, were in the market at the same moment. Any hon. Gentleman may suit himself with a living by consulting these registers. Does he desire an active living? He may select, for example, St. Philip's, Liverpool, income £450, but

"with prospect of an increase, since this church possesses the privilege of marrying from all parts of the town."

Does he wish for a sinecure? He may take Trehaverock, in Cornwall, where there is no service, no residence, and the parsonage appears to be licensed for the sale of ardent spirits. He has only to glance at these advertisements to see how completely the system has secularized that portion of the Clergy which has mixed itself up with it. Much is constantly made of the amenities of the situation—the bracing air, the fine scenery, the good society, the hunting, fishing, and shooting, down to rooks, the hot-houses and ice-houses, the lawns, and avenues, and shrubberies, and so forth—and nothing whatever of the solemn duties which are attached to the office, except that they are desirably light and few in number. If we did not know how many excellent and devoted men there are in the Church, we might readily infer that the whole Priesthood was a thing of purple and fine linen, or that these labourers in the Vineyard were intent upon nothing but the juice. But, to return to Mr. Bridges. He was asked—

"In these negotiations for sale, the Law of Simony is sometimes evaded in order to secure an immediate resignation, is it not?—Frequently. In what way do you suppose that might be done; by a deposit of money? What has been done, I know, in a case that came under my own cognizance, was this. A clergyman who was patron, and had been incumbent of a living, wishing to sell it, and knowing that the Bishop of that diocese had a particular objection to accepting the resignation of a clergyman who was also patron when there had been a sale, vacated the living and put in an intimate friend of his own, who undertook, as a matter of friendly feeling, to resign whenever he wished. He sold the living, of course with the understanding on the part of the purchaser of the surrounding circumstances. The purchaser was not absolutely satisfied to pay money down until he saw what he was going to get for it, and the arrangement which I understood was made was this, the money was deposited in the names of two persons who were supposed to be capable of being trusted, and as

soon as the living was vacant and the clergyman instituted, the money was paid down."—[*Ibid.* p. 39.]

I may add here, that although there can be no moral distinction between the purchase of a vacant living and of one "with immediate possession"—"immediate possession" is continually advertised. I have a monthly Register of "Church Preferments for Sale," published last year by one of the best-known of these agents, in which there are 94 advertisements, and in 57 of them immediate possession is guaranteed. Mr. Bridges was asked again—

"Some of the clerical agents of whom he had just been speaking are, I believe, owners of donatives?—Yes; I know a case in which a donative was used for the purpose of evasion; but how far it is a prevalent practice, I do not know."

I may mention that Lord S. G. Osborne tell us—[*Ibid.* p. 108.]—that donatives are used for another purpose—that of whitewashing black sheep. He gives an instance in which the same donative was thus used thrice in succession; but the sheep were all so black that the whitewash would not stick. But Mr. Bridges goes on to explain how useful a donative may be made. He says—

"A clergyman called upon me one day, a few years ago, and requested me to carry out the sale of an advowson. He was an old family client; he was the patron and incumbent of a living; he knew perfectly well that his Bishop objected to accept a resignation in cases where the patron was also the incumbent, and had made a sale; and he told me that he had arranged with a particular clerical agent, who kept two or three of those donatives in his pocket, to purchase one of those donatives for £100; he was then, having sold his own living, to appoint himself to this donative; and then, when the living thereby became vacated, and the purchaser was presented to the living which was sold, he was to sell back the donative to the clerical agent for the same price that he gave for it. He was a thorough gentleman by position; he was a man of good family, and there was nothing whatever against his character; he did not belong to any very earnest school in the Church.—For all these reasons which you have stated, you think the oath as well as the substituted declaration against Simony are really of little practical use? I think they are constantly in the habit of being evaded, and I do not think that they practically prevent Simoniacal transactions; we know that a great many transactions of this kind are being carried out, and I believe I am right in stating that there has been no prosecution for Simony for a great many years in any of the Courts."—[*Ibid.* p. 40.]

And Sir, a method of evasion equally

objectionable with any mentioned by Mr. Bridges, is when a living which it is desired to sell falls vacant, and a venerable clergyman is presented, a clergyman the most venerable who can be found—so venerable sometimes, that, as in the case mentioned by Lord S. G. Osborne, “he is barely able to sit up in a chair.”—[*Ibid.* p. 106.] Now, why is this sort of thing done? In order that the living may be sold by auction, and that the auctioneer may be in a position to announce that the incumbent is positively upon his last legs. I will give the House one instance, not because it is at all the worst which could be cited—far otherwise—but because I have had the opportunity of watching what was done with this living. I refer to Hilgay, in Norfolk. In 1870 the then incumbent, who was also patron, began to advertise his living for sale. This gentleman laboured under the disadvantage that he had not as yet reached the age when livings become attractive; so he availed himself of the only extenuating circumstances within his reach. He advertised himself—the incumbent—as “56 years of age, but he is, it is believed, in a very precarious state of health.” Now, the precarious health of a man of 56 is not always to be trusted; so he advertised for two years in vain—and then died; with the consolation, no doubt, that, although he had not sold his living, he had abundantly justified the terms of his advertisement. Well, what did they do then? They put in the most charitable canon in all England, a man whose charitable construction of the motives of others exceeds almost anything of which I have ever read—the Rev. Canon St. Vincent Beechey. When he took leave of his old parishioners, this gentleman spoke of

“the kindly hearts and generous impulses of patrons to seek the best spiritual superintendence for the people they were called upon to provide for;”

and of his own preferment as coming

“from the spontaneous desire of a faithful widowed patron to carry out her husband’s own desire, that his people be ministered to by a successor in his curate.”

The husband being the advertising patron to whom I have alluded, and the curate being himself—and what an aroma of usefulness that curate must have left behind him to hang about the spot for 40 years! Now the living

—which is a very valuable one—fell vacant in September; Canon Beechey was instituted in October; and in the May following, I saw the living put up to auction at the Auction Mart, Tokenhouse Yard. I do not know whether Canon Beechey went there, too, to see the living sold over his head. If he did, he must have been surprised to find how little the auctioneer had to say about “the generous impulses of patrons.” What he would have heard was an eloquent peroration about his own advanced age, coupled with the value of the living, the size of the dining-room and cellars, and the noble accommodation which had been provided for the pigs. Now, I do not wish to dwell upon these auctions—they are constantly occurring. There were two last Friday—an advowson with an incumbent aged 76, who was only instituted last year; and a next presentation, with an incumbent whose certificate of baptism, we are informed, is dated November 23rd, 1804. I do not wish, I say, to dwell upon these auctions. I know that the majority of this House are zealous and conscientious Churchmen, and I would not raise an unnecessary blush to any cheek. But I will say this—that if I were a Churchman, and if I happened to wander into Tokenhouse Yard at a time when the Church was disposing of her spiritual bargains, I should feel a pang of shame which would send me straight, I think, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, to ask his Grace what he meant when the other day, at Croydon, he made broad his phylacteries, and almost hugged himself upon the fact that his Church was not as other Churches are? Now, I ask all zealous Churchmen in this House to aid me in forcing the consideration of these scandals upon the notice of what, I fear, is a reluctant Administration. And yet, if it were only to efface the memory of the last public jobbery in livings, I should have thought that the Government would have said something definite to-night. For his condemnation of the sale of next presentations was scarcely out of the lips of my right hon. Friend, when, looking into the newspaper, I saw that his Colleague the First Lord of the Admiralty was offering for sale by private tender the living of Humshaugh and seven others in a bunch. I do not know

whether my right hon. Friend has still this tempting lot upon his hands. Probably he has, because the market just now is flat. There is a cloud resting upon every trade, and the trade in souls shares the common despondency. But when the market is alive again—when white shirtings once more are active—since Government livings can be sold—why not turn over the patronage of the Crown? What a field for the enterprize of a Chancellor of the Exchequer who is bent upon raising £6,000,000 sterling! Sir, when the Bishop of Peterborough was moving for his Committee in “another place,” he said—

“This reform, which I ask at your Lordships’ hands, I ask in the name of the entire Church, which pleads for it earnestly and anxiously.—[3 *Hansard*, ccxviii. 921.]

When the same right rev. Prelate, a few months afterwards, was taking off his harness in disgust and despair, he stated that his reason for doing so was—

“Simply the utter want of such support from the Church at large as alone could ensure the success of any measure of reform on this subject.”

And he went on to say—

“The enemies of the Church now possess a new weapon in the fact that the Church either cannot or will not free herself from evils which no honest Churchman ventures to defend.”

Now, how long is the Church to lie under this imputation—an imputation which is cast upon her, not by her enemies, but by one of the most gifted of her Prelates? Is the imputation true, or is it false? If it be false, I trust that we shall hear something more from Her Majesty’s Government than words of barren sympathy with this Motion, or one of the common-places which are resorted to in order to postpone the consideration of an unwelcome question. But if it be true—if it be true that “the Church either cannot, or will not, free herself from evils which no honest Churchman ventures to defend,” I must be permitted to ask this question—How long is an institution so hopelessly crippled and so incurably corrupt to continue to exercise the whole religious authority of the nation? The hon. Member concluded by moving the Resolution.

MR. HIBBERT seconded the Motion. As a Churchman he was much distressed with the account which the hon. Mem-

ber had given, and he hoped it would have the effect of making the House do all they possibly could to prevent this dreadful scandal. His hon. Friend had found considerable fault with the Government for not taking in hand this question. When one considered the number of measures which the Government had before the House last year, and which they were unable, even with the greatest efforts, to place on the Statute Book, he was not surprised that they had not carried out the wish of his hon. Friend. They were indebted to his hon. Friend who had brought forward this Motion for keeping the subject before the country, the Church, and the Government; and he trusted that the Government, when they had more time—either in this Session or the next—would try to remedy what was one of the greatest scandals in the Church of England. Last year he referred his right hon. Friend to a Bill which he himself brought forward in 1870 to abolish the sale of next presentations, and that Bill passed through the House of Commons with very little opposition, and was carried to the House of Lords where it was comfortably lost sight of. But it was not only in the House of Commons he found difficulty in dealing with this question; but it was in the House of Lords, also, a difficulty existed. The Bishop of Peterborough, in a most eloquent and able speech, moved the House of Lords to appoint a Committee to consider the purchase system in our Church, and the evidence quoted by the hon. Gentleman who had just spoken was taken before that Committee. A Bill was prepared in the House of Lord with excellent clauses to take away some of these scandals; but that Bill when it left the House of Lords was so much cut down that it was scarcely worthy the consideration of this House on so important a question. They also knew that in almost every Congress which had been held of late years, in every diocesan meeting of the Church, this question of patronage was discussed, and the general opinion was in favour of doing certain things that would deal with the question. He wanted to know how it was with the Bishops, this House, and everybody else in favour of a great reform, the question could not be dealt with and the evils done away? Even the Bishop of Peterborough spoke of the

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great evils and the great necessity of dealing with the matter at once. That right rev. Prelate said—

“The evils resulting from the defects of our present system are so patent and so serious, and the demand for their reform is so strong and universal, that if it be not met, and met speedily, by wise and temperate reform, it may end in changes that will be neither wise nor temperate.”—[3 *Hansard*, ccxviii. 900-1.]

He (Mr. Hibbert) thought the House ought to approach this question in a very temperate and moderate manner; and he felt quite sure that if they considered it in that way they might do very much to reduce the evils of this system. One of its great evils was the mode in which the declaration against Simony was drawn up, and had to be taken by the presentee of a living. The presentee was called upon to solemnly declare that he had not by himself or any other person on his behalf made any payment, contract, or promise of any kind whatsoever which to the best of his knowledge or belief was simoniacal. He was sorry to think—and he believed it was really the case—that very few men knew what Simony really was—that neither the Clergy, nor the patron, nor even the Bishop knew exactly what a man might do or might not do. A clergyman might buy his next presentation, but he could not present himself. A layman might buy his presentation. They could not buy an advowson or a presentation when the benefice was void; but the sale of an advowson was legal when the incumbent was moribund, or in *articulo mortis*. His hon. Friend had referred to a case in which the incumbent was almost dead when the advowson was purchased. Then, a clergyman, though he might not buy the next presentation to a living, might buy the advowson within half-an-hour of the death of the incumbent and present himself. If there were so many difficulties connected with the question that even the patrons of presentations were unable to understand exactly what Simony was, and what they could do and could not do, what was wanted was that there should be some new form of declaration, in direct language, in which the presentee should be called upon to state what he had done and what he had not done as far as regarded the law against Simony. Sir Robert Phillimore, who had been examined before the Lords' Committee, expressed an opinion that

the present declaration would be a snare to some people and a temptation to others, and he thought it would be desirable that the law should be stated in a clearer manner—that the presentee might know distinctly what he was declaring against. Well, he thought that this might be made clearer in the Act of Parliament. He also thought that the presentor, as well as the presentee, should make the declaration. That would be one more protection against Simony. Then came the question, were they to prevent the sale of next presentations and of advowsons? Many hon. Members at that side of the House were, as he knew, in favour of the abolition of Church patronage altogether; but, for his part, he thought there would be considerable difficulty in saying that they ought not to permit the sale of advowsons at all. He should not object to private patronage being abolished; but, at the same time, it seemed to him that private patronage in which there was no abuse had given the Church its best men. Nevertheless, there was an abuse in the system, and they were bound to see how that abuse could be best guarded against. As to advowsons, they were now held in two ways—they were connected with property and they were held separately from property; and where the advowson belonged to a person who was a lunatic, or almost a pauper, or was unfitted in any way to deal with it, a very great difficulty arose, and one which required much consideration with a view to its removal. The Committee which sat in the House of Lords on this subject did not go so far as to recommend the prohibition of the sale of next presentments; but while they represented themselves in favour of continuing the privilege of selling advowsons, they made recommendations as to the rights of parishioners, which were too little thought of, he regretted to say, in the sale of advowsons or next presentments, to which, he trusted, due regard would be had when the subject came to be dealt with. Notice of the sale of advowsons ought certainly to be given to the Bishop of the diocese, so that the sale should be made openly and not secretly. Then, as to donatives, he regarded them as the principal means of leading to scandal and abuses, and thought that they ought to be abolished. He did not see on what grounds they



could be maintained, even in the interests of the Church. Then, as to the age of incumbents to be appointed, there ought, in his opinion, to be a limit. No incumbent ought to be appointed after the age of 70, except with the consent of the Bishop; because it was notorious that the bringing of aged men into those livings for particular purposes gave rise to the chance of carrying on the sales and abuses against which the Resolution of his hon. Friend was directed. While he could not go so far as his hon. Friend, he could not but think that the system had become so great a scandal in the Church to which he belonged that in the interest of the Church he hoped the whole question would be grappled with before many months were over by Her Majesty's Government. If those who did not belong to the Church were to be attracted to it, the abuses to which they objected must be got rid of. If they were, the strength of the feeling against the Church would be very much diminished, and the result would be to bring within its pale many who were now outside it.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That it is desirable to adopt measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law, and checking abuses in the sale of livings in private patronage."—(*Mr Leatham.*)

MR. GOLDNEY moved, as an Amendment, that

"The better to enable the adoption of measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law and checking abuses in the sale of livings in private patronage, it is expedient that the Law of Simony and the circumstances under which the sale of livings in private patronage are by Law allowed, should be defined by Parliament."

His object in doing so was not so much opposing the Motion of the hon. Member for Huddersfield as the absolute necessity there was that there should be some means of dealing honestly and fairly with the subject. The Resolution as it stood was a mere truism and platitude. All admitted that something ought to be done if there was evasion or abuse of the law; it did not need a Resolution to affirm that. The subject was a matter so indistinct and indefinite that it was absolutely necessary, before taking measures of repression, that they should clearly define what was Simony, and under what circumstances a living might or might not be sold. There was too

much tendency to confuse the recognized distinction between the sale of a living which might be considered as a trust, and the sale of an advowson which was a mere right of patronage. One of the most freely discussed provisions of the Municipal Reform Act was that relating to the sale by Corporations of their Ecclesiastical property. Every advowson was to be sold by auction, and the proceeds applied to municipal purposes. A question arising whether the direction to sell applied to certain rights of presentation, it was settled by an affirmative Act in 1835; so that the law on these matters directed the doing of the very things that were now derided. The remedy suggested by the hon. Member for Huddersfield and by the hon. Member for Oldham was to vest the choice in the parishioners whose spiritual wants were to be cared for; but in 1856 there were large complaints of very disgraceful scenes occurring where the parishioners had the right of electing their clergymen, and these complaints culminated in the election of the rector of Bilston. That election lasted five days. It cost the unsuccessful candidate £1,600 and the successful candidate £5,000, and more disturbance and riot occurred than was known to have happened at the election of a Member of Parliament or any other person. The consequence was that an Act was passed in 1856, whereby it was enacted that where the right of presentation was vested in the parishioners, or a portion of the parishioners, or in trustees for the inhabitants, the advowson should be sold, and, subject to certain special circumstances, the produce should be applied to the relief of the poor of the parish. In 1863 the then Lord Chancellor (Lord Westbury) passed a Bill to transfer the Lord Chancellor's patronage in 320 livings to private persons, urging, among other reasons, the incidental benefit of private patronage where the patron looked after the schools and the interest of the parish. So that, within 40 years, directions had been positively given by Acts of Parliament to dispose of by public sale of at least one-twelfth of the whole of the advowsons in the Kingdom. There were 12,000 benefices, of which half were public patronage, and of these 1,000 had been sold by the direct intervention of Parliament in the 40 years. Nearly 7,000 were under £300 a-year; 400

*Mr. Hibbert*

under £50; 1,600 under £100; and between 1,600 and 1,700 were worth from £100 to £150 a-year. He did not dispute that there were many cases which might be looked upon as a scandal; but he failed to see that this had operated to the detriment of any parish that he had heard of. He had known very few cases where anything like a charge of corruption had been stated, or where the parishioners had been injured or the ministrations of the Church neglected by the existing state of things, or the operation of the Acts he had referred to; and he hoped, if the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary brought in a Bill on this subject, a clear and well-defined distinction would be drawn between the sale of presentations and the right of patronage; and the Amendment he now moved had that object in view.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "the better to enable the adoption of measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law and checking abuses in the sale of livings in private patronage, it is expedient that the Law of Simony, and the circumstances under which the sale of livings in private patronage are by Law allowed, should be defined by Parliament,"—  
(*Mr. Goldney.*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

**MR. RICHARD:** It is very difficult to argue such a question as this, because, as it seems to me, it has only one side. At least, I find it difficult to conceive what can be said in defence of the practices condemned by the Resolution of my hon. Friend. The only wonder is that a scandal so flagrant should have been permitted to exist so long. I can only account for it by the fact that in past generations the Church itself had fallen into a state of spiritual lethargy and indifference, and during those evil times all kinds of abuses flourished with a rank and luxuriant growth. But with the revival of spiritual life, which I gladly and gratefully acknowledge has taken place in the Church of England within the last 50 years, I am not surprised that it should have become more sensitive to such evils, and that it is making some effort to throw off this incubus which is

lying so heavily on its heart. There is a ludicrous aspect to this question, and indeed it is impossible to state such facts as my hon. Friend has cited without provoking some merriment. But it has also, in my opinion, a very serious aspect, especially to those who have been taught to regard the Christian ministry as a very sacred calling. Theoretically no Church has a higher ideal of the clerical office than the Church of England. Entrance into its ministry is protected by safeguards of singular stringency. All candidates for ordination have exacted of them vows and professions, and have committed to them powers and obligations, that appear to me, I own, of almost appalling solemnity. Even in regard to this particular matter, the Church cannot be accused of any levity or laxity in its general declarations. By the canons of 1603, every clergyman before his admission, institution, or confirmation to his living, is required to take the following oath:—

"I do swear that I have made no Simoniacal payment, contract, or promise, directly or indirectly, by myself, or any other, to my knowledge, or with my consent, to any person or persons whatsoever, for, or concerning the procuring and obtaining of the — of —, in the county of —, and diocese of —, nor will at any time hereafter perform or satisfy any such kind of payment, contract, or promise made by any other without my knowledge or consent. So help me God, through Jesus Christ."

Nothing could be more solemn than that, and nothing could be more minute and stringent to guard against Simony. And yet in the face of all this, it is notorious that sale and barter in the cure of souls is constantly going on day by day. I am quite sure that the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary and many other earnest Churchmen in this House will acknowledge that the present system is utterly evil, and injures everybody concerned in it. It dishonours the Church, it degrades the Clergy, it demoralizes the patrons, it insults the parishes, and, worse than all, it brings religion itself into contempt. If I were the enemy of the Church of England I should say to my hon. Friend—"Leave this matter alone." No weapon can be so effective and formidable in the hands of the enemies of the Church as the perpetuation of such scandals as these. But I am not an enemy of the Church of England. I wish, indeed, to see it sepa-

rated from the State, as in my belief likely to conduce to its own freedom, purity, and efficiency. But as a religious society, as a spiritual institution, I can, with the utmost sincerity, say that I wish it all possible prosperity. It has done, and is still doing, inestimable service to the cause of Christian civilization in this country; and God forbid that I should be moved by any sectarian jealousy to desire the continuance of anything that tends to impair its usefulness or to mar its glory as a Christian Church. I must do the Episcopal Bench the justice to say that they have set their face against these scandals with a unanimity and earnestness that leave no doubt of their sincerity. My hon. Friend has already quoted the sentiments of several of the Bishops. I only ask permission to add two more. The Bishop of Oxford says—

"Nowhere, I believe, and at no time—not even in the corrupt days of mediæval Rome—has the traffic in advowsons and presentations been more largely, more systematically, and more unscrupulously carried on than amongst ourselves at this hour. . . . It is impossible to believe that any religious society, having full control of its own affairs, would endure the continuance of such a system without energetic protest, and without some strenuous endeavours to remedy the wrong."

The Bishop of Peterborough, speaking of one kind of transaction of frequent occurrence—that of putting an old and decrepit man into an incumbency, in order to sell the living over his head, says—

"I say there are men now serving their term of penal servitude for fraud and conspiracy, who are guilty of less deliberate fraud and less odious conspiracy than the fraud and conspiracy of those who thus make a corrupt merchandise of the cure of souls. . . . This is a practice which makes the Church stink in the nostrils of many who might otherwise come within her fold."

The Bishop of Lincoln uses language, if possible, still stronger. Now the question is, if the evil be so great, if it be acknowledged and stigmatized in such terms as we have heard by the heads of the Church, why is it that no remedy is found? Here, again, we must do the Bishops the justice to say that they have made some efforts to provide a remedy. In 1874 the Bishop of Peterborough brought the subject forward in the House of Lords with all that incisive eloquence of which he is so great a master. He

moved the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire and report. In 1875 he brought in a Bill founded on the Report of that Committee. It was a very mild and modest Bill, and as he himself, I think, acknowledged, only touched the fringe of the evil. And yet it was too strong for the House of Lords. After much hostile criticism it was referred to a Select Committee, where it was so watered down, that when it came down to this House, the Gentleman who had charge of it, I suppose, thought it of so little value, that he did not attempt to carry it to a second reading. The Bishop of Manchester has since said that the author of the Bill is so disheartened that he doubts if he will have courage to introduce it again; while the Bishop of Gloucester sorrowfully admits that there is no likelihood the evil will be effectually remedied. Now, why is this? Why is it that when there is a scandal so grievous as is admitted by the friends of the Church, all hands are paralyzed in the attempt to deal with it? I believe the explanation is found in a sentence I have already quoted from the Bishop of Oxford, who says it is impossible to believe that any religious society "having full control of its own affairs" could endure the continuance of such a system. But, unhappily, the Church of England has not the control of its own affairs. The control of its affairs is in the hands of Parliament, and there are too many Members in both Houses of Parliament who are themselves interested in this evil system of patronage to admit of the hope that they will deal with it effectually. I wish, therefore, that the members of the Church of England could see that there is no way by which they can remedy these and other abuses except by acquiring control of their own affairs, and there is no way of acquiring control over their own affairs except by relinquishing the protection and patronage of the State.

Mr. BERESFORD HOPE thanked the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Richard) for his acknowledgment of the growth of spirituality in the Church of England. To that happy and silent revolution, he believed, the delay in dealing with this question might be ascribed. In all human institutions, if there happened to be an internal reformation and a strengthening of the healthy elements of any system, the common law of pro-

*Mr. Richard*

gress facilitated, if it did not favour and counsel, postponing the amendment and removal of external anomalies. Such delay was, in fact, helpful to permanent reform, for it left the body politic in a more healthy state for that remedial treatment which might be too severe if applied to a morbid subject. As to the present debate, the fundamental agreement of all speakers could not be taken for granted, as behind its incidental subject-matter lay the deeper question to be faced—how far patronage in itself was a laudable feature; in the Christian Church? As to the Motion under discussion, however, there could be no theoretical difference of opinion. The delay in providing a remedy for the evil had occurred both for the reason he had indicated, and in consequence of the variety of conflicting interests which must be compared, set against each other, and co-ordinately dealt with in any practical settlement. He thought that the Bishop of Peterborough, with all his earnestness, had been too easily discouraged. Had the right rev. Prelate been a better Parliamentary tactician, he would have seen that the failure of his Bill was merely the normal fate of nearly all new measures. There had been a great improvement in the character of the Clergy, and the men for whom livings were now bought were, as a rule, better than the men for whom they were bought in the last century, or even 50 years ago; so that—granting the evil of commerce in patronage—the results of that commerce were of a far preferable material. In those days a living was frequently bought for a younger son, who showed himself to be a port-wine-drinking, hunting, dancing, lazy fellow. They had not only the disgusting pictures in Fielding and Smollett to remind them what once a parson might be; but they had the more refined and gentlemanly clergyman in Miss Austen's novels, an excellent and fashionable young man, but with an absolute blank on the spiritual side of his character. Now, he might be, and often was, a devoted parish priest, working early and late in his sacred calling for the salvation of souls. It was no wonder, therefore, that reform in such a case as this should work slowly; for though the theoretic evil might be patent, its practical results for bad were neither so solid nor so obvious now as they were formerly. The real remedy, in his opinion, con-

sisted not so much in altering the form of law in the first stages, as in producing a machinery by which a man who was unfit for the cure of souls might, after he had been presented to a living, be called to account and his appointment be challenged and cancelled. Of course, the Bishop, in some way legally advised and supported by his Chapter and by his Chancellor, so as not to act despotically, but as a constitutional father of his flock, must be the judge, and, if need be, the doomster of improper nominees. Eight years ago the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary passed through that House a Bill for the abolition of the sale of next presentations. No one had any wish to divide against the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman; only two voices were raised to point out that the measure might not be so satisfactory in all its details as was expected by his right hon. Friend and the House. One of those voices was that of Mr. Henley, whom he was sorry he could name by the forms of the House, and the other was his own. Why make a Jonah of the sale of next presentations? If they abolished the open sale of next presentations, he feared they would only produce their clandestine huxtering. These sales were pestilent when vendor and purchaser were unprincipled and unscrupulous, and of course these were the very people who would, when driven into a corner, devise a worse form of illegitimate traffic. If the authorized sale were prevented, the business of a sacred "man in the moon" would soon grow up in some quiet back street of the West End. The impecuniosity which prompted the alienation remaining the same, the temptation would continue. Besides, take the case of a living which had been in a family for centuries—it might now be in the hands, he would not say of a black sheep, but only of a needy and desperate owner. As the law stood, he might only care to turn the next chance into money. He had probably remaining vestiges of conscience, and might reflect with satisfaction that, after his time, the old hereditary link would be re-fastened. But abolish all means of parting with the next presentation, and in his despair, he would have under stress of debt for ever to destroy the old and happy connection of parson and squire. The other alternative to which he might be driven would be that of a

clandestine and illegal, and therefore deeply criminal, sale of that turn. His right hon. Friend's measure was an admirably intended attempt; but he hoped that when the question was next taken up, it would not be as a Bill merely to abolish the sale of next presentations, but with the intention of dealing with the matter from top to bottom. There was one custom which was a cause of great scandal in some populous midland as well as metropolitan districts, and which had troubled earnest Churchmen, who were anxious to bring the subject before the House; but it was an evil not only to be confessed, but to be remedied—he meant the method of presentation by way of popular election. An election had been held in a parish in London two or three years ago which had provoked a great many unedifying comments in the newspapers, and ultimately made its appearance in the Courts at Westminster. Then there was another practice which seemed to himself the least defensible of anomalies, involving as it did the gift of a freehold under conditions which secretly brought it down to a leasehold—that of presentation to a living combined with a bond of resignation. Why not allow the patron, with some future nominee in his sight, to go to the Bishop and empower him to appoint a clergyman as *locum tenens* for a specified term, and with full enjoyment of endowment, patronage, and glebe? The choice might be limited to those who had been a certain time in the diocese, the appointment to specify that to hold the living for a certain number of years. This would be one more casual prize in the Bishop's hand to reward conscientious work, while resort to the arrangement would be a searching test of a patron's sincerity. It would show that his reason for desiring to keep the living open for a given person was so strong as to reconcile them, in the interval, to the ministrations of a stranger. If the question of patronage was to be taken up as of public interest, it ought to be dealt with all round, honestly, considerably, and reverently.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER rose to address the House when—

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members not being present,

House adjourned at half after  
Eight o'clock.

*Mr. Beresford Hope*

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 13th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — Lunacy Law, re-appointed.

WAYS AND MEANS—considered in Committee—Resolutions [February 11] reported.

PUBLIC BILLS — Ordered — First Reading—  
Exchequer Bonds, &c.\* [107]; Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000)\*; Homicide Law Amendment\* [108]; Tenants Protection (Ireland)\* [109]; Congé d'élire\* [110]; Weights and Measures\* [111]; Local Government Provisional Orders (Bristol, &c.)\* [112]; Convention (Ireland) Act Repeal\* [113]; Summary Jurisdiction (Ireland)\* [114]; Absentee Proprietors (Ireland)\* [115]; Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment\* [116].

Second Reading — Voters (Ireland) [6], put off; Valuation [35], debate adjourned; Debtors Acts Amendment\* [104].

Committee—Report—House Occupiers Disqualification Removal (Scotland)\* [87-106].

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Biggar, Mr. Patrick Martin, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Fay.*)

### [BILL 6.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. BIGGAR, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the measure was not intended to interfere in the slightest degree with the franchise in Ireland, its sole object being to facilitate the registration of voters for the greater convenience of all parties interested. The theory of the franchise was that any person who was a rated occupier of premises of a certain specified value should be entitled to vote; and, though it was desirable that no person should get upon the list who had not a sufficient valuation or who had not been a sufficient time in occupation, still it was desirable that those who possessed the proper qualifications should be upon the register. He wished to enable persons who were clearly entitled to the franchise to have their names placed upon the list without unnecessary inconvenience or the infliction of a money fine upon them for the opportunity of exercising the privilege of voting for Members of Parliament. The 1st clause

was principally for the convenience of candidates, by supplying the list in a different form to that in which they were now supplied by clerks of the peace. Those who had had anything to do with election affairs in Ireland knew that the lists were supplied in alphabetical order, which was exceedingly troublesome to those who had to make a personal canvass; and what he proposed was that the names should be arranged according to parishes and streets. At present the poor law directors supplied in that form lists of persons entitled to vote, and in Edinburgh the plan he suggested was in actual operation with advantage to the public and to all parties concerned. Another disadvantage under the existing system was that the revising barristers sometimes insisted that persons claiming to be upon the register should appear in person to substantiate their claims, and he knew that in some counties there were distances of as much as 20 miles between the places of registration. It ought to be competent for a person to make his claim through an independent witness, without personal appearance; especially as many more important questions were, as things were, settled in that manner. This was a change the Bill proposed, and as it would be quite as much for the convenience of Conservatives as for the so-called Liberal Party, he could not see what reasonable objection could be raised to it. The chairman of the county was in the habit of insisting upon very clear evidence of title, and that in practice had been found to create in Ireland a great deal of difficulty; because in the great majority of cases a transfer was effected by a mere changed name in the landlord's books, and there was no such thing as a written title for the possession of premises. It was proposed, therefore, that evidence of actual occupation should be all that was required, and he considered that that should be enough. There was another clause which provided that a claimant to be put upon the list of voters should be held to be a voter, unless his name was objected to; but, of course, if any objection was raised, and evidence was given against the claim, the name would be struck off the list, unless the evidence in its support was the stronger. These were the leading ideas of the Bill, which did not strike out the interests of any particular party; but was only intended

to facilitate registration, and to provide for the preparation, in a more convenient form, of the list of persons entitled to vote at Parliamentary Elections.

Motion made and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Biggar.*)

MR. CHARLES LEWIS, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, said, he was expressing an opinion with which the majority of hon. Members would agree when he said that there was some inconvenience in calling upon the House to discuss on the same day two Bills relating to the registration of voters in Ireland coming from the same quarter. If there was any intention on the part of the hon. Member to press the proposals he had just laid before the House, there would be no difficulty in bringing them forward in the shape of clauses to be introduced in the Parliamentary Franchise (Ireland) Bill which stood for Committee in that day's list of Orders. It was only owing to the absence of their Leader (*Mr. Butt*) that he could understand the divisions of the Home Rule Party upon such a matter as the registration of voters in Ireland. A Committee had been appointed for the purpose of dealing with Parliamentary registration as affecting England, and all the subjects included in this Bill would very properly form part of that inquiry which was to commence that day. That alone was a sufficient reason why the House should not be asked to sanction the principle of the measure by passing the second reading. Now, as for the Bill itself, the House constantly heard of the desire to assimilate the laws of Ireland to those of England; yet the laws of England contained no provisions such as those in the Bill, while the first alteration proposed, considerable as it was, was intended only in the interests of candidates for seats in the House, who, no doubt, would be glad to save expense by having their canvassing book prepared by the clerk of the peace instead of by their election agents; but he could not see in what manner it could benefit the voters. He would not say that the Bill was not worth consideration; but every point in it would be discussed in the Committee relating to English registration, and he hoped the House would not sanction so entire a change.

As for the 2nd clause, its ending 'words were important, as they governed several other clauses. That clause said—"The lists of claimants shall be deemed to be lists of voters and not of claimants." The effect of that would be to place every person who took the trouble to make a claim in the same position as regarded his rights before the barrister as that occupied by the man who had shown his *prima facie* right as possessor; but under the law of England the line of difference was invariably distinct between claimants and voters. In boroughs a claimant to be upon the register was bound affirmatively to prove his right, even when no objection was made, and in counties he was bound to prove his right if his claim was objected to; but in regard to both cases every one of the claimants was in a different position as regarded objections and costs from the man who was already up in the register. The fourth clause, was also the most extraordinary one, as the effect of it would be that if a man or a widow holding a farm had six sons tilling it—even though they were only farm labourers, and their father or mother was the only occupant—these six sons would be entitled to be put upon the register unless somebody objected to them. To try this was, he knew, a common device in all parts of the Kingdom, and had often been exposed in the revising courts, and now it was proposed to legalize that practice. He admitted that there was a subdivision of the clause empowering the barrister to strike a dead person off the list—as a set off, he presumed, against the words authorizing him to register unqualified living persons. Without prejudging the question, he would say that he had had opportunities of seeing the *modus operandi* in hotly-contested constituencies, and his experience showed that it was almost as necessary in these cases to contend against fictitious claims as against frivolous objections. He hoped the House would not be deluded into giving up those safeguards, which would prevent hundreds and thousands of persons appearing on the register, merely because they said they were entitled. The 5th clause was a very old friend, and he remembered that in 1873 it had been contested when it formed part of a Government Bill. Its effect would be that if a man set up a claim it was not to be resisted until the parties objecting could

prove, *prima facie*, a negative—the effect of which would probably be that every man who had the boldness to set up a claim would be free from examination as to its grounds unless some evidence of disqualification could be, in the first instance, adduced. He trusted, then, that the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) and the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon), unless their quarrel was hopeless, would compose their differences, and bring forward all the necessary Amendments in Committee on the Parliamentary Franchise Bill. Surely the House need not deal with the same subject by two Bills? The Bill before the House contained some absurdities and was not substantial. What, for instance, was meant by its reference to the "Parliamentary Electors Acts?" He knew of no class of legislation with that definition. The truth was, that the Bill was a hap-hazard production, intended chiefly for persons who wished to have their canvassing books made at the public expense.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(Mr. Charles Lewis.)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he could have understood the objections of his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry, if they had reached the last stage of the Bill; but as they were upon the second reading they had only to deal with the principle, and had nothing to do with detail. He could not, however, see why the Bill should not be read a second time because there happened to be another on the same subject. A Select Committee then sitting had three Bills before it on one subject, and would choose the best, so that there was no reason why the two Registration Bills should not be treated in the same manner. It was true the Bill would not tend to assimilate the English and Irish law; but its provisions did follow the Scotch practice, which had commended itself to the House. The hon. Member for Londonderry had touched on the subject of registration, and no one was a better authority; but he might remind him that a Select Committee had taken much

Mr. Charles Lewis

evidence on that subject in 1869, and that in many particulars the Bill carried out the recommendations of the Committee. That being the case, he thought that a fair case had been made out for the second reading of the Bill.

MAJOR NOLAN said, he must thank the hon. Member for Londonderry for the feeling condolence with Home Rulers in the absence of their Leader, but assured him that the fissure he had attributed to the Party only existed in his own fine imagination. The reason for there being two Bills was very simple. They were brought in separately, and it was afterwards thought advisable that the Bill of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon) should be considered first. Every effort had then been made to get the previous Bills withdrawn. The hon. and gallant Member for Gravesend (Captain Pim) had very kindly taken off his Bill. The hon. Member for Forfar (Mr. J. W. Barclay), who had a Bill down, could not disappoint a great many hon. Members by withdrawing his Bill, although he was willing to make every effort to shorten the debate upon it. But it was found that this last Bill was of such an interesting character that it would probably occupy three or four hours, and, if that was the case, the Bill of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare would not come on at all. For this reason, he joined with the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) in wishing this Bill should go into Committee. The hon. and learned Member for Londonderry had assured the House that the Government were disposed to look favourably on the Bill of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS begged to say that he had not ventured to speak for the Government. He had said the understanding was general on the Conservative side.

MAJOR NOLAN did not object. The hon. and learned Member had done still better. He had spoken for the whole of his own side of the House. As to the debate, it had been useful, if it had only drawn this expression from the hon. Member for Londonderry, and he was very glad the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had taken the initiative. The difficulty was not only to get the friendly attention of

the Government, but also to secure time and avoid the fate that befel the Municipal Franchise Bill. If a Session or two were lost, it was probable that the registration would not come into operation before the General Election; but if this Bill should be allowed to go into Committee a double chance would be secured. The objects of the Bill were that all those entitled to vote should be on the register; secondly, that those persons should be able to get on the register with as little trouble as possible; and thirdly, the object which the hon. Member for Londonderry had condemned, that of saving trouble and expense to candidates. The hon. Member for Londonderry said the effect would be to turn the register into a canvassing book; but really that was an argument in favour of the Bill, and it struck him very forcibly last night, when he happened to see the register book of the city of Edinburgh. After an experience of five or six years in canvassing, he could say how great benefit such a system would be in Ireland, both to candidates and constituents. Nothing could be worse than the state of the register in Ireland. It was true the Committee of 1874 decided against any alteration being made in the law; but it must be remembered that in that Committee of 15 Members on an even division, the vote of the Chairman, the hon. and learned Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket), decided the state of the register in Dublin. This county was shown by the evidence given before that Committee. It appeared, that being once placed on the registry, a man was not likely to be displaced; but as a feeder to the registry, there was a supplementary list upon which claimants put their names. To those voters known to be Liberals, the Conservative agent objected, and so on the other side, unless the claimant attended and made good the claim, that objection was allowed, and the name struck off. The clerk of the union, in his evidence, said that in 1873 the constituency of Dublin County was between 4,000 and 5,000 and upon the supplementary list there were 3,974 names. It was obvious that such a number being added might entirely change the balance of parties; but out of these 3,974 names, 3,901 were objected to and struck off, because they did not attend to make good their claims; yet



the chairman said that at least two-thirds of the supplementary list should have been admitted to the register—and, according to another witness, 65 percent. The number of residents in the county spoke stronger than evidence. Valued at or over £12, there were 27,000, from which might be deducted 12,000 for females and duplicate occupations, leaving 15,000. Out of these only some 4,300 were on the register. These figures were nearly the same as the proportions given by the chairman and the clerk of the peace, and showed the condition of the registry in the county of Dublin to be in a disgraceful condition. The case of Carlow, though not nearly so strong, was in the same direction. If the Government would give any proper security that the Bill of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare should receive ample opportunity for discussion, no doubt the hon. Member for Cavan would consent to withdraw the Bill; but without that assurance, there was no doubt that two Bills had a better chance than one. He supported the Bill.

MR. PLUNKET said, he had no intention of speaking in the debate, because he could not believe that the proposition of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had been seriously meant; but as he had been so directly referred to by the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), he could not avoid replying at once. And although the hon. and gallant Member had very skilfully tried to wheedle and coax the House into a second reading, he, for one, could not be persuaded. In vain the snare was set in full view of any bird. What effect it might have on the stern unbending character of the hon. Member for Cavan he could not say. With regard to the hon. and learned Member for Limerick (Mr. Butt) he was sure the regret for his absence was shared by every hon. Member on that side of the House, and he hoped that soon he might be again amongst them. But the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. C. Lewis) really intended a compliment when he said that if the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Butt) had been present the confusion of Bills upon this subject would not have arisen; and, certainly, the state of things now, was "confusion worse confounded," and he could not at all see why this, the most impracticable,

*Major Nolan*

Bill was brought in first. The title of the Bill was a misnomer, for though entitled the Voters' Bill, it was really a Candidate's Bill, and gave facilities for canvassing and hunting down, and bringing up to the poll all those entitled to vote, and many not so entitled. The hon. Baronet the Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had said the Bill was not an assimilation of the Irish to the English law—it was something like the Scotch law. He declined to be moved by this consideration before, at least, he should have had a conference with the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Stirlingshire (Admiral Sir William Edmonstone), whom he saw present, as the provisions of the Scotch law always seemed to him of so foreign a character as to require an interpreter, as well as very much more study than he had yet given them. He entirely refused at the present time to go into any comparison of the provisions of the present Bill with the state of the law of registration in Scotland. Nobody would deny that those entitled to vote should have their name on the register; but the Bill, as had been shown by the hon. Member who moved the rejection, would only increase facilities to those not entitled to vote, and who put forward claims to that privilege. With regard to the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan), as to the working of the present system of registration in Ireland, he must take exception to the statement that the chairmen of the registration courts insisted on personal attendance to prove claims. That was not the case at all, and it was easy to successfully support a claim, if it was a genuine one, to be placed on the register of voters. The 5th clause was one of the most extraordinary he had ever read. It was such a confusion of grammar, the nominative had no verb provided for it, nor any apparent connection with the rest of the sentence, so that it was difficult to understand whether it was the man claiming the vote who was to adjudicate on the claim, or whether it was the assistant-barrister who was to do so. He saw no reason for any change in the present system. In support of this view he had the evidence of Mr. Trench, the chairman of the court of quarter sessions at Kilmainham, who told the Select Committee that the pre-

sent system gave, on the whole, a free and pure registration. Under these circumstances, he considered the Bill was one which it was not reasonable the House should be asked to read a second time.

MR. M'CARTHY DOWNING said, a good deal of time had been expended in the debate, and his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Galway (Major Nolan) and the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) might easily have curtailed their speeches until the Bill went into Committee. He could not give his support to the 5th clause of the Bill, which permitted a person to make a claim for a vote for a county or borough; and unless the party having an objection came forward to prove that the man had no right to a vote, his name was placed on the register. That was a course to which he could not give his support. He considered, however, that the 1st clause of the Bill was of great importance. Under the present system the names of voters were arranged on the register alphabetically, and the result was that two men entitled to vote in the same county whose names commenced with the letter D might live 70 miles apart, as was often the case in the county he had the honour to represent. This was found to be most inconvenient in case of a canvass; but, if the 1st clause of the present Bill became law, this inconvenience would be entirely removed. The clause merely provided for the adoption of the system in operation in Scotland. His hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) had been good enough to procure for him the register for the city of Edinburgh, which contained the names of nearly 26,000 electors. The city was divided into 13 wards, and in every street was to be found the name of the voter and the number of the house. Facilities were thereby given for canvassing every man in any street in the city without going from one part of the city to another, as had to be done in the city of Dublin, when following the alphabetical order. The adoption of such a system in Ireland would be a very great advantage, and so far he would wish that the Bill should be read a second time, for the purpose of incorporating that clause with the Bill of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare. As to

trouble being thrown on clerks of the peace which should be borne by candidates' agents by this proposal—as was asserted by the hon. and learned Member for the Dublin University (Mr. Plunket)—his hon. Friend the Member for Edinburgh assured him that, so far from extra expense being caused by this manner of preparing the register, the whole thing was done in Edinburgh by one individual; whereas in Ireland, a great number of persons had to be employed in like cases, and the sums they were called upon to pay were enormous. His hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry was strongly opposed to any Bill introduced in the House for the purpose of either increasing the number of voters on the register or giving greater facilities to those who were entitled to the franchise. He could not refrain from calling the attention of the House to the fact that the hon. Member for Londonderry was disposed to render the Bill of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare as worthless as possible. Every material clause in the Bill was opposed by the hon. Gentleman. He proposed that Clauses 4, 7, 9 and 10 should be omitted, and another hon. Member proposed to similarly treat Clause 13. Every clause in the Bill worth anything at all was opposed by the hon. Member and his Friends; and he, therefore, thought it desirable that the Bill should be read a second time, because it was not likely, after all the Amendments of hon. Gentlemen on the other side, that there was any great chance of carrying any clause which would be worth accepting. The alteration in the arrangement of the register would be a great convenience to candidates, and it would reduce to a very great extent the expenses of the register. In Edinburgh the whole thing was done by one individual, whereas in Ireland there were a number of persons employed, and the sums they were called upon at every assizes to pass as the expenses of the county register were enormous. He thought it would be very desirable for the House to adopt the 1st clause, and the whole Bill was such as they would do well to allow to pass a second reading.

MR. BRUEN said, the hon. and gallant Member for Galway (Major Nolan) had called the attention of the House very pointedly to the evidence given

before a Select Committee. He would point out to the House that the evidence given before that Committee was very much as to policy. It was conflicting in its nature, for the policy recommended by the witnesses on one side differed very materially from that suggested by those on the other side. A gentleman in the County Carlow had informed him that one of the witnesses examined in reference to the registration in that county was quite unable to give evidence on the subject, as he had not been in the court for 10 or 11 years. The present clerk of the peace for Carlow would have been a more proper person to have been called by the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon). The Preamble to the Bill seemed to affirm the proposition that a person acquired a natural right to the franchise other than the title which he acquired by law. It had always been recognized in this country that such a right was limited. They had a right to assume that the hon. Member had taken pains to frame the Bill in such a way as to carry out a definite object. It was not necessary, apparently, for the voter to say upon what he founded his claim, and there was no provision as to when the lists were to be published. He believed the House was anxious that the register should be a pure register, and that persons who had proved their right to be on it should have their title protected in the best possible way. The general theory that he should like to see carried out was that every facility should be given to persons to test and sift the applications to be on the register; but when once a man got on the register his position there should be a safe one. He was in favour of the alphabetical form in which the list of voters was now made up.

MR. M'LAREN said, the mode of registration in the city he had the honour to represent had been referred to more than once. Perhaps the House would allow him a short explanation. The system worked exceedingly well. It was remarkable for its simplicity, and it was far less expensive than the old system. Two hon. and learned Gentlemen opposite spoke against the Scotch law as being intricate—one saying it was so intricate that it was impossible to study anything about it. This mode of registration had nothing to do with

the law of Scotland. It was founded on an Act passed 20 years ago by the Imperial Parliament. It was, as he had said, remarkable for its simplicity, and if the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) would read the Act, he would admit there was not a sentence in it which he could not understand. This was the last objection he thought could have been urged against it. He regretted that the hon. and learned Gentleman should feel such objections to the law of Scotland generally; because it was founded on the Roman law, that beautiful system, which was not a thing of shreds and patches, as some other systems were. [Mr. PLUNKET said he did not say anything against the law of Scotland.] He was very glad to hear he was mistaken. That was merely, however, a digression. He should like to explain the principle of this registration, and had nothing to do with the law of Scotland beyond that. He had the honour of being called before the Committee of 1860, to which reference had been made by the hon. Member for Chelsea (Sir Charles W. Dilke), and had explained the system. There was an officer appointed in every town and every county in Scotland, whose business it was to value anew, year by year, every house and piece of land in the borough or county. In the city of Edinburgh, this officer made up a valuation within a statutory period. The registration roll was really a roll for the laying on of municipal taxes, with this exception—that the officer struck out all women householders as not being qualified, and on the last day allowed by law, got from the Poor Law authorities a list of all the persons who had not paid their poor rates, and struck out their names also. Then the roll stood as the register of voters. It was a roll of every person—with the exceptions he had mentioned—who occupied houses or lands within the borough of Edinburgh. Having got this in proof, he allowed it to be exhibited in a public place for a certain number of days. If anyone said—"You have omitted my name," he was told to send in his claim. If anyone chose to say—"A name is inserted that you have no right to include," he also sent in a notice of this. The officer in question looked over these claims and objections, and added names to the roll.

*Mr. Bruen*

when he ascertained persons were qualified, or struck names off it when he was satisfied there were no claims. After that was done the roll was printed, and came before the sheriff of the county in the same manner as before a revising barrister elsewhere, and any man who thought he had been aggrieved by his name not being put on, or any objector who thought the name of some other person that had no right on the register had been put on, had an opportunity of coming before the sheriff and stating his claim or objection. The process was so simple and so short, that the roll of 27,000 voters for the city of Edinburgh was gone over in a few hours. The county of Edinburgh was not quite so large, though nearly as large, as the county of Dublin, where, they were told, 3,971 objections were lodged. What a contrast did the county of Edinburgh present! There, he would undertake to say, in no one year for many years past had 50 objections been made to the roll as prepared in the way he had described, and certainly not 50 objections were made to the roll of 27,000 in the city of Edinburgh. These facts were worth a great many arguments only founded on theories. As to the expense, that was a mere trifle. A rate was laid on under an Act of Parliament for paying registration expenses, and that rate was a very small fractional part of a penny in the £. It was something less than a farthing in the £, including the cost of printing the large book which had been shown to the House. An enormous expense formerly incurred by parties giving in their own claims, and paying counsel and agents in cases of objections, was done away with. The officer he had spoken of, who was called the borough assessor, was a man conversant with the value of property, and the public had general confidence in what he said. All parties, indeed, seemed to be satisfied with this system. He thought that was a good answer to the statement of the hon. Gentleman, who founded his objection to the proposal on the ground that the community would be put to great expense in preparing canvassing books for candidates. The system in Ireland was far more expensive. If, in Edinburgh, they had to adopt the Irish system, after making up their lists in the natural order, they would need to go over all the streets and take

1,000 A's out of them, then, perhaps, 1,500 B's, and 2,000 C's. This would be no light task in a city of 210,000 inhabitants. A great deal of trouble and expense would naturally be incurred by taking these names out of their natural order as they were found in streets, and placing them in an artificial catalogue according to the alphabet. Where a list was made up in this way a candidate's agent had to set 30 or 40 clerks to work to bring it back to its original form, at a very large expense to those who stood a contest. Hon. Gentlemen would, therefore, see that this system, so far from being intricate and expensive, was beautiful for its simplicity, and beautiful for its inexpensiveness, giving satisfaction to all parties. The city he had the honour to represent, having adopted the territorial system, had never seen any cause whatever to change it. In the counties, the lists were arranged according to parishes, and a canvasser had only to take out a parish from the roll, and his work was ready to his hand. He thought if hon. Members would just look into the matter, they would see that this principle in the Bill was a sound one, and that it should be adopted. The way in which the arrangement he had described as in force in Edinburgh came about was this—Scotland and England had the same registration system under Lord Grey's Reform Bill; but after a time a law was passed to have the lists printed in England, and Scotland was not included. Scotland had no law for printing the list of voters for 12 years afterwards. This caused great dissatisfaction, and in the interim many efforts were made to get the English system adopted. Though not in Parliament, he was then one of the local agitators, and had a good deal to do with the drafting of this measure. They did not seek absolutely to copy the English law of registration. They found out where it worked badly, and endeavoured to get a better method. This Bill was therefore drafted, and it was carried through by the present Lord Moncreiff, then Lord Advocate, to the great satisfaction of the people of Scotland.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, the principle of this Bill seemed to be that persons who had no right to be on the list of voters should be able to get their names on for three months without the

possibility of getting them off. There were no quarter sessions between July and October, and by merely writing a note to the clerk of the peace anyone could be placed on the roll, and he could not possibly be objected to till October. At present the lists were printed alphabetically, and every person who wished to know whether his name stood on the list or not, had but to go and look at the list. The first clause would, in many cases, render it impossible for objectors to find out the names of those to whom they wished to object, and persons whose names were on would also be unable to find them. At present the collectors of the rates made out the list of voters, and handed the lists to the clerk of the peace, and if anyone was left out of that list, he could then apply to have his name entered on the supplementary list; but by the Bill the clerk of the peace would make them out in future. The more they simplified the law for registering voters the better. He wished to see every man with a right to vote in possession of that right, but that no person without the right should be on the list. It was certainly opening the door to imaginary claims; and this was specially dangerous at the beginning of a Session, when Parliament was likely to be dissolved in August, and unjustified voters would be allowed to go to the poll. The Bill would really put a mortgagee of an estate in the position of the freeholder instead of the proprietor, and he thought that these would not accept such a principle as that. The measure also said that the clerk of the peace was to take a list of claimants, and say the claimants should be voters for the purpose of Parliamentary Elections; but that was a thing which could not hold water for three minutes. It was absurd to say that a claimant should be entitled to something which he claimed, although he did not prove it. He quite agreed that it was a very proper thing that the notices should be posted up so that anyone could see whether his name was in or not. If hon. Gentlemen opposite would bring in Bills which he, as an Irishman, could support, he should be glad to vote for them; but he could not agree to the second reading of this measure.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA remarked that it appeared to him many of the objections which he had heard from hon.

Members on the other side of the House were altogether deficient as arguments against the necessity for legislating in the direction which this Bill proposed. An objection had been raised by one against the Preamble of the Bill, on the ground that it affirmed something not true—which the House, in fact, was bound not to affirm. The Preamble said that it frequently happened that persons entitled to acquire the franchise in counties and boroughs in Ireland were hindered in the acquisition of such a right by the law at present regulating the registration of voters in Ireland. That was substantially the case, and he maintained that in a free country like this, every man was entitled to have the law fairly administered towards him, and all subjects of the State were entitled to have the mode of administration considered when the laws were framed. It was merely trifling with the subject to take such an objection, for the statement in the Preamble was true, and people were prevented in Ireland from enjoying that which they had a legal right to enjoy except for the technical operation of the present law. When they got into Committee—if they did get into Committee—he would suggest two or three words which would remove every objection on that score. He asked the House to consider whether it was fair that there should be a system of law at work which would reduce 27,000 *prima facie* occupiers resident in Dublin of £12 or upwards, to 4,300 on the register. When estimating what the number on the register ought to be, a wholesale deduction of 12,000 had been made for duplicate and triplicate residences and female occupiers, which reduced the number to 15,000, and yet only 4,300 appeared upon the register. Surely some change was necessary to alter that state of things? Another objection had been taken to the 5th section of the Bill by the hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin, which was no less grave than that there was a nominative case, and not a verb, to follow in the right place. Such an objection as that was frivolous, and could easily be remedied in Committee. He trusted the House would pass the second reading of the measure.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) said, he agreed

Mr. Macartney

with the hon. Member for Youghal (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) that every reasonable and fair facility should be given to those who were entitled to be upon the register, and he also entirely concurred with him that the law should be fairly and equally administered. But he could not agree that this Bill was really advancing a step in that direction. The Bill mainly sought to deal with those who claimed to be on the register, and he thought the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had entirely failed to point out that the Bill tended to assimilate the law of Ireland to the law of England. At present the law, which was substantially the same in England and Ireland, was that a person who claimed the franchise must serve a claim setting out his name and address, his qualification, and other particulars, which he thought entitled him to the franchise. His claim must be special, and rightly so, for he knew all the circumstances. The objector, on the other hand, was allowed to be general, and reasonably so, in his objection, as he could not be supposed to know all the circumstances until they were investigated. This Bill would reverse that principle, for it would enable the claimant, who had special knowledge, to make his claim in general terms, and would compel the objector, who had no special knowledge, to make his objection in special terms. One clause in the Bill had attracted almost the enthusiasm of the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren), who said it was a lovely clause. He could not call that strong language, but it was the language of affection. What was this clause that excited so much enthusiasm? It in reality was a franchise clause, and would facilitate the obtaining of the franchise by those who had no right to it. The law said a man must be an owner or tenant; but this Bill would require the revising barrister to put on the register the name of a person who might be neither owner nor occupier; but might have been merely in possession for 12 months, living, perhaps, with his mother or grandmother. The onus of proof and the onus of objection were substantially affected by this Bill, and this Bill said to a person who had the audacity to object to any person—the claimant was not to be put on proof, and not compelled to say one word un-

less, in the first instance, the objector gave some *prima facie* evidence of his objection. As for the clause which would relieve a man from the necessity of appearing in person to prove his claim, he would remark that at present any reasonable proof would be accepted. He had himself been recently registered as an elector for the county of Meath without personal attendance. For these reasons, he thought the Bill should not be read a second time.

Question put.

The House divided: Ayes 96; Noes 134: Majority 38.—(Div. List, No. 11.)

Words added.

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to.

Second Reading put off for six months.

#### VALUATION BILL—[BILL 35.]

(Mr. Ramsay, Sir Graham Montgomery, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Rodwell, Mr. Joseph Cowen.)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. RAMSAY, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, hoped, after the discussion upon the law of Ireland to which they had just listened, that no apology was due from him in submitting for second reading a Bill which was intended to assimilate the law of England to that of Scotland in respect to valuation. The necessity of some change in the existing law of England upon that subject had been fully recognized, and the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had, he thought, in three successive years, submitted measures for amending the law. A long experience in the administration of the law of Scotland on this subject had led him (Mr. Ramsay) to take an interest in the matter; and he felt, on examining the proposals of the President of the Local Government Board, that they were very cumbrous and complicated indeed, as compared with the provisions of the law of Scotland, and were not likely to bring about that uniform valuation which should be established for Great Britain. He did not see why one law on this matter should prevail in one part of

Great Britain and another law in another part. He confined his remarks to Great Britain, where he thought the necessity for, and advantage of, uniformity would be recognized. He would not attempt to criticize the Government measures past or present, but would briefly state the points which he considered essential in order to secure a uniform valuation. He thought the valuation should be annual, and in order to secure uniformity, that it should be according to a prescribed statutory rule. He said so much in favour of uniformity of valuation; because it was the only means by which they could secure that the Imperial taxes could be levied equally and equitably on property in the different parts of the Kingdom. That this was not the case at present, he hoped he should be able to show the House so clearly, as to induce them to give a favourable consideration to the proposal he should make. In so far as local rates were concerned, the ratepayers had very little interest indeed in the special rule by which the valuation lists were made out, provided that the same rule were acted on over the whole area on which a rate was imposed. It mattered little to the ratepayers, when a specific sum was wanted for a particular purpose, whether the rate were fixed on an estimated value of—say, £2,000, or on one of £1,000; because 6d. per pound on £2,000 would yield just the same amount as 1s. per pound on £1,000; though, indeed, this very obvious fact was often overlooked by ratepayers in their anxiety to secure a low valuation of property. That being the case, his remarks regarding uniformity would be held to specially apply to Imperial taxes. The fact should also be borne in mind that the adoption of a uniform valuation throughout Great Britain did not preclude the possibility of classifying the various forms of real estate. The right hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) had insisted that all Imperial and local rates should be levied on what he designated the rateable value. He (Mr. Ramsay) indulged the hope of securing that right hon. Gentleman's support; because he felt he could show that an accurate valuation list containing the real rent would be a necessary basis in order to obtain a proper classification, and to make deductions where deductions were

desirable. There was room for diversity of opinion as to the advantage of classification or deduction with regard to any particular rate. But his whole object was to procure a uniform valuation throughout Great Britain, and it was on that account exclusively that he had pressed these views, on more than one occasion, on the consideration of the House. The changes that took place in the course of a year were so numerous and so great that a supplemental list, as was proposed in the late measure of the Government, would cause as much expense as a renewed annual survey and valuation, and he did not think the equal incidence of any rate could be attained by means of a supplemental list. That the present mode of making up the valuation lists was not correct would be readily understood from the fact stated in the last Report of the Board of Inland Revenue, that the amount charged in the Income Tax assessment under Schedule A was £107,689,995 in respect of property, the gross estimated rental of which was £97,812,640 for the poor rate valuation—a difference of £10,000,000. Again, according to the Return of the number of owners and value of land in 1876, the gross estimated rental in England and Wales was £99,352,301; while the gross annual value in Scotland was £18,698,804. But it could not be supposed by anyone acquainted with the countries that the sterile hills of Scotland yielded a fifth part of the sum that the level and fertile plains of England did. No one acquainted with the facts could suppose it possible that the Return of £99,352,301 for England and Wales could be correct as compared with £18,698,804 for Scotland. If further evidence were required of the inequality, he might refer to the last Return from the Board of Inland Revenue, in which it was stated that the increase on the estimated value of the houses in 1874-5 as compared with 1873-4 was in England 1·61 per cent and in Scotland 5·89 per cent. Did anyone think that nearly 6 per cent could be added to the gross rental of the houses in Scotland, and only 1·61 per cent to the gross value of the houses in England? These facts showed that the local authorities in England had no fixed statutory rule on which they acted in making up the valuation lists. The

*Mr. Ramsay*

hon. Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) pointed out last year, that in some cases rent was taken as the basis for making up the valuation lists, in other cases estimated value; while in others, again, there was a combination of both systems according to the discretion of the local authority. In such matters, where the list was to form the basis of the taxation of the people, he (Mr. Ramsay) did not think Parliament should shrink from laying down a definite fixed statutory rule by which all the local authorities in the country should be guided. He contended that such a rule was essentially requisite to remove that inequality which had been the cause of great complaint heretofore, and was the cause of great complaint still. The true remedy was to take the rent paid by the occupier on each separate tenement, as was proposed in the Bill he now submitted to the House, for the purpose of ascertaining the value; and, in doing this, he merely assumed that the value of any particular subject was the sum of money that it would bring in the market. He might be told that the Bill was not suited to the circumstances in England, inasmuch as many noble and right hon. Gentlemen were in the habit of letting their lands for less than they were fairly worth, and it was in consequence of such discrepancies that an estimate of value was said to be required by individuals qualified for that purpose. Those discrepancies exist in the North as well as in the South, and they altogether forgot that a basis of taxation should depend not on matters of opinion but on matters of fact. With all the consideration he had given to this subject, he had not been able to devise any other rule than that the actual rent should be regarded as the true value. He might also be told that there was a considerable difficulty in applying a system which suited the less wealthy and extensive counties in Scotland to the more wealthy and extensive counties of England. But on that subject he thought that there was some misapprehension; because, although the area of Scotland was sterile indeed in comparison to that of England, yet the number of acres that were included in Scotch counties were in some cases as great, and in many cases more, than the average of English counties. Therefore, on the score of extent, there could

be no difficulty in applying the law, which, in his own experience, had worked with satisfaction to all concerned for 21 or 22 years in Scotland. It was the practice of the House of Commons in all subjects to take experience rather than theory, and he thought that whatever better theoretical mode they might devise of adjusting valuation lists, they would find no better practical mode of doing it than what he had stated. Then he might be told that the number of changes which occurred in the course of a year were not so numerous as to render it necessary to make up a list annually. If experience were valued, he took leave to cite the example of the City of Glasgow. In that city the entries in the valuation list for 1876 were 137,000 in number and £3,117,835 in amount, the number of changes being 30,000. What would be the use of supplemental lists in such a case? There was nothing more fallacious than to suppose that accuracy could be secured by means of a supplemental list where they had 30,000 changes in one city. There were 2,000 new houses erected in the course of the year, and a considerable number of old ones were demolished. All these had, of course, to be surveyed and returns received from owners and occupiers. The changes were fewer and less, of course, in rural districts and in the counties where there were few or none of the mineral or manufacturing industries. The county where he resided was one which was almost exclusively agricultural or pastoral. It was more than 100 miles in length, and, he believed, 30 or 40 in breadth, and over that large area the number of entries was above 10,000, and the rental was upwards of £500,000 annually. The number of changes that took place even amongst the strictly rural population of that county was so great that no one had ever suggested that it would be expedient to do otherwise than prepare a valuation list annually for the whole area. No system was economical which was not also efficient. But as to efficiency, the Scotch system was very satisfactory in securing the annual valuation of the whole property, and thereby the equal incidence of local rates. Each ratepayer felt that however heavy might be his burden of rates he was sharing them in common with all his neighbours, not only in the same locality, but al



over the county. The hon. Gentleman then pointed to the counties of Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire as being as varied in their geographical features and classes of population as any part of England. The valuation of three-fourths of the counties of England was less than that of Lanarkshire. If, therefore, this system suited Lanarkshire and the City of Glasgow so well, why should it not work well in London and in all the counties of England? Simplicity was of the greater consequence the greater the number of the persons entered on a valuation list. In regard to the plea of economy, he cited Glasgow, where he said they had economy combined with efficiency. In 1855 the number of entries on the list was 85,000, the valuation amounting to £1,362,168. In 1876 the number of entries was 137,000, and the valuation £3,117,845; so that the increase in the number of entries amounted to 73 per cent, and in the valuation to 125 per cent during that period, while they had only an increase of 35 per cent on the cost of making up the valuation list. The work had doubled, but the cost had only increased by one-third. With such a satisfactory result, it was permissible to urge upon the Government the adoption of these views. He thought it due to himself to state that, having taken up this question, he had not pressed his views upon the House without having previously attempted to press upon the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board the propriety of his inquiring into the system in use in Scotland; and if the right hon. Gentleman had done so, he felt sure they would have got a Bill nearer to the Scotch law than the one the right hon. Gentleman presented to the House last Session. He (Mr. Ramsay) was not satisfied with that, but wrote to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who, he thought, was interested, giving him a statement of the mode in which the Scotch law operated, and pointing out how easily and satisfactorily the same system could be worked in England with advantage to the revenue; not, however, in the way of collecting a greater sum of money, because the rate to be collected depended upon the assessable amount, and it did not matter whether they collected on a high or a low rate; but the application of the

*Mr. Ramsay*

Scottish system in England would have secured the equal incidence of Imperial taxes in Great Britain, which would be an advantage to the revenue, and that result could not be obtained under the present law. He thought there could be no advantage in maintaining the inaccurate, cumbrous, and complicated system at present existing in England, when by the will of the Members of that House a different law had been applied to Scotland. Hon. Members must feel that the incidence of public taxation should be the same in every portion of the Kingdom. The Scotch people had no wish to evade the payment of their share of the public burdens, but they wished to be liable for the same proportionate amount as their fellow-citizens in England, and no more. In addition to the advantages which he had pointed out would accrue from the adoption of this system, there were others, relating to the registration of Parliamentary and Municipal electors, which had been referred to in the course of the previous discussion by the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. M'Laren) and others. They could not have under the present law of valuation in England the simple mode of registering electors enjoyed by Scotland. He had no desire unduly to press this Bill upon the attention of the House. He had accomplished very much the objects he had in view in obtaining their kind hearing to his statements; but if the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Selater-Booth) would take a suggestion of his, he would recommend that this Bill, together with the right hon. Gentleman's own, might be submitted to a Select Committee, in order to ascertain in what particulars, if any, the system which he, (Mr. Ramsay) advocated was not applicable to the circumstances and sentiments of the people of England. In the absence of any assurance of that kind, it might be expedient that the House should express its sense of the value of this proposal. He indulged the hope that the delay in bringing forward the Government Bill might be explained by a desire to hear the opinions that would be elicited either for or against this present Bill. He referred to the fact that under Schedule A of the Income Tax the sum assessed in Scotland in the year 1875 was £14,784,098, while in England there was only £123,695,774, and remarked

that no one who knew the relative wealth of the two countries would for a moment suppose that the valuation of England, even under the Income Tax Act, could be taken as accurate. The hon. Gentleman was proceeding to discuss the clauses of the Bill—when

MR. SPEAKER said, that to go through the Bill clause by clause was anticipating the work of Committee.

MR. RAMSAY said, he would only mention generally that the Bill contained provisions for the appointment by a county or burgh board of a committee of its members for the purpose of exercising all the powers of the board in carrying out the Act. The clause which he specially wished to call attention to was that setting forth that in estimating the yearly value of lands and hereditaments under this Act, the sum should be taken to be the rent for which, one year with another, such lands and hereditaments might, in their actual state, reasonably be expected to be let for from year to year. He would conclude by moving the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Ramsay.*)

MR. PELL said, he did not understand the hon. Member for Falkirk (Mr. Ramsay) to desire to press his Bill as a rival one to that of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, but to suggest extending to England the principle of valuation, which he found to work well in his own country. In the English metropolis that principle, substantially, was already in operation. The rating of hereditaments rested on the valuation made by the surveyor of taxes governed by the rent paid. The Government measure of last year proposed something of the same kind. In the country some injustice was done in respect of small tenants under the present system of extravagant allowances from renting valuation lists. He thought that the true principle of assessing was, on the part of the assessor, to claim the highest assessment the facts of the case would justify corroborated by rent paid, and that the parties interested in the matter should be at liberty to claim such reduction as could be shown to be fair and reasonable. One defect in the Bill was, that it omitted the method of valuing railways

provided in the Scotch Acts. He gave a hearty support to the Bill, because it accepted the rent paid as the value of hereditaments for the purposes of assessment.

MR. GREGORY said, he thought it very desirable, if possible, to get a uniform basis of assessment for property, and so far this Bill was a good one, and deserved support. But, like his hon. Friend who had preceded him, he thought the Bill was defective in providing a valuation for railways or undertakings of that character. Again, it would be very unfair to take woods and coppices as grass land, as proposed by the Bill, as they could only be converted to that purpose at an outlay of from £6 to £8 per acre. With regard to the valuation of land generally, he thought it would be extremely difficult to draw a hard-and-fast line, for rentals varied a good deal, even in respect of properties very similar in character. The rents of farms did not correspond with their actual values, and if rent were taken as a basis of rating, it would be necessary to guard against the unfairness of rating farms on rents far below their value. The principle of the Bill would involve the public declaration of the actual rent, and it was doubtful whether the disclosure would be generally acquiesced in. If, however, it was proposed to send the Government Bill to a Select Committee, it might be advisable that this one should go before it also, with the view of seeing what portion of it, if any, could be adopted.

MR. PAGET said, there were other points in the Bill which, however acceptable to Scotland, were not in harmony with the feelings of English rate-payers, such as the public exhibition of the valuation list and the employment of surveyors to determine the value. He gave a guarded assent to the principle of taking the rent as the value of property, as in many instances land was assessed under its real value. At the same time, he thought it waste of time to discuss a measure that was never intended to become the law of the land. He suggested that the Bill should be withdrawn, and that the objects sought to be obtained should be attempted to be gained in the shape of Amendments to the Government Bill.

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, that if the provisions of this Bill were enforced,

the tenant under a long lease who had to pay a fixed rent for property which had been greatly depreciated in value would be bound to pay rates on that value too. The present system, which made rent a criterion of value without placing it as the actual value, which made it a *modus probandi*, but not *res probata*, was much fairer. Many attempts had been made to arrive at a better definition of value than that given by the Parochial Assessment Act, but none had succeeded, and he did not think that any was possible.

SIR WALTER B. BARTELOT said, they were in a difficulty in discussing this Bill before that of the Government, and they ought to see the Government Bill before passing any opinion on this. It was certainly satisfactory that although the Assessment Committee had been for many years in force, yet not a word had been said which suggested that they had not done their work in a satisfactory manner. It would certainly be very undesirable, just at the time they were making such a great change as that involved in the County Boards Bill, to sweep the Assessment Committees away altogether. He was inclined to think that the proposals of the Bill, so far as it endeavoured to secure uniformity, would be found to be those which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would endeavour to carry out; and he hoped the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman might contain clauses which would enable the County Government Board to supervise the Assessment Committees and secure uniformity in each county. Such an arrangement would effect all that could be desired. The more we took out of the hands of those charged with local government the worse would it be for that government; but leaving as much as possible to the local authorities was not inconsistent with a salutary and beneficial supervision, such as the County Government Board would be. He hoped that all that could be done judiciously would be done by the Bill of the Government. He would not pretend to propose any Amendment to a Bill which the hon. Member himself did not propose to have read a second time; but he certainly did not think the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board would consent, as had been suggested, to send a Bill upon

which he had devoted so much attention to a Select Committee. At the same time, he had no doubt that he would carefully consider anything calculated to increase its usefulness.

MR. STORER said, he hoped they would not sacrifice justice to an attempt at uniformity. It would certainly, in many cases, prove a very serious injustice if the rents were made the basis of taxation. For instance, where a needy landlord was obtaining more than was reasonable from his land without considering its future improvement. It would also take no account of the agreements between the landlord and tenant with regard to game, and many other circumstances might be mentioned in which it would work very unjustly.

It being a quarter of an hour before Six of the clock, the Debate stood adjourned till To-morrow.

#### WAYS AND MEANS.

Resolutions [February 11] reported, and agreed to:—Bills ordered to be brought in by Mr. RAIKES, Mr. CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, and Colonel STANLEY.

#### EXCHEQUER BONDS, &C. BILL.

Bill "to raise a sum by Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills," presented, and read the first time. [Bill 107.]

#### CONSOLIDATED FUND (£6,000,000) BILL.

Bill "to apply a sum out of the Consolidated Fund to the service of the year ending on the thirty-first day of March, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight," presented, and read the first time.

#### HOMICIDE LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Sir EARDLEY WILMOT, Bill to amend the Law of Homicide, ordered to be brought in by Sir EARDLEY WILMOT and Mr. WHITWELL.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 108.]

#### LUNACY LAW.

Select Committee of last Session to inquire into the operation of the Lunacy Law, so far as it regards the security afforded by it against violations of personal liberty re-appointed:—MR. STEPHEN CAVE, Dr. LUSH, Mr. WOODB, Mr. RAMSAY, Mr. LEIGHTON, Mr. TREMAYNE, Mr. HERSHELL, Mr. GOLDNEY, Mr. JOSEPH COWEN, Mr. KAVANAGH, Mr. BUTT, Mr. BIRLEY, Mr. HOPWOOD, Mr. DILLWYN, and Sir TREVOR LAWRENCE:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

*Mr. Staveley Hill*

Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Lunacy Law in Session 1877 referred to the Committee.—(*Mr. Stephen Cave.*)

#### TENANTS PROTECTION (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR MOORE, Bill to amend the Law relating to Landlord and Tenant in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR MOORE and Mr. PATRICK SMYTH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 109.]

#### CONGE D'ÉLIRE BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MONK, Bill to abolish the Congé d'élire, and to make provision for the appointment of Archbishops and Bishops in England and Wales, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MONK, Mr. FORSYTH, and Mr. ASHETON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 110.]

#### WEIGHTS AND MEASURES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. EDWARD STANHOPE, Bill to consolidate the Law relating to Weights and Measures, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. EDWARD STANHOPE, Sir CHARLES ADDERLEY, and Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 111.]

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT PROVISIONAL ORDERS (BRISTOL, &C.) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SALT, Bill to confirm certain Provisional Orders of the Local Government Board relating to the City of Bristol, the Rural Sanitary District of Chester-le-Street Union, the Local Government District of Finchley, the Rural Sanitary District of the Newbury Union, and the Local Government Districts of Wallasey and West Derby, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SALT and Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 112.]

#### CONVENTION (IRELAND) ACT REPEAL BILL.

On Motion of Mr. P. J. SMYTH, Bill for the repeal of the Act of the Irish Parliament, the thirty-third George the Third, chapter twenty-nine, intituled "An Act to prevent the Election or Appointment of Unlawful Assemblies," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. P. J. SMYTH, Mr. STACPOOLE, Mr. DOWNING, Dr. BRADY, Mr. O'CONNOR POWER, and Mr. O'CLERY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 113.]

#### SUMMARY JURISDICTION (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. PARNELL, Bill to amend the Laws relating to Summary Jurisdiction in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PARNELL and Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 114.]

#### ABSENTEE PROPRIETORS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. PARNELL, Bill for diminishing the evils of Absenteeism in Ireland by giving facilities for the purchase of their Holdings to Tenants who may be in occupation of the Estates of Absentee Proprietors, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PARNELL, Mr. O'SHAUGHNESSY, and Mr. PATRICK MARTIN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 115.]

#### IRISH CHURCH ACT (1869) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. PARNELL, Bill to amend the Irish Church Act, 1869, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PARNELL and Mr. FAY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 116.]

House adjourned at five minutes before Six o'clock.

### HOUSE OF LORDS,

Thursday, 14th February, 1878.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Territorial Waters Jurisdiction (23).

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE CONFERENCE—CONSTANTINOPLE—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET.

##### QUESTIONS. OBSERVATIONS.

LORD CAMPBELL wished to ask the noble Earl the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Whether the place at which the Conference was to be held had been determined upon? The Question did not spring from curiosity, but from a view that some places ought to be avoided, and from a hope that none would be chosen without the sanction of Her Majesty's Government.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, in answer to my noble Friend, I have to state that the place at which the Conference is to be held has not yet been determined upon. The Austrian Government initiated the proposal, and they naturally proposed Vienna as the place of meeting. We had no objection to offer to that selection, nor, so far as we know, had any other Power, with the exception of Russia. The Russian Government raised certain objections which I have not seen in detail, and I

believe the matter is still under discussion. I do not, however, think the difficulty is one which is likely to continue long or to stand in the way of the meeting of the Conference.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** My Lords, on Tuesday evening I put a Question to my noble Friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs which he—I think with some reason—described as rather vague and indefinite. There is no doubt whatever that there are a large number of questions of great interest and importance connected with Eastern affairs at this moment, to which answers would be of much interest; but great responsibility attaches to Her Majesty's Government in consequent of recent proceedings, and they must judge what information they can with propriety give. I shall therefore merely repeat the Questions which I put on Tuesday evening. In the first place, I wish to know whether our ships of war are at this moment at Gallipoli or Constantinople? Secondly, if they are there, whether it is at the invitation or with the permission, or against the permission, of the Turkish Government? Thirdly, I wish to know whether Her Majesty's Government have received any further information as to the likelihood of the Russians carrying out their announced intention of, in that event, occupying Constantinople? Fourthly, I shall be glad if the noble Earl will state whether the other Powers which he stated had applied for firmans have given any assurance as to joining in the measures which Her Majesty's Government have adopted?

**THE EARL OF DERBY:** My Lords, in the first place, let me state that I did not at all intend to complain or object to my noble Friend on Tuesday night for putting his Questions in a very general manner. On the contrary, I can quite understand his motive in having so framed them; but it is not easy, when Questions are put in general terms, to know the particular points to which the Answers should be directed. My Lords, the Questions which the noble Earl has put to-night are of a very precise and definite character, and I am prepared to Answer them—but I believe that in the present state of affairs it is better that I should do so briefly, avoiding statements of detail which will be found in the Papers which will be shortly laid on the Table of your Lordships'

*The Earl of Derby*

House, and avoiding, also, explanations of an argumentative character or which may lead to discussion. In answer to the first Question of my noble Friend, I have to state that the ships sent up are at Constantinople—or, to speak more correctly, they are, as we understand, at anchor at Prince's Island, a few miles below the city. Full discretion has been given to the Admiral to place the ships in the position that might appear to him most conducive to their security; but the anchorage which was suggested by the naval authorities at home as the most convenient has, I believe, been taken up. In answer to the second Question, whether the ships have gone up at the request of the Sultan or against his wish, I have to say that, on hearing the objections taken by the Porte, we at once communicated with that Government on those objections; and I telegraphed to Mr. Layard explaining the absolute necessity, in our judgment, for the ships going up, and I also communicated in the same sense with the Turkish Ambassador in this country. The result of those communications is that, although the Turkish Government has offered a formal protest against the passage of the Dardanelles by the Fleet, it took no step to oppose, or attempt to oppose, its passing. I am bound to add that, while under ordinary circumstances we should, as a matter of course, have respected the objection taken by the Porte, we could not but think that, in present circumstances, the Government of the Porte could hardly be considered a free agent, and that, without any feeling of hostility or jealousy towards this country, the Sultan might naturally, and not unreasonably, have felt a reluctance to incur towards Russia the responsibility which he might apprehend he would incur by granting the permission for which we asked. We therefore thought it better to take the responsibility on ourselves. With regard to the Question as to the course taken by other European Powers, I am afraid I have nothing to add to what I stated on Tuesday. The French and Italian Governments, as I then said, had authorized their Ambassadors to apply for firmans; but subsequently suspended action in the matter. With regard to the course taken by the Austrian Government, I am not yet in a position to speak with certainty. Now, my Lords, as to the Russian intention of occupying Con-

stantinople, your Lordships will have seen the Circular Telegram of Prince Gortchakoff which has been published in all the newspapers; and I yesterday received another, which your Lordships will perhaps wish me to read. It is to this effect—

“The English Government has announced to us that they are going to send a portion of their Fleet to Constantinople for the protection of the life and property of their subjects whose safety was threatened, according to the reports that reach them. We have in view the temporary entry of a part of our troops into Constantinople with exactly the same object, with the distinction that our protection, if required, will be extended to all the Christians. The two Governments would thus be fulfilling a common duty of humanity. It follows that this task, being of a pacific nature, could not assume in any way the character of mutual hostility.”—*[Turkey, No. 14 (1878). No. 5.]*

My Lords, that telegram is conciliatory and not unfriendly; but I am bound to say we do not admit that the case of a military occupation of the city itself and the case of sending men-of-war into a harbour below the city are parallel cases, and that opinion I have expressed in a despatch written in reply to the telegram I have just read, which despatch I shall lay upon the Table. That, my Lords, is the position of affairs.

LORD DUNSANY asked, Whether the whole of the Fleet or only a part of it had passed the Dardanelles?

THE EARL OF DERBY: Not the whole.

#### TERRITORIAL WATERS JURISDICTION.

##### BILL PRESENTED. FIRST READING.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR rose, pursuant to Notice, to call the attention of the House to the question of the jurisdiction of the Crown in the territorial waters of the Empire, more especially with reference to the recent case of the “*Franconia*” (*Reg. v. Keyn*, Parliamentary Paper No. 56, presented 30th April, 1877), and to present a Bill on the subject. The noble and learned Lord said that the jurisdiction to which he desired to call attention was not the jurisdiction in relation to rivers, bays, or harbours, because in respect of that no controversy had ever arisen; but the jurisdiction over the territorial waters in that belt or zone of the high seas which surrounds the shores of the Empire. This, at first sight, would appear to be a question of law. No

doubt it was a question of law; but he rather thought that it was a question of that which had been described as the first law of nature—the law of self-preservation. It was absolutely necessary that, to some extent and in some measure, there should be a territorial jurisdiction over the high seas surrounding the seaboard of every country. No Empire which had a seaboard could be allowed to remain without a jurisdiction of that kind. If, in the case of such an Empire, it was held that the jurisdiction of the Kingdom ended with the dry land, the consequence would be that the subjects of that Kingdom, in the presence of foreigners, would be absolutely without defence from the moment they entered the sea for the purpose of bathing, or fishing, or for any other purpose. Not only so, but when on dry land they would be without protection; because, if no jurisdiction from the land extended to the sea surrounding the seaboard, people from all parts of the world might come to that part of the high sea contiguous to the land and resort to practices which might be of the most serious character to people on shore. So, again, in case of war, hostilities carried on by belligerents outside the shore might expose the interests of a neutral Power to the greatest danger. It might be asked whether the question was not solved—so far, at all events, as down to low-water mark—to which unquestionably the territorial jurisdiction extended? With regard to the low-water mark, it must be remembered that there were parts of the coasts where there were considerable intervals between high and low-water mark; and also there were in the Kingdom, as their Lordships knew, many places where the sea came so close to the cliffs that there was absolutely no horizontal interval between high and low-water marks. It had been suggested, or might be suggested, that if the jurisdiction of this country extended over the part of the high seas immediately adjoining the shore, inasmuch as the right of passage over that part was allowed to foreign ships, it would be unfair to claim such a jurisdiction as against them. He was willing for this purpose to assume the right of passage contended for; but he imagined that it was to be conceded—if conceded—on this footing and this footing only—that those who availed themselves of the right of

passage ought so to conduct themselves as that they should not expose themselves to any complaint of a violation of the rights of those by whom the right of passage was conceded. Any such argument would apply to the case of foreign ships coming into one of our bays, where they were bound to conform to our laws and respect our rights. In fact, the right of jurisdiction had always been admitted in respect of territorial waters. What made it necessary to bring this matter under the notice of their Lordships was a case of considerable interest—that of the collision between the *Franconia* and *Strathclyde* off Dover, by which a number of persons lost their lives. But for this case, it would hardly have been necessary to detain their Lordships by offering any observations. The *Franconia* was a German ship, and her master was put on his trial for the manslaughter of one of the passengers of the *Strathclyde*. He was found guilty; and there was no doubt that the case was one of manslaughter according to our law. The case was fully proved, and the jury returned a verdict of guilty. But objection was taken on the trial that, the accused master being a foreigner, and he having been on board a foreign ship at the time the alleged offence was committed, although that ship was then within two miles and a-half of our land, there was no jurisdiction in our Courts, and the verdict must be quashed. That point came before the Court for Crown Cases Reserved, and there was a difference of opinion on the question between the learned Judges. They were 13 in number. Six of the learned Judges thought that the judgment should be maintained, and seven thought that it ought to be quashed. There was a majority of one for the latter view, and the conviction was accordingly quashed. The minority were Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, Lord Justice Brett, Lord Justice Amphlett, Mr. Justice Lindley, Mr. Justice Grove, and Mr. Justice Denman. The majority were the Lord Chief Justice, the Lord Chief Baron, Sir Robert Phillimore, Lord Justice Bramwell, Mr. Justice Lush, Baron Pollock, and Mr. Justice Field. It was a peculiarity of our jurisprudence that in such cases the question of law had to be searched for and elicited from expressions used by learned Judges in judgments differing

from each other and not always couched in such terms as to state exactly the principle of law which the Judges wished to affirm. He would endeavour to explain what he understood to be the main ground of the judgment of the majority of the Judges in the *Franconia* case. But before he did so, there was an incident which he wished to mention to their Lordships. One of the learned Judges, for whom they all had the greatest respect, and whose judgment, from his experience in criminal cases, was of the greatest weight—Mr. Justice Lush—stated that, though he concurred with the Lord Chief Justice in that learned Judge's view of the case, yet he wished to guard himself in this particular case with respect to the limits of the high seas. He said—

“I wish to guard myself from being supposed to adopt any words or expressions which may seem to imply a doubt as to the competency of Parliament to legislate as it may think fit for these waters. I think that usage and the common consent of nations, which constitute international law, have appropriated these waters to the adjacent State to deal with them as the State may deem expedient for its own interests. They are, therefore, in the language of diplomacy and of international law, termed by a convenient metaphor the territorial waters of Great Britain, and the same or equivalent phrases are used in some of our statutes, denoting that this belt of sea is under the exclusive dominion of the State. But the dominion is the dominion of Parliament, not the dominion of the common law. . . . Therefore, although, as between nation and nation, these waters are British territory, as being under the exclusive dominion of Great Britain, in judicial language they are out of the realm, and any exercise of criminal jurisdiction over a foreign ship in these waters must in my judgment be authorized by an Act of Parliament.”—[*R. v. Keyn*, 2 *Exch. D.* 1876.]

As he understood these words, if Sir Robert Lush had found that, in the particular place Parliament had stepped in and said that that portion of the water was part of the United Kingdom, he would have been of opinion that the Crown had territorial jurisdiction over it, and that the conviction ought not to be quashed. It was fortunate for the prisoner in the *Franconia* case, though not fortunate for the vindication of the law, that Mr. Justice Lush was under the impression that that had not been done which really had been done. It appeared that in an Act of 1848 for the Regulation of Customs, there was a provision authorizing the Lords of the Treasury to establish ports in many places where ports were required, and to define their

limits. Under that provision, the Lords of the Treasury issued a warrant, which was inserted in *The London Gazette* of the 3rd March, 1848. In that warrant were these paragraphs—

“That the limits of the Port of Dover shall commence at St. Margaret's Bay aforesaid, and continue along the said coast of Kent to Copt Point in the said county. That the limits of the port of Folkestone shall commence at Copt Point aforesaid, and continue along the coast to Dungeness, in the said county.

“And we, the said Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, do further declare that the limits seaward of the said ports shall extend to a distance of three miles from low-water mark out to sea, and that the limits of such ports shall include all islands, bays, harbours, rivers, and creeks within the same respectively.”

So that under Parliamentary powers the proper authorities had declared long before the *Franconia* case that the limits of the port of Dover extended three miles out to sea. We understood the view of the majority of the Judges to be this—that there was one jurisdiction by land and the other by sea; that the jurisdiction by land was one limited by the limits of counties, taking into the county the low-water mark and the harbours and rivers within the county; that the jurisdiction by sea was the old jurisdiction of the Lord High Admiral now exercised by the Central Criminal Court; that the jurisdiction of the Lord High Admiral extended to the high seas, but the persons over whom it was exercised must be British subjects, not foreigners; and that the Central Criminal Court had no jurisdiction over the persons of foreigners beyond the low-water mark. That he understood to be the common ground on which the majority of the Judges acted in quashing the conviction. And, taking that as the *ratio decidendi* of the Judges in a decision which he accepted, it would at first sight appear that there was nothing more for him to do than to ask the favourable consideration of their Lordships for a Bill to amend the law. But there fell some observations from Sir Robert Phillimore, the Lord Chief Baron, and the Lord Chief Justice—whose judgment was the most elaborate and might be regarded as the leading judgment of the majority—which contained a principle that seemed to challenge the right of Parliament to legislate on this subject. Some expressions of the Lord Chief Justice would certainly seem to

imply that we could not legislate with respect to the high seas, even within the limits of the belt or zone to which he had referred, without the consent of foreign nations, or until after communication with foreign nations. That was a very serious question. If the judgments of those learned Judges amounted—as they were supposed to do—to a proposition of that kind, of course Parliament would be exceeding its powers if it entered into legislation applying to that belt or zone with the view of making foreigners amenable to our law. But he would ask their Lordships to consider whether there was any foundation for that principle. He ventured to think there was not—and he thought it would be a very serious thing if there were. He would lay before their Lordships the views of great Constitutional writers of this Kingdom and of the United States on this question. Then he would add the views of international jurists on the Continent, and next he would show what our own Judges had decided in cases of an international character affecting the right of territorial jurisdiction which had come before them judicially; and, lastly, he would direct attention to what their Lordships themselves had done in the course of legislation. If their Lordships referred to Bracton and Selden, they would find that those writers maintained that within “the four seas”—the British Channel, the Irish Channel, the sea on the West and East coasts of Scotland, and the German Ocean—the Crown had jurisdiction, and that they held that the country would not be safe without such jurisdiction. They did not enter into the question how far our jurisdiction extended, because in their times our commerce was not such as to make it necessary for them to do so; but they claimed a jurisdiction over “the four seas.” He held that that principle had never been departed from. As years went on and commerce extended, definitions as to distance were adopted; but the principle of the claim to a jurisdiction over the waters round the Kingdom was never given up. He would quote the opinion of Coke—

“If a man be upon the sea of England, he is within the kingdom or realm of England, and within the ligeance of the King of England, as of his crowne of England. And yet *altum mare* is out of the jurisdiction of the common law, and within the jurisdiction of the Lord Admirall,



whose jurisdiction is verie antient, and long before thereigne of Edward the Third."—[*Comm. on Littleton*, vol. 2, s. 439.]

Then Hale, in his *De Jure Maris*, said—

"The part of the sea which lies not within the body of a county is called the main sea or ocean. The narrow sea adjoining to the coast of England is part of the wast and demeeses and dominions of the King of England, whether it lie within the body of any county or not. This is abundantly proved by that learned treatise of Master Selden called '*Mare Clausum*;' and therefore I shall say nothing therein, but refer the reader thither. In this sea the King of England hath a double right—viz., a right of jurisdiction which he ordinarily exerciseth by his Admiral and a right of propriety or ownership. The latter is that which I shall meddle with."

Again, in his *Pleas of the Crown*, Hale said—

"The realm of England comprehends the narrow seas, and therefore if a war be levied upon those seas, as if any of the King's subjects hostilely invade any of the King's ships (which are so many Royal castles), this is a levying of war within his realm, for the narrow seas are of the ligeance of the Crown of England: *vide Seldeni Mare Clausum*. And this may be tried in the county next adjacent to the coast by an indictment taken by the jurors for that county before special commissioners of *oyer and terminer*, *de quo vide infra*, and in the chapter of piracy."

That was the view of our great international writers on English law, who did not concern themselves with the extent of the jurisdiction, but with its principle. He would now cite the opinion of the American text writers. What did Kent, in his *Commentaries*, say?—

"It is difficult to draw any precise or determinate conclusion, amid the variety of opinions, as to the distance to which a State may lawfully extend its exclusive dominion over the sea adjoining its territories and beyond those portions of the sea which are embraced by harbours, gulfs, bays, and estuaries, and over which its jurisdiction unquestionably extends. All that can reasonably be asserted is that the dominion of the Sovereign of the shore over the contiguous sea extends as far as is requisite for his safety and for some lawful end. A more extended dominion must rest entirely upon force and maritime supremacy. According to the current of modern authority, the general territorial jurisdiction extends into the sea as far as a cannon-shot will reach, and no further, and this is generally calculated to be a marine league; and the Congress of the United States have recognized this limitation by authorizing the district Courts to take cognizance of all captures made within a marine league of the American shores."

*The Lord Chancellor*

Then Wheaton gave this opinion—

"The controversy how far the open sea or main ocean beyond the immediate boundary of the coasts may be appropriated by one nation to the exclusion of others can hardly be considered open at this day. We have already seen that by the generally approved usage of nations, which forms the basis of international law, the maritime territory of every State extends (1) to the ports, harbours, bays, mouths of rivers, and adjacent parts of the sea enclosed by headlands belonging to the same State. (2) to the distance of a marine league, or as far as a cannon-shot will reach from the shore, along all the coasts of the State."

And afterwards—

"The reasons which forbid the assertion of an exclusive proprietary right to the sea in general will be found inapplicable to the particular portions of that element included in the above designations."—[*Wheaton*, 187-188.]

And Bishop, in his *Criminal Law*, (Bk. iv. c. 5. s. 74), states—

"A nation bordering on the sea can hold actual possession of it as far from the shore as cannon-balls will reach, while dominion to this extent is necessary for the safety of the inhabitants, who might otherwise, being neutral, be cut down in time of war by the artillery of the belligerents contending on the water. And so much of ocean, the authorities agree, is within the territorial Sovereignty which controls the adjacent shores. A cannon-shot is for this purpose estimated at a marine league, which is a little short of three and a half of our English miles, or exactly 3.4517. But the rule of computing a cannon-shot as a marine league for this purpose was established before the late improvements in guns and gunnery, and, in reason, the distance would seem now to require extension, though the author is not able to refer to any sufficient authority showing the extension to have been actually made in the law of nations."

The real principle which seems to be upheld by all the international jurists was that in extent so much jurisdiction must be given to every country as was necessary for its defence and protection. Different estimates were made by different international jurists. For instance, Alberius Gentilis fixes the limit at 100 miles; Baldus and Bodinus, 60 miles; Loccenius, two days' sail; Casaregis, 100 miles; Valin, "as far as soundings can be had;" Puffendorff refers to Baldus's and Bodinus's limit, 60 miles, and calls it "an accessory to the land as much as the ditch of a town is an accessory to the town;" Grotius, "as much of the sea as can be commanded from the land;" Bynkershoek and Wolff, same as Grotius; Hubner calls this part of the sea an "accessory" to the land; Lampredi, "as much as is necessary to

protect the shore;" Ortolan (*chapitre de la Mer Territoriale*), "the sovereignty of the sea has for its limits the distance a cannon will carry." The opinions of Moser, Vattel, Martens, Schmaltz, and Hautefeuille, would be gathered from the extracts he should now have occasion to read. In citing the opinion of some international jurists as to the jurisdiction itself, Moser said—

"The sea which borders on the coast of a country is indisputably, according to the law of nations, under the sovereignty of the adjacent land, so far as a cannon-shot will reach."

Vattel laid it down—

"In general the dominion of the State over the neighbouring sea extends as far as it is necessary for her safety, or it can make her power respected, and her power is able to assert it."

Again, the same writer said—

"Now-a-days, all the extent of sea which is within reach of cannon-shot from the shore is considered as forming part of the territory. For this reason a vessel taken under the cannon of a neutral fortress is not a good prize."

Martens stated—

"So a nation may assert an exclusive right to the neighbouring portions of the sea capable of being maintained from the shore. At this day all European nations agree that, as a rule, straits, bays, gulfs, and the neighbouring sea belong to the master of the coast, to the extent, at least, of a cannon-shot from the shore. In a number of treaties the wider range of three leagues has even been adopted."

Schmaltz laid it down that—

"The parts of the sea which bathe the coast have always been considered to be the property of the country which they bound. . . . In Europe the opinion of jurists who have treated the matter philosophically has been systematically adopted. According to this principle the sea should belong to the continent as far as the defence of the shore can extend, of which a cannon-shot was to be taken as the measure. At a later period the distance has been fixed arbitrarily at three marine leagues."

And this was from Hautefeuille—

"These territorial waters are the property of the nations possessing the shores, and, consequently, these nations have within such waters all the rights of sovereignty without exception, as though it were on so much land. . . . Foreigners entering this reserved territory must submit to the law of the Sovereign in all that concerns their relations with the land and its inhabitants, as though they were on the land. The limit of the territorial sea is fixed by the principle from which its territorial character arises. It extends as far as the sea can be commanded from the shore, but no further."

The result of these concurrent opinions was that it appeared to be established as a matter of principle that there must be a zone or limit of the sea over which a State had jurisdiction. The only doubt was as to how far the limit extended. The authorities were clear on this—that, if three miles were not found sufficient for the purpose of defence and protection, or if the nature of the trade or commerce in the zone required it, there was a power in the country on the seaboard to extend the zone. At present there was a consensus of opinion among the authorities that certainly the jurisdiction extended to three miles. If that were not the established law, nations with a seaboard would be very much worse off than those which had none; because a neighbour on land you could make a treaty with or treat as an enemy; but if a nation with a seaboard had no control over a zone of a certain distance, it would be constantly liable to dangerous aggression from beyond the sea. He would now refer their Lordships to the judicial opinions of our most eminent Judges on this subject. In a case in which Prussia claimed restitution of a ship seized by an English man-of-war within three miles of Prussian territory, Lord Stowell said—

"A claim has been given for the Prussian Government, asserting the capture to have been made within the Prussian territory. It has been contended that although the act of capture itself might not have taken place within the neutral territory, yet that the ship to which the capturing boats belonged was actually lying within the neutral limits. The first fact to be determined is the character of the place where the capturing ship lay, whether she was actually stationed within those portions of land and water, or of something between water and land, which are considered to be within Prussian territory. She was lying within the eastern branch of the Ems, within what I think may be considered at a distance of three miles at most from East Friesland. . . . I am of opinion that the ship was lying within those limits in which all direct operations are by the law of nations forbidden to be exercised. No proximate acts of war are in any manner to be allowed to originate on neutral ground, and I cannot but think that such an act as this, that a ship should station herself on neutral territory and send out her boats on hostile enterprises, is an act of hostility much too immediate to be permitted. The capture cannot be maintained." —[*The Twee Gebroeders*, 3 c. *Rob.*, 162.]

In another case—that of the *Maria*—(1 c. *Rob.* 350) Lord Stowell said—

"It might likewise be improper for me to pass over entirely without notice, as another

preliminary observation, though without meaning to lay any particular stress on it, that the transaction in question took place in the British Channel, close upon the British coast, a station over which the Crown of England has from pretty remote antiquity always asserted something of that special jurisdiction which the Sovereigns of other countries have claimed and exercised over certain parts of the seas adjoining to their coasts."

He would now refer their Lordships to an opinion expressed by Sir John Nicholl on a claim by a lord of a manor to goods derelict. Sir John said—

"As to the right of the lord extending three miles beyond low water, it is quite extravagant as a jurisdiction belonging to any manor. As between nation and nation, the territorial right may, by a sort of tacit understanding, be extended to three miles; but that rests upon different principles—namely, that their own subjects shall not be disturbed in their fishing, and particularly in their coasting trade and communications between place and place during the war. They would be exposed to danger if hostilities were allowed to be carried on between belligerents nearer to the shore than three miles."

He would also refer to a case which occurred when the Duke of Wellington held the office now held by his noble Friend (Earl Granville)—that of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports—the holder of the Wardenship being also High Admiral of those Ports. In 1829, within three miles of one of the Cinque Ports, some fishermen at sea were fortunate enough to discover a whale valued at £370. A claim to the fish was made by the Lord Warden, and the Admiralty claimed against him. The learned Judge who tried the question came to the conclusion that the office of Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was more ancient than that of Lord High Admiral, and the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports succeeded in carrying off the whale. What were the views of Dr. Lushington? In a case which came before him, under the Merchant Shipping Acts, he asked—

"What are the limits of the United Kingdom? The only answer I can conceive to that question is, the land of the United Kingdom and three miles from the shore."

Again, the same learned Judge, speaking on the question of compulsory pilotage, said—

"The Parliament of Great Britain, it is true, has not, according to the principles of public law, any authority to legislate for foreign vessels on the high seas, or for foreigners out of the limits of British jurisdiction; though, if Parliament thought fit to do so, this Court, in its instance jurisdiction at least, would be bound

to obey. In cases admitting of doubt, the presumption would be that Parliament intended to legislate without violating any rule of international law, and the construction has been accordingly. Within, however, British jurisdiction—namely, within British territory, and at sea within three miles from the coast, and within all British rivers *intra fauces*, and over foreigners in British ships, I apprehend that the British Parliament has an undoubted right to legislate."

Then he would add to that the opinion of the late Lord Wensleydale in that House in "*Gammell v. The Commissioners of Woods and Forests*," a well-known Scotch salmon fishery case—

"It may be worth while to observe that it would be hardly possible to extend it seaward beyond the distance of three miles, which, by the acknowledged law of nations, belongs to the coast of the country, is under the dominion of the country by being within cannon range, and so capable of being kept in perpetual possession."—[3 *Macq.* 465.]

In advising that House in another case, a noble and learned Friend (Lord Chelmsford), whom he was glad to see there to-night, and who held the Office which he (the Lord Chancellor) had the honour to hold, said—

"The three miles limit depends upon a rule of International Law, by which every independent State is considered to have territorial property and jurisdiction in the seas which wash their coast within the assumed distance of a cannon shot from the shore."

He would conclude his enumeration of authorities by referring to the opinion expressed by another noble and learned Friend (Lord Hatherley) of his, whom he was also glad to see there. His noble and learned Friend, in the case of a collision between a foreign and a British ship, said—

"With respect to foreign ships, I shall adhere to the opinion which I expressed in '*Cope v. Doherty*,' that a foreign ship meeting a British ship on the open ocean cannot properly be abridged of her rights by an Act of the British Legislature. Then comes the question, how far our Legislature could properly affect the rights of foreign ships within the limits of three miles from the coast of this country. There can be no possible doubt that the water below low-water mark is part of the high sea. But it is equally beyond question that for certain purposes every country may, by the common law of nations, exercise jurisdiction over that portion of the high seas which lies within three miles from its shores."

In the case of the "*Free Fisheries of Whitstable v. Gunn*" (H.H.M. 208), Sir William Earle said—

"The soil of the sea-shore to the extent of three miles from the beach is vested in the Crown."

Now, these were the opinions — and, as far as he was aware, there was no opinion in the other way—of the eminent Judges who had considered this subject. He had said that he would inform their Lordships what had been done in the way of legislation. He might refer their Lordships to many Acts of Parliament, but he would only refer to one. He would take the last edition of the Foreign Enlistment Act. That was an Act as regarded which, if the words "deliberation" and "care" might ever be applied to the passing of an Act, they might be applied to the passing of it. It was brought forward by the Government of the day under the advice of its Legal Advisers. It received, also, the gravest consideration from many persons outside the Government who interested themselves in questions of that kind. What that Act did was this—it was applicable, and necessarily so, to foreigners, and it provided that "this Act shall extend to all the dominions of Her Majesty, including the adjacent territorial waters." He had troubled their Lordships with these references because he felt bound, after the doubts supposed to be cast on the question, to establish the position that their Lordships were entitled to legislate as he proposed—that it was a right which we could exercise for ourselves and which did not depend on the consent of other nations, and was a right which he asked their Lordships to exercise again in order to obviate an objection that had arisen in respect of the exercise of the jurisdiction of the Crown. Her Majesty's Government did not wish to make any new enactment as regarded the case of British subjects within the territorial waters of this country—no person doubted the full jurisdiction of the Crown over them. It was only in the case of those who were not British subjects that doubts had been expressed. With regard to those who might be foreigners, and temporarily within the three-mile limit, Her Majesty's Government wished that there should not be an absolute necessity of proceeding against them for a breach of our law. The Bill, therefore, commenced by declaring that—

"The rightful jurisdiction of Her Majesty extends and always has extended over the open seas adjacent to the coasts of Her Majesty's

dominions to such a distance as is necessary for the defence and security of such dominions,"

and that—

"it is expedient that all offences committed on the open sea within a certain distance of our coasts, by whomsoever committed, should be dealt with according to law;"

it therefore proceeds to enact that—

"an offence committed by a person who is not a subject of Her Majesty, on the open sea, within the territorial waters of Her Majesty's dominions, is an offence within the jurisdiction of the Admiral, although it may have been committed on board of or by means of a foreign ship, and such offence may be tried and punished accordingly."

The proceedings for any such offence were not to be instituted except with the consent of the Secretary of State or the Governor of the Colony where it was proposed they should be instituted. All existing jurisdictions were saved; and the third section of the Definition Clause was as follows:—

"The territorial waters of the dominions of Her Majesty' in reference to the sea, means such part of the sea adjacent to the coast of the United Kingdom, or the coast of some other part of Her Majesty's dominions, as is deemed by International Law to be within the territorial sovereignty of Her Majesty; and, for the purpose of any offence under this Act, any part of the open sea within one marine league of the coast measured from low-water mark shall be deemed to be open sea within the territorial waters of the dominions of Her Majesty."

He asked their Lordships to read the Bill a first time, and he proposed the second reading for this day week.

LORD SELBORNE said, he agreed generally with all what had fallen from his noble and learned Friend. The necessity for the introduction of a Bill like this must have been obvious to everybody since the decision in the case of the *Franconia*. So far as that case proceeded, on the technical ground of the jurisdiction over a criminal offence on the high seas within the territorial waters of this country, he did not profess to entertain an opinion which would entitle him even to criticize the judgment of the majority of the learned Judges; but he must say that on reading some of the opinions then delivered, there did appear to him to be passages in them, which threw doubt upon the existence of any proper right of sovereignty over those waters which all writers had agreed in describ-

ing as territorial. Every other nation claimed a similar right, and, until that judgment, he had not supposed that there was any doubt among lawyers as to its existence. The fact that Selden, and earlier writers, had claimed too much on the part of this country, was indisputable; but he could not think this was a reason for hesitating to declare that the jurisdiction of this nation extended as far to seaward as the distance which had long since been universally acknowledged to be necessary for the independence and security of its shores. It was by the general consent of nations that the three-mile limit had been fixed, and within that limit other nations claimed exactly the same jurisdiction and rights that we ourselves claimed. The Bill proposed, very properly, to assert our right to punish criminal offences committed within that limit; and it was for that reason that he approved it. He did not object to the Preamble of the Bill, which expressed the principle of the right, rather than its conventional limit; nor did he say that his noble and learned Friend was wrong in leaving it open for consideration—so far as the Bill went—whether that right might, under possible future circumstances, be capable of extension. But he was not himself satisfied that any nation would be justified in an attempt to extend it, by its own internal legislation, beyond the recognized three-mile limit. It had been sometimes argued that, in consequence of the increase in the range of artillery, that limit should be extended to five or even six miles; but he doubted whether it would be very prudent to claim an extended zone because cannon were now constructed that would carry twice the old distance. The conventional line of three miles had been long and very generally received; and he, therefore, thought that it was safer to take the course proposed by the Bill, which was to adhere to that distance. If nations having seaboard should desire an extension of the zone, an understanding could be arrived at to that effect; but he thought it could not be done except by international assent.

THE DUKE OF SOMERSET asked whether the Bill would touch the question whether, in the case of bays, the three-mile limit would be measured from the shore, or from a line drawn from one headland to the other head-

land; also, whether any foreign ship would include ship of war?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR replied that ships of war would not come within the provisions of the Bill; and that the measure in no way touched the question relating to the measurement of distances.

A Bill to regulate the Law relating to the trial of offences committed on the sea within a certain distance of the coasts of Her Majesty's dominions—Was presented by The LORD CHANCELLOR; read 1<sup>st</sup>. (No. 23.)

House adjourned at a quarter before  
Seven o'clock, till To-morrow,  
half past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 14th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—For York, *v.* James Lowther, esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Ordered — First Reading —* Matrimonial Causes Acts Amendment\* [117]; Companies (Foreign Shareholders)\* [118].

*Second Reading —* (£8,000,000) Consolidated Fund\*; Exchequer Bonds, &c.\* [107]; County Government [93], *debate adjourned.*

*Committee —* Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) [44]—*R.F.*  
*Considered as amended —* House Occupiers Disqualification Removal (Scotland)\* [106].

## QUESTIONS.

### LAW AND JUSTICE—JURORS. QUESTION.

MR. J. COWEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention had been called to the "Times" newspaper report of the 4th instant of the trial of Regina *v.* Truelove; and, whether it be true that, one of the jury being unable to agree on a verdict with the majority, the Lord Chief Justice, after remonstrating with him, gave directions to the officer of the Court that the juror in question should not be put on a jury again?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, that his attention had not been specially called to the case mentioned

*Lord Selborne*

by the hon. Gentleman; he had, however, received a letter from the Lord Chief Justice in reference to the case mentioned by the hon. Gentleman, and he should be glad to show the letter to the hon. Gentleman if he would like to see it. The Lord Chief Justice said that the report in the newspapers was incorrect as to what took place. He merely pointed out, in consequence of the observation of the foreman, what was the question at issue for the decision of the jury. He did say to the officer of the Court that he had better not put a certain man on the jury again, not at all because he had refused to concur with the jury in their verdict, but because he believed he had seen him on other juries, and had observed that he had taken a somewhat obstinate course.

#### H.M.S. "BEAGLE"—JUDICIAL POWERS OF NAVAL COMMANDERS. QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he was not in error in stating that the Reverend Mr. Neilson, the Presbyterian missionary, was a member of the Court which tried the native of Tanna who was executed at the yard-arm of her Majesty's ship "Beagle"; and whether Mr. Neilson, in consenting to perform the duties of interpreter, did not distinctly disclaim any further responsibility in the matter?

MR. W. H. SMITH, in reply, said, the statements received at the Admiralty would not warrant him in asserting positively that the Rev. Mr. Neilson was a member of the Court which tried and sentenced; but he was present throughout the whole procedure, and his services and assistance were cordially acknowledged by the officer in command. The Papers, however, for which the hon. Baronet had moved would give him all the information they possessed on the subject.

#### GREENWICH HOSPITAL FUND—NAVAL PENSIONS.—QUESTION.

MR. P. A. TAYLOR asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether pensions granted to officers out of the Greenwich Hospital Fund since 1865 were at any time made contingent on their residing within the United Kingdom as in the case of the men?

MR. W. H. SMITH, in reply, said, prior to 1865 there were in existence certain pensions for officers called "Out Pensions of Greenwich Hospital," paid out of naval funds. In 1865 the name of these was changed to "Naval" Pensions, and, at the same time, their number was increased by other pensions, called "Greenwich Hospital" Pensions, being established, payable out of Greenwich Funds. Both sets of pensions were under the same regulations—the difference between them being only that one set was chargeable to Naval and the other set to Greenwich Funds. As there never was any restriction as to naval pensions being only enjoyable within the United Kingdom, no such restriction was imposed in the case of the additional pensions established in 1865. The case of the men was altogether different, and the age pensions given to them had no reference whatever to the regulations under which they might draw their naval pensions.

#### THE HERRING FISHERY.—QUESTION.

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can inform the House when the Report of the Herring Fishery Commission, which sat last year, will be laid upon the Table of the House?

MR. ASSHETON CROSS, in reply, said, the Report was completed, and was now in the printer's hands. It would, however, require revision, and some time would elapse before it could be laid upon the Table.

#### ARMY—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK—ARMY SURGEONS.—QUESTION.

DR. WARD asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been directed to the following statement, which appeared in the "Globe" of February 12th, as to the dearth of medical officers at the Cape:—

"We are at our wits' end for Army Surgeons. There are not even sufficient for all the Field Hospitals; and the General has authorised the employment of any Civil practitioners who can be got at an expense of from, I believe, two to five guineas a-day, so that the Government is put to an expense of about £7,000 a-year for the Surgeons in the field at present; "

and, whether that statement is correct; and, if so, whether he will explain how

such an emergency has been suffered to occur?

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY:** Sir, I have made inquiries into this matter, and it appears that since the breaking out of hostilities at the Cape two medical officers, whose term of service in that command had expired, were detained there, and six others had been sent from England, some of whom probably had not arrived when the letter referred to was written. Twenty-seven non-commissioned officers and men of the Army Hospital Corps have been despatched as an addition to the existing establishment, and a considerable supply of medical and surgical equipment has been forwarded. The military medical officers are sufficient for the number of troops; but private medical practitioners, to the number of 12, are employed with the local volunteer force, and also at several of the base hospitals. The force is divided into so many small detachments that it is impossible to supply military medical officers to all, but the important appointments and the moveable field hospitals are in charge of military medical officers. With regard to the expense of the private medical practitioners, it is only temporary, and will cease with their temporary employment, and the rates of remuneration vary from 12s. to 40s. a-day, only one being paid at the rate of three guineas a-day. This expense is not greater than if military medical officers were employed, and is, as already stated, only temporary. The military authorities were lately referred to to know if any increase of medical officers or Army Hospital Corps had been asked for by the general officer commanding at the Cape, but the reply was in the negative.

#### COUNTY GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND. QUESTION.

**MAJOR NOLAN** asked Mr. Attorney General for Ireland, If he will be able to introduce and to print the Bill relating to County Government in Ireland prior to the Second Reading of the Bill on County Government in England?

**SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH:** Sir, I beg to be allowed to answer the Question of the hon. and gallant Gentleman. It was my intention to endeavour to find an opportunity to intro-

duce the Bill to amend the Irish Grand Laws immediately after the close of the recent debates on foreign affairs, but some 10 days ago my attention was directed to other matters. It would be a great advantage to have the Bill before the House as early as possible, and I shall take the earliest opportunity of communicating with my Successor on the subject.

#### CRIMINAL LAW—IMPRISONMENT OF A CHILD.—QUESTION.

**MR. A. M'ARTHUR** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is true, as stated in the "Times" of January 31st, that a little girl only six or seven years of age has been committed to Newgate Prison on a charge of passing counterfeit coins at the instigation of her mother; and, if so, whether he can take any steps towards providing a more suitable place of custody for the said child of tender years than a criminal gaol?

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS:** Sir, the girl was committed to Newgate in the ordinary way, and no blame can be attached to the magistrate. Objecting, as I do, to see children in a prison, I have taken upon myself to order that the child should at once be removed to a workhouse, where she will be detained until the time of her trial.

#### ARMY RANK—CLERKS OF THE ROYAL ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.—QUESTION.

**MR. GOLDSMID** asked the Secretary of State for War, If he would explain to the House why the advantages of relative Army rank, alluded to in Par. 142 of the Royal Warrant on Army Retirement, dated August last, are alone refused to the Established Clerks, Royal Engineer Department?

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY:** Sir, the case stands thus—Members of the Royal Engineer Civil Department have certain allowances under their own warrant; but in the pay warrants of 1866 and 1870 they were included among the officers with relative rank, because certain cases might possibly arise in which their own allowances could not be drawn, and they would then have those of their relative rank. On the 4th of June, 1868, Sir John Pakington declined in Parliament to grant them the military

scale of allowances. They have since been refused by later Secretaries of State. In the recent Warrant of August 13, 1877, these gentlemen are included under relative rank for the same reasons as in 1866 and 1870; but there was not any intention of changing their position or emoluments. The technical difficulty will be removed in the "Corrigenda" Warrant, about to be issued.

#### TURKEY—TRADE IN THE BLACK SEA, &c.—QUESTION.

LORD CLAUD HAMILTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he could state to the House the annual value of the trade between this Country and Constantinople, the Ports of the Black Sea, and the Danube?

SIR CHARLES ADDERLEY: Sir, the annual value, of course, varies every year, and I am afraid there will be considerable diminution this year. The information asked for is given in three several Returns. The amount and kinds of articles can be found in the annual statement of trade presented in June. The statistical abstract shows the principal figures for 15 years previous, presented in May. Monthly accounts state for the month just passed, together with the expired months of the same year. The value of imports in 1876-7 was—from Russia, Southern ports, £5,210,920; Wallachia and Moldavia, £1,238,091; and the whole of European Turkey—the returns from Constantinople only not being separate—£4,589,538; total, £11,038,549. And the exports for the same period were—to Russia, Southern ports, £1,544,271; Moldavia and Wallachia, £786,838; European Turkey, £3,731,278; total, £6,062,387.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—CONSTANTINOPLE—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET.—QUESTIONS.

MR. E. JENKINS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether there is any truth in the report, stated to have come from the Mediterranean Fleet, that orders sent to the Fleet on or about January 23rd were to the effect that if the Turks refused to allow the Fleet to pass, the Fleet were to "silence the forts and fight their way up;" whether it is true that ac-

cordingly preparations were made by the Admiral and orders issued for that purpose; and, whether as a matter of fact any orders were sent to the Admiral commanding supplementary to those read by the Right honourable Gentleman to the House on the 28th of January?

MR. W. H. SMITH: It is the wish of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer that I should answer the Question, as it falls within my Department. I produced to the House the orders which were given to Admiral Hornby on the 23rd, and I trust I shall not be deemed guilty of discourtesy to the hon. Member or any Member of this House if I state that I do not think it to be consistent with my duty, under the present circumstances, to answer a Question of such a character as that which the hon. Member has addressed to me.

MR. E. JENKINS: I beg to give Notice that in consequence of the Answer of the right hon. Gentleman, I shall repeat the Question to-morrow, with this addition—

"To ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer, What construction is to be placed upon his statement made in this House on the 28th January before reading to the House the instructions sent to the Fleet?—'It has already been stated by the Prime Minister that the Government have ordered a communication to be made not only to the Russian Government, but also to the other European Governments, as to the object for which the Fleet is to be sent. As to the manner in which the Fleet is to be employed, I will read the telegram sent to Admiral Hornby.'"

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is in his power to give any information to the House with reference to the movements of the Mediterranean Fleet, and also with reference to the negotiations with the Porte on the subject of the passage of the Fleet through the Dardanelles, which, I believe, he stated on Monday last were in progress?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I stated—I think, or, at all events, referred on Monday last to the fact—that communications had been made to the Porte to ascertain whether permission would be given, or a firman be granted, for the British Fleet to enter the Dardanelles. That permission was refused; but Her Majesty's Govern-



ment thought it right to direct the ships to proceed, and they have proceeded accordingly. The Governor of the Straits protested against their passing; but, in compliance with their orders, the ships passed on. No material opposition was offered, and they are by this time, I presume, anchored in the neighbourhood of Constantinople. I may, perhaps, mention that a communication has been made by the Russian Government to the effect that, in view of the intended sending of the Fleet by Her Majesty's Government to the neighbourhood of Constantinople, it would be a matter for the consideration of the Russian Government whether they should not themselves occupy the city. In answer to that Her Majesty's Government have sent a communication, which will be laid on the Table of the House to-night, in which they protest against that view, and state that they cannot acknowledge that in the case of the two countries the circumstances are parallel, or that the despatch of the British Fleet for the purpose indicated justifies the Russian Government in the step which they announce it to be their intention to take.

SIR LAWRENCE PALK asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government adhere to their repeated declarations to the effect that this country would not view with indifference even a temporary occupation of Constantinople by the Russian troops; and, whether Her Majesty's Government has given it to be distinctly understood by the Russian Government that they cannot admit in any way the validity of the alleged protest against the entry of the British Fleet into the Bosphorus as absolving the Russian Government from its promises and pledges on the subject?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I think that the Answer I have just given to the noble Lord is practically a reply to the Question of the hon. Baronet. The Government, of course, adhere to the declarations they have made.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will be able to state whether any other European Power has sent any ships to the neighbourhood of Constantinople; or if he is aware whether it is the intention of any other Power to do so?

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No other Power has at present sent any of its ships. I am not in a position absolutely to state what the intentions of the other Powers are. It will be more convenient to state that to-morrow.

MR. LOWE: The right hon. Gentleman stated that no "material" opposition was offered to the Fleet passing through the Dardanelles. I wish he would, if it is convenient, explain the meaning of that phrase, and state what opposition was offered?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I am sorry if I used a wrong epithet. What I meant was that nothing in the way of force was used, but that simply a protest was made—a verbal protest on the part of the Governor of the Dardanelles.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Can the right hon. Gentleman inform the House whether the lines of Gallipoli were included within the neutral zone?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, we have no information on the subject.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

### CONSOLIDATED FUND (£6,000,000) BILL.

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Colonel Stanley.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

MR. E. JENKINS said, that before the House was finally committed to the measure, he wished to say a few words upon the position in which the House found itself with regard to this Vote. The hon. Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) the other night had emptied his mind, and out of it came things both bitter and sweet, and now he (Mr. E. Jenkins) proposed to empty his head, and possibly there would come out of it elements of strychnia and aloes. They had been brought into their present position—which was one both of danger and of deplorable humiliation to this country—by an invertebrate Government upon one side of the House, and upon the other a flabby and mollus-

cous set of Gentlemen clinging like limpets to the rock of the front bench; but helping in no way to give anything like backbone to the policy of England. That might be a strong thing to be said by a young Member, but he was sure in saying it he was speaking the sentiments of a large number of people in this country. It would be a deplorable and mortifying thing to run over the history of the transactions of Her Majesty's Government during the last two years. ["No, no!"] He repeated it. At this moment the country was placed in a position of the greatest danger, because there was on one side of the House a Government who, having no backbone of their own, were subject to the pressure of a section of their Party, which was holding meetings and bringing the whole of its influence to bear in the direction of an act almost of lunacy in the foreign policy of this country. The right hon. Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel), for whom he entertained great admiration—an admiration which was, however, tempered with discretion—went down the other night to that arena of humanity and philanthropy, Exeter Hall, and made a war speech—a speech against Russia—towards the close of which he said that he felt there “was a spirit rising within him.” He did not state at what hour in the evening this embarrassing phenomenon had appeared; or whether it had visited his head, or his heart, or what other portion of his body. But the spirit to which he had given utterance on that occasion he (Mr. Jenkins) would venture to say was not a spirit of sound sense or a spirit of high policy in relation to the interests of this country. It seemed to him that what they saw, not only on that side of the House, but on the other, was, that men seemed incapable of looking at this question in the manner that befitted Englishmen, who, conscious of their own strength, felt that they might calmly observe great international passages of arms and great re-distributions of territory, because, whenever our interests were really attacked, they knew that we should be able to defend them. As for the right hon. Baronet

It seemed to him, looking at the course of the movement which had taken place in this country with regard to the Eastern Question, that a spirit had taken possession of hon. Members, blinding them to the true interests of this country, and leading them to utter with respect to a friendly Power sentiments that could only excite the resentment of its people. Nor was it only among the Party of which the right hon. Member for Tamworth was an elevated type that such expressions of feeling were to be heard. There had also proceeded from the front bench expressions insulting to the dignity of the Emperor of Russia; and he asked whether at such a time as this, when delicate negotiations were going on, and questions of the utmost delicacy were arising, it was right that such speeches as that of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary or the Secretary for War should be telegraphed to St. Petersburg to be reported and discussed by the Russian Press? He had that evening put to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer a Question which the right hon. Gentleman had thought it not expedient to answer. He alluded to this now for the purpose of emphasizing the fact, of which he must try to speak in Parliamentary terms, that statements were made by statesmen in that House which were supposed to be, or which purported to be, statements of entire candour and frankness; but in regard to which they were afterwards obliged to admit that certain modifications and qualifications must be made. The case was this—The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer the other day made a statement of great importance with respect to the movements of the Fleet, and read the secret instructions given to Admiral Hornby as to the manner in which the Fleet was to be employed. Well, a report had appeared in a Scotch newspaper that the Fleet had been ordered to be ready to force the passage of the Dardanelles if necessary; that the Admiral had received written instructions to do so; that the officers had been ordered to be ready for action, and had been furnished with plans of the Turkish forts and distinct directions as to the course they were to take if the passage of the Fleet were opposed. Yet anyone who had heard the words of the right hon. Gentleman must have supposed that he had stated

“The spirit that he had seen might be a Devil,  
For the Devil hath power to assume a pleasing  
shape,”

the whole of the truth in regard to the instructions that were sent to the Fleet. The honour of our Ministers was a matter of the greatest consequence. He had seen a short time since in an Italian newspaper a quotation from one of the English journals—probably *The Daily Telegraph*—where the quotation was given under reserve, because it came from an English newspaper; but he trusted the day would never come when a statement would be so given under reserve because it came from an English Minister. The right hon. Gentleman told us at one time that the Cabinet was unanimous, although within 10 days we had proof that there was a grave diversity of opinion in it. He was not needlessly offering the right hon. Gentleman an opportunity of making explanations. He might tell the right hon. Gentleman that he had felt, and many people felt, that such statements as these from the front bench tended in no small degree to diminish the confidence of the people of this country in their Government, and naturally to damage and deteriorate the character of English statesmen. He came now more immediately to the important question which was before the House. The other night the Government succeeded in carrying by a large majority the Vote for the £6,000,000, and now they asked that the House should consummate that action. Had anything happened in the interval since the Vote was brought forward to increase our confidence in the policy of the Government? They were reticent; we did not know what they were doing; we only knew that they had taken a step of the utmost danger, and every step they took seemed to be taken under pressure, not from the brains of the Party, but from that part of the Party which was most light-headed—that part of the Party which had seemed least to have studied the question, which was most prejudiced, and which seemed least to care about what was really just and right with regard to it. From day to day he heard hon. Members on the Ministerial side of the House, and also, he regretted to say, on his own side, reflecting on the action of the Russian Government simply because it was the action of the Russian Government, and as if it must therefore of necessity be unjust. For his own part, up to that moment he had felt no suspicion or jealousy of the Russian

Government. Up to that moment the Russian Government had behaved with greater dignity, greater straightforwardness, and greater generosity than our own had done. ["Oh!"] Well, it was time that somebody should say that in that House. He did not say that he supported the policy of the Russian Government, but in his opinion the conduct of that Government had been more straightforward and generous than that of Her Majesty's Government. The more he considered their conduct the more he blushed for English statesmanship. It was either ungenerous, or it was inept—one thing or the other, whichever hon. Members liked. The way in which Her Majesty's Government were at this moment conducting their negotiations appeared to point to a most perilous result. Instead of striving to maintain friendship with Russia, which he believed was possible, we were only doing what must tend to excite her hostility. It could not be denied that we had had most friendly assurances from Russia, and it was a point which yet remained to be cleared up why Her Majesty's Government had suppressed the important document which was forwarded to them by Colonel Wellesey, and which Lord Beaconsfield might have had in his pocket when he made that second warlike and insolent speech of his at the Guildhall. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to get up and vindicate English statesmen from aspersions which must be injurious to their character. It appeared to him that the line now taken by Her Majesty's Government was dangerous and impolitic; that it was calculated to excite the Russian Government to hostilities. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), in a speech he had listened to with admiration, and which was full of wisdom and far-seeing political sagacity, the other night pointed out to the Government what were the aims this country ought to keep in view, and said one great aim which the people of this country were determined to carry out was that of delivering the enslaved people—the subject-races of Turkey—from that bondage under which they had suffered for now nearly 400 years. The people of this country were resolved that on no account whatever should we contribute, in connection with

Austria or otherwise, to limit the designs of Russia in regard to the liberation of those enslaved races. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer might say—"That is not our policy;" but he (Mr. Jenkins) would ask, how could they be allied to Austria without agreeing to carry out the designs of Austria, which were necessarily to clip and curb the efforts that were being made for the liberation of those peoples? But, on the other hand, hon. Members opposite, honestly and sincerely jealous of Russia, said of the design of Russia that it was simply to bring these people under her own control, and use them as her tools. Might he give the views of one Englishman at least upon that view. He did not hesitate to say—"Better for that part of the world that it should be entirely Russian, and that all the Slav races should be united, than that it should fall back under the horrible rule under which it had hitherto existed." His hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen), in a speech of rare eloquence, talked the other day of the policy of Russia towards Poland. He knew that there was a very deep sympathy with Poland in this country. He thought it had been more sentimental than wise; but his opinion, from reading history, was that Poland was the greatest nuisance that ever existed in the centre of Europe, and that no better thing was ever done than the abolition of the Polish Government. It was an oligarchic despotism of the worst and lowest type. Of course, one felt, when one read that history, some pity with regard to it; one admitted the partition was a great crime; but his conclusion was that, after all, it was simply the very best thing that could have happened for Poland. ["Oh!"] Of course, he was only stating his own opinion, and hon. Members were entitled to theirs; but he ventured to say, at all events, whatever might be the feelings in this country with regard to Poland, Richard Cobden, in a pamphlet published in 1835 or 1836, had pointed out, that while in Poland there were no chances whatever, and no possibility whatever of reformation from a terrible system of despotism, in Russia there were even then hopes in that direction. From that time Russia had been improving; the Slavs were improving; and,

depend upon it, whatever this country might strive to do, when the energies of 80,000,000 of people were directed to unite themselves with 20,000,000 of others who were fellow-Slavs, and who ought to be free, one might as well endeavour to stop the Thames at London Bridge with his little finger as to prevent them. If this country were to lend itself, in conjunction with Austria, to a policy which tended to check that great movement, we might depend upon it, whatever might happen in the next few years, and however successful we might be in our military or naval enterprizes, the British race and Empire would have to stand face to face with those against whom we had fought, but who would not be subdued, and who would be our enemies for generation after generation. He appealed to the House whether it was worth while, because British honour had been flouted by this or that act of Russia, that they should spend £100,000,000 sterling for such a result. If the policy of Her Majesty's Government were not to join with Austria in endeavouring to limit the action of Russia in freeing the enslaved peoples of Turkey, then what did they mean to do? A very significant article, which appeared to be inspired—God knew how leading articles in the newspapers were inspired now-a-days!—in *The Standard*, gave notice to Europe that henceforth our Government were not going to be the cat's-paw of Europe, but were going to act simply and solely for the protection of British interests. If that were really the policy of the British Government, one would feel some satisfaction; but one would like to know what it meant. Was it possible that Her Majesty's Government had in view some great surprise for Europe—that she was going to occupy Egypt or Mytilene, or to take possession of Constantinople? Was it likely that these things would be permitted by the Mediterranean Powers without some protest? The Government were going to carry off the £6,000,000; but the House was entitled, before absolutely parting with it, to have some indication of the line of policy which they intended to carry out; and, for his own part, he was prepared to divide the House unless the Chancellor of the Exchequer was able to give the assurance that in no case would the money be used in any way to limit the

amount of liberty which was to be conferred on those subject-peoples under the arrangements made between Russia and Turkey. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would not feel that he had exceeded the proper limits of criticism in the remarks he had felt bound to make on the action of Her Majesty's Government. He trusted that the time had come when Her Majesty's Government had abandoned all idea of Turkish independence and integrity, all thought of setting Turkey on her legs again, and had resolved to leave her to be treated as she deserved by the Power which had succeeded in crushing her. He also asked the Government to appeal to the country to place on the acts of Russia a more generous construction. Do not let it be said that everything done by that Power was necessarily unjust. An hon. Member came and told him yesterday, as if it were a very flagitious act, that the Russians had threatened to occupy Constantinople in the event of the English Fleet entering the Dardanelles. His reply was that they were quite right in doing so. Russia was perfectly right in doing whatever she could to secure and defend herself against the action of Her Majesty's Government, for whatever they might say about their friendship, their words had been hostile and menacing. Again and again had the kindly words of some Ministers been counteracted by the speeches of other Ministers, and by the language both of their newspapers and of hon. Members opposite. If they could only hope that the Government would not be carried away by any fear, that they would feel that Britain was strong and able to resent any hostile action that could be taken against her interests, that they might calmly await the solution of this matter, whether by a Conference or the issues of war; if they could believe that in any case England was strong to maintain her dignity and interests when really attacked, then he believed they would be able calmly to contemplate the perturbations around them, and the Government would be free to take that generous course, which was the only course which befitted the Government of England. In conclusion, he begged to thank the House for listening to his remarks, which were almost wholly unpremeditated.

*Mr. E. Jenkins*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I do not know whether the House would desire on this occasion to renew the general debate on this question; but, although the hon. Gentleman the Member for Dundee has made certain observations which might tempt one to follow him, I do not desire to do so. I only rise for the purpose of making a single observation upon that part of the hon. Gentleman's speech which seemed to bring a charge of want of candour against the Government in general, and myself in particular, with regard to the orders that were given to the Fleet. That is the sort of charge which I think should not remain unanswered. I entirely dispute the right of the hon. Gentleman to make such a charge. What happened, I think, was this—that in the course of a general speech or of remarks made in answer to a Question, I forget which, I stated what the orders were that had been sent out to Admiral Hornby with regard to the movements of the Fleet; and as to the use that it was to be put to, I stated that it was for the purpose of protecting life and property and keeping the waterway open, and I read the telegram in which those orders were given. Of course I did not attempt to give specific and detailed instructions as to how Admiral Hornby was to carry out those general orders, but I should think that the terms "keep the waterway open" would show pretty clearly that these would be instructions necessary as to what would have to be done in the event of any obstacles arising. I do not see that there is ground for saying there has been the slightest unnecessary reserve on the part of the Government in this matter, or that I omitted anything which ought to have been said. Our desire has been to treat the House with the utmost candour, and I put it to the House whether they would expect that detailed orders as to the precise course to be adopted by Admiral Hornby should have been stated.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins) in his speech dropped an observation which leads me to make an appeal to him. He referred to a matter which I, for one, hold to be of the very greatest consequence—namely, the relations in which this country may stand to Austria with regard to the course of these negotia-

tions. I know no larger or deeper question connected with the settlement of the whole of the Eastern affairs of Europe. It is one which I look upon with great anxiety, and upon which I, for one, am determined, health being spared me, to do my duty in this House if occasion arise. The hon. Member has expressed an aversion, in which I entirely and absolutely share, to any combination whatever with Austria or any other Power for the purpose of limiting the freedom to be granted to the Slavs. That is an issue, upon which, if it became necessary to raise it, we may boldly make our appeal to all classes and descriptions of Englishmen. I own that I do not feel that it would be fair to ask the Government at this moment to make a conclusive declaration upon the subject. The time has not come, so far as we know, when any considerable progress has been made between Russia and Turkey in describing and formulating fully the provisions of the Treaty as between these two Powers; and until considerable progress has been made in that operation, I do not know that we should be justified in asking Her Majesty's Government for any conclusive declaration upon that subject; and, therefore, I hope my hon. Friend may be disposed to re-consider the announcement that he made, that unless he obtained such a declaration from the Government to-night he would divide the House. We have been fairly heard upon the subject of the present Vote. We have fully laid before the country our views, and I own I am in the entire belief that our views are those of the great majority of this nation. [*Ironical cheers, and cries of "No, no!"*] These are my views. It is not necessary to argue in support of them at length, but I feel myself not less competent to form an opinion than some of those hon. Gentlemen opposite whose derisive cheers I have just listened to. I do not want to enter into the matter at all. I am only using it as an argument with my hon. Friend why I do not think it necessary to challenge the judgment of the House at the present time, nor will I enter upon the subject of the recent orders for the Fleet to proceed to Constantinople, nor the quasi-hostile proceeding in the face of the protest of the Porte. There will be opportunities for discussion on that subject; but there is one point on which I shall

be very glad if—I do not say to-day, but on to-morrow, or on a very early day—the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer could give us a little information. It has been publicly stated in *The Times* newspaper of yesterday, and in a communication from St. Petersburg, that the Austrian Government, on or about the 30th January, had made a formal communication to Prince Gortchakoff which was in the nature of a definition of the special Austrian interests which they considered to be involved in the present negotiations. Of course it is only the statement of a newspaper correspondent, but still it is a positive statement telegraphed from St. Petersburg to *The Times* of yesterday. I could certainly have understood the setting forth of especial Austrian interests on many questions connected with the Black Sea, and particularly with questions as to the absolute freedom of the Danube, who is to be its custodian, and everything connected with the Bosphorus and Dardanelles. These, however, according to the statement, were not the matters put forward as special Austrian interests. The words used are these—

"The matters especially affecting Austrian interests were the situation in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, the territorial aggrandizement of Servia and Montenegro, and the temporary occupation of Bulgaria by the Russian troops."

I would not think of asking now, independently of the fact that my right hon. Friend has spoken, for any answer on this subject; but I will venture to ask to-morrow, if that be convenient, whether my right hon. Friend is able to give to Parliament any communication on the subject of such communication from Austria to the Russian Government? I venture to hope that my hon. Friend will withdraw his Resolution.

SIR ROBERT PEEL: Sir, I wish to make one or two remarks on the speech of the hon. Member who opened the debate. The hon. Member went over the whole question in a speech which he informed the House was wholly unprepared. If that were the case, what must his prepared speeches be, for his language and diction were perfectly splendid? The hon. Member paid me the compliment of passing considerable eulogiums on me; but the hon. Gentleman made use of expressions for which, if his speech had been prepared, I should

have called him seriously to account. I do not wish now to enter into the policy of the Government, I only wish to say a few words with respect to what has fallen from the hon. Member. I certainly did not expect to hear it laid to the charge of Ministers on the Treasury bench, by a Member of any Party in the House, that they had not considered the dignity of Russia. What they have to consider is the dignity of this country. That is their sole and only duty—while being just and fair towards other States, to consider, not the dignity of this or that Power, but the dignity of England. But when I heard the hon. Member make other remarks, I confess I was not surprised to notice the expressions with which he was greeted. Did not the House listen with shame to what has fallen from the hon. Member with regard to Poland? I venture to say there is not one man in the House who concurs with the hon. Member in thinking that Poland has been a nuisance. Sir, if the hon. Member knew anything of Poland, if he had lived, as I have lived, for two years of his life in the closest intimacy with illustrious exiles of that unhappy country, he would not have dared to make use of such an expression. The hon. Member then alluded personally to me, and to some remarks I made in Exeter Hall. Now, it is perfectly true that I did speak in Exeter Hall, and I must confess that I spoke as I thought to the enthusiastic gratification of not a packed meeting, but a meeting of several thousand persons who seemed desirous to express their confidence in the Government. The hon. Member has said that I made a very warlike speech. That is a charge often thrown out against hon. Members sitting on this side of the House. Nothing can be more unfair than to charge hon. Members sitting here with a desire for a war policy; and nothing, I am sure, can be further from the desire of the Government than to be thought to favour such a policy. I must admit, however, in common with everyone who has witnessed the proceedings of the last seven days, that I have felt considerable anxiety and alarm. Not that we wish to see this country drifting into war—on the contrary, we wish to have some certain sound of policy which may guide the Government and the country. I think the statement which has now been made by the Government, not-

withstanding the hesitation of the few days, that they will consider British interests only, and that the Fleet has proceeded to the Sea of Marmora to protect the lives and interests of British subjects, shows a determination and a policy which will be hailed with satisfaction by the country. My right hon. Friend the Member for Greenwich has said that it will be very dangerous for the Government if they join in a certain course of action with Austria, and the hon. Member for Dundee, in his wholly unprepared speech, has made the same remark. I must admit that I very much agree with the right hon. Gentleman. I have watched the policy of Austria for many years, and I recollect her conduct during the Crimean War—how she planned solely with a view to preserving and conserving her own interests. She is not perhaps to be blamed for this; but nevertheless her policy requires to be watched. History tells us how in the earliest period of this century Austria has invariably played a false game towards those States which placed confidence in her. And even so recently as during the Franco-German War, we all know how the promises by Austria to Louis Napoleon proved illusory. No one denies all this, and I agree with the right hon. Gentleman, that great discretion must be shown in forming any connection with Austria on this question. But I believe the danger comes from another quarter—that the real root and origin of all this trouble in Europe springs from Germany. If, in the beginning, Germany had acted with a straightforward policy towards Europe, this war might have been stopped, and I am not sure that even now, if the Chancellor of the German Empire were to tell Russia that if she were to offer any further outrage to the feelings of Europe, Germany would not regard it with indifference, all difficulty would be at an end. Therefore, while agreeing with my right hon. Friend in a feeling of distrust towards Austria, I confess to even a greater distrust of the policy of Germany. I do hope, from the statements we have heard from the Government to-night, that we are not drifting into war, but that we are proceeding upon a policy based solely and only upon British interests; and I also hope from what we have heard to-night, there will be no longer that feeling of hesitation as re-

gards the action of the Government which certainly and undoubtedly has pervaded the minds of very many during the past few days, that if we are not drifting into war, we are actually on the brink of war. I shall, therefore, be glad if some Member of the Government can get up and give us still fuller explanations than we have hitherto received. I think the House of Commons is entitled to it. At this most critical juncture of affairs, the Government are bound to take the House of Commons into its confidence, and to let it know really what weight may be attached to the conflicting and harassing rumours which daily obtain currency and unhinge the public mind. I trust there is no danger of our being on the brink of war; but if we are not, let us be told so. The country, I believe, is with the Government; the House of Commons is with them; all we want is that we may know at this critical juncture where we stand. No one knows better than Her Majesty's Government that the spirit of the British nation is certainly never hostile to a straightforward and honourable policy, when that policy is carried out solely and only to assert, if necessary, British interests, and to vindicate, if necessary, national honour.

LORD ROBERT MONTAGU: Sir, I rise to call attention to a fallacy which has just been propounded by the right hon. Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone). He generally does come down to the House with some new fallacy which, if not astute, is at least likely to beguile and mislead. He has just said that "he entirely and absolutely shares the aversion of the hon. Member for Dundee from any combination whatever with Austria," and that we should guard against "limiting the freedom of the Christian populations of the East." Sir, I am as anxious for the liberty, the real liberty, of the Christian, and of every other population of the East, as the right hon. Member himself can be. I am a lover of liberty, and desire that mental condition, not for our own country alone, but for all other nations also. But, Sir, the right hon. Member, in order to prove his case, must start from the assumption—although he does not express it—that the Turk is a tyrant, and that the Christian populations of the East have been oppressed by the Porte. To this I demur. On what evi-

dence does that proposition rest? On the venal reports concerning atrocities, which have been written by newspaper correspondents, who afterwards boasted that they had invented those stories of atrocities in order "to write down" the Turks; reports which were speedily disproved and contradicted by our diplomatic agents in the East. I do not, therefore, accept the dictum that the Turks are intolerant or tyrannical. Yet, for argument's sake, I will grant it to the right hon. Member, so as to take him on his own ground. Now, I ask him what it is that he has all along desired? To drive out one tyrant in order to bring in a greater tyrant? That, Sir, would be the greatest possible "limitation on the freedom of the Christian populations of the East!" I need not go over the history of Russia, which, during the last 100 years, has been written in blood, and uttered in the shrieks and groans of the oppressed. I need not go back to Poland and her partition in 1772; nor to her wrongs in 1831, and in 1863. It is enough to point to the Blue Book of last year, concerning the heartrending and horrible persecutions of the United Greeks in Chelm. A brutal soldiery quartered on the inhabitants; a free use of the Cossack whip; women, and children even, flogged almost to death. Men and women and children driven by Cossacks over the snow, and through a river, up to their necks in water, and to a neighbouring church, where they were bidden, at the point of the Cossack's lance, to sign a memorial praying for admission to the Russo-Greek Church. Those who refused were martyred. One old woman received 100 blows of the heavy Cossack whip. A number were driven away from their homes, and from religious ministrations, to a distant and desolate country. The fact must ever be borne in mind that the Russo-Greek Church, with the Czar at its head, bears as bitter a hatred to the Greek Church—whose head is the Patriarch of Constantinople—as it does to the Catholic Church and to Islam. The Greek Church regards the Czar as Anti-Christ, because he claims adoration as a semi-Deity, and calls himself the infallible and omnipotent head of the Christian Church. We have all, doubtless, read in a recent Blue Book, the vehement protest, or Encyclical, of the Patriarch of the Greek



Church against the invasion of the Ottoman Empire by the Czar. In that Encyclical he proclaimed, in the name of the whole Greek Church, that they would all prefer to live under the tolerant sway of the Turk rather than under the grinding oppression of Russia. In a despatch of our Ambassador at Constantinople, dated last May, the same was stated on behalf of the Armenian Christians; they prefer the Turkish sway to Russian tyranny. Yet you are content to leave Russia, in those countries, to "limit the freedom of the Christian populations of the East." You desire to see them ground to powder under the iron heel of a ruthless oppressor. You have allowed the Turk to be driven out and replaced by the Czar, who is a bloody tyrant; and this is applauded by hypocritical lovers of liberty in this House. I am indignant—

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, I rise to Order. I heard the word "tyrant," as applied to a Ruler who is in alliance with us, and on friendly terms with this country. I wish to know whether the noble Lord is in Order in using such an expression?

**MR. GLADSTONE:** It appears to me, Sir, that it must have been from an involuntary deviation from the Rules of this House that the noble Lord has spoken of Members of this House as "hypocritical lovers of liberty." I wish to know whether that term is in Order?

**MR. SPEAKER:** The language employed by the noble Lord was not respectful to a Sovereign who is an Ally, and friendly to this country. It is also out of Order to attribute motives to Members of this House, by calling them "hypocritical." The noble Lord will doubtless think it advisable to withdraw the expressions complained of, and I call upon him to do so.

**LORD ROBERT MONTAGU:** I am quite ready to do your bidding, Sir. As to the Czar, I will withdraw the word "tyrant," and substitute any synonymous term which you may designate.

**MR. SPEAKER:** The noble Lord should withdraw the assertion altogether.

**LORD ROBERT MONTAGU:** Very well, Sir, I will do so, and not say anything, in substitution, about the Czar. In using the terms "hypocritical lovers of liberty," I will not apply it to Members of this House, but only to persons

who have spoken outside the House, who have pretended to desire liberty, and yet favour the despotism—there can be no objection to that word—the grinding despotism, religious and civil, of the Czar.

**MR. JOHN BRIGHT:** But you did use the term in regard to Members; you said "hypocritical lovers of liberty in this House."

**LORD ROBERT MONTAGU:** Did I? Then I am very sorry that I mentioned Members of this House. I thought I had used the term generally, without pointing at any individuals. Well; but if you do not desire that the Russian power should remain in European Turkey and in Armenia, why do you cast dirt at Austria, and warn the Government to turn from "every combination whatever with Austria," for fear of "limiting the liberties of the Christian population of the East?" Austria alone protested against the partition of Poland in 1772. On January 3, 1815, Austria signed a Treaty with France and England, and combined with Turkey, with the intention of re-constituting Poland. When we were preparing to enter upon the Crimean War, I believe that Austria refused to join us except on condition that we should undertake to restore the liberties of Poland, and give them that Constitution which the Czar had contracted by the Treaty of 1815, and sworn to maintain. "The loss of Russia's western frontier territory," which Prince Albert spoke of in his Memorandum of March 8, 1855, seems to allude to it. Why, then, do you say that Austria is so averse to the liberties of Christians in the Ottoman Empire? Without Austria, how can you now do anything? Before this you might have done so; but you have let the time and opportunity slip away. Now, you can do nothing without Austria, and everything with her. Your Fleets are at Constantinople. Of what use are they there? If they are to do anything, the Black Sea is the only place for them. They are even in great danger where they are. The Straits have forts on each side, and the waters may soon be filled with torpedoes, so that your ships will be unable either to advance or to return. The Russians have been collecting a number of torpedoes and torpedo boats, and have brought thousands of sailors to the South. So you will not be able to do anything, as

*Lord Robert Montagu*

you cannot advance to the Black Sea. Nor will you find it easy to get back through the Dardanelles; and so you will be starved out where you are. Whether there exists a Treaty of Alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Czar and Sultan, or not, matters not now. You have allowed the Sultan to fall completely under the power of the Czar, and he must do whatever the Czar wants him to do, or else be crushed to powder, and yield his dominions to Russia. It is now either Russia, or a Russian vassal at Constantinople. Therefore, if Russia wants the Straits to be plugged with torpedoes, it will be done. Because Russia wished it, you have got your Fleet up now into the mouse-trap. Yet, whatever you do, must be done in the Black Sea. If you mean war, you must stop supplies from coming to the Russian armies, from Odessa, Sebastopol, Asia, or even across the Bosphorus and Sea of Marmora. You must stop all supplies by water. What then? You cannot land 300,000 men to cut off the Russian communications, so you must have recourse to Austria's aid, or do nothing. On the other hand, if you mean peace, then you want a Conference. Every Conference I fear. Every Conference has always ended in a limitation of the liberties of peoples. Moreover, you are always outdone in diplomacy. Yet you wish to go to a Conference, and be "strong in the voice of England." How can you be strong in Conference and in voice, when every Power in Europe knows that you are weak and helpless now, and can do nothing? How, then, can you in Conference insist on the liberties of the Christian populations of the East? How can you alone free them from a grim tyrant's grip? You can do so only if you have the help of Austria, which you repudiate; but with the help of Austria, whom you vilify, you may do all that you desire in the cause of real liberty. The same exactly may be said of Austria. Without your Fleet to stop supplies, Austria can do nothing. With your Fleet she can do everything. But if nothing is done, Austria will directly fall to pieces and be undermined by treachery; and the turn of England will come directly after.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he did not wish to prolong the debate, and did not propose to attack any foreign country. He had heard with regret the speech

of the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins). In saying that the Russians were entitled to enter Constantinople, he believed the hon. Gentleman had not expressed the feeling of any considerable number of persons in this country. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer correctly expressed the feeling of the country in stating that the action taken by our Fleet—as to the wisdom of which he would not express any opinion—would not in any way justify the Russian troops in entering the Turkish capital. At the same time, they must all feel that this moment was a most critical one, and nothing ought to be done without the greatest consideration. The hon. Member for Dundee proceeded to attack Austria. There had been times, no doubt, in her history, when she had not done what she ought to have done; but the same might be said of other countries. She had now a Constitutional Government. He thought we ought not to assume that the policy of Austria would be to restrict the liberties of the Christians of Turkey; but if she should hereafter adopt such a policy, then we need not join her in pursuing it. He also regretted the attack which had been made by the right hon. Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) on Germany, after what he had said in defence of Austria. Our best hope of maintaining the peace of Europe and arriving at a happy settlement of that great question rested on a cordial co-operation between Germany, Austria, and England.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he could not vote for this Bill, because, after the declarations made that night, it seemed to him that the movement of our Fleet meant war or a very great risk of war. In fact, we had already committed an act of war by forcing the Dardanelles. We had thrown down the gauntlet and it only remained to see whether others would take it up. He would not now attempt fully to discuss the policy of the Government; but he did wish to record his deliberate opinion that our interests in Constantinople were not sufficient to justify us in taking that isolated action which might lead to war; because our interests there were not the only interests, or even the greatest interests, as compared to other European nations. We had broken the European pact, and had entered the

waters which by the Treaty of 1856 were to be shut to ships of war. By this act we had imperilled the greatest of all British interests—peace—and our interests in the East were not sufficient, he contended, to justify our entering into an act of war alone without concert with the other Powers.

LORD ELCHO said, he had taken no part in the long debates upon the Vote, nor did he intend to do so now; but as the situation had been referred to, he would say a few words upon it. He would not attempt to define the situation. They all knew what it was, and they all felt it. Certainly, during the 37 years he had been in Parliament, he had never had occasion to feel as he and the nation had felt during the past few days. He did not wish to point out by whose action this situation had been brought about—whether it was the result of the action of Ministers or ex-Ministers, or persons within this House or out of it—but simply to say that our position was most critical, more critical than it had been for the past 30 or 40 years. Now, although there was a denial of the fact by some hon. Members on the other side of the House, there had been an expression of feeling throughout the country within the last 10 days or a fortnight, which manifestly showed that the common sense of the English people—of a people jealous and proud of its history, its traditions, and its Empire—had at length asserted itself, and that it was prepared to support Her Majesty's Government in whatever policy they might deem necessary to maintain the honour and interests of this Empire, and likewise to uphold good faith and public law and morality as between nations, as well as to vindicate our Treaty rights. On the other hand, he thought the nation had a right to expect on the part of the Government that, while they were as cautious and as prudent as the occasion demanded, they should not be wanting at the same time in firmness, determination, and courage; but would be in deed as well as in name the Representatives of a high-hearted, sensitive, and courageous race. In doing so, they would have the support of the great majority of the nation. If this great crisis passed away and the country went into a Conference, he hoped the Government would not have their hands too much tied, and would not sit on the

Congress merely to register the ukases of the Russian Emperor. The Protocol to the Treaty of 1871 admitted that no one nation had a right to set itself free from a Treaty without the assent of the other nations who were parties to it; and in asking, at that time, for an alteration of the Treaty of 1856, the Representative of Russia affirmed, on the part of the Emperor, that it was his intention to maintain intact the conditions of the Treaty defining the position of Turkey in Europe. It appeared to him that the question of Treaties and Treaty rights had been too much overlooked and merged in that of British interests. British rights existed in those Treaties in which British interests were embraced, and it would be better, in the interests of the public and of international morality, that they should hear as much of Treaty rights as of British interests.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) seemed to have expressed his intention to force a division.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he should say "No" when the Question was put; but, so far as he was concerned, he did not know that he would press for a division.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE hoped that no other hon. Gentleman would take a division; for it was clear that in voting against the Bill, which affirmed a decision already arrived at with regard to a certain grant of money, they should in no sense be giving an opinion on the question raised by the hon. Member for Kirkcaldy and the hon. Member for Dundee (Mr. E. Jenkins). Their objections to the sending of the Fleet through the Dardanelles, and to the intimation to Russia as to a possible occupation of Constantinople, were not dealt with in the question before the House; and therefore he hoped there would not be a division. The right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel), and the noble Lord who had just spoken, said that the country had shown its confidence in the Government. It was true that the public had been appealed to in many meetings. Two had been held in London, at which resolutions professing confidence in the Government had been moved or supported by Members on the other side of the House. He wished to point out that the right hon. Baronet, in the speech which he had made that

*Sir George Campbell*

evening, had expressed suspicion and distrust of the policy of the Government.

SIR ROBERT PEEL said, he must protest against this statement. He merely said that within the last seven days there had been certain indications of indecision which had caused him and many others great pain and anxiety.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: The words of the right hon. Baronet, which he took down at the time, were "distrust and alarm," caused, he understood, by want of any indication of a clearly defined policy. A meeting was held at Cremorne Gardens on Saturday which was attended by some hon. Members opposite, who protested that it was the duty of everyone to show absolute confidence in the policy of the Government; but he observed by a paragraph in a morning newspaper, which had not been contradicted by hon. Members whose names were mentioned, that many hon. Gentlemen who had been at that meeting had, within three days later, been engaged in attempting to oust the Foreign Minister from the Cabinet. Surely there was some inconsistency here. He only wished to point to that to show that hon. Members on the Liberal side had some right to say that within these few days past they had shown as much disposition, at all events, as was shown on the other side to trust Her Majesty's Government.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, it would be remembered that, in the early part of the debate on the Vote of £6,000,000, he had expressed his opinion that it would be the right and the duty of hon. Members on the Liberal side to oppose that Vote by all the Forms of the House. But, to use the words of the Prime Minister on another occasion, a great many things had happened since then, and the most important was that it had come to their knowledge that Turkey was virtually and finally crushed. He thought they could not carry on that debate without remembering that such was the case. Therefore, the danger which he apprehended at an early period of the discussion—that this country might be led into a war for Turkey—seemed not as great now as it was then; because, if there was any intention of carrying out a warlike policy, it was clear that the war must be carried on against Turkey and Russia united; and he had too much regard for his hon. Friends on

the other side to attribute to them such lunacy as would lead them to pursue a policy like that. They were all now very peaceful. When the right hon. Baronet the Member for Tamworth (Sir Robert Peel) rose, he expected to hear from him a warlike declaration, but was delighted to hear the peaceful strain in which he spoke. He thought the right hon. Baronet was a little wrong about the feeling of the country and the meetings. He doubted very much whether the meetings represented the true feeling of the country. If they did, it was a bad feeling. His hon. Friend the Member for Lambeth (Mr. M'Arthur) attended one of those patriotic meetings in his own borough, and some of the patriots robbed the hon. Member of his watch and other things. He did not think that was a proceeding which showed much respect for British interests. Before finally voting that money, he wished to say that he agreed with the right hon. Baronet in thinking that the country and the House were entitled to some more definite statement, even now, of the proceedings of the Government than they had yet heard. In his opinion, the whole thing, after all, lay in a nutshell. If the Russians got possession of Constantinople, did the Government mean to fight them or did they not? Let them give a straightforward answer to that question, and they would allay a great deal of excitement and bad feeling which prevailed. Let them not commit the error committed 25 years ago, and drift into war from any want of straightforwardness on the part of the Government. He did not believe that anybody who thought over this matter wanted to fight. His hon. Friend the Member for Newcastle (Mr. J. Cowen) made one of the most eloquent speeches ever made in that House; but he felt sure, even though the speech was a most warlike one, that he was not prepared to support Her Majesty's Government if they should really adopt a warlike policy. Perhaps the Government might be very glad that speakers on the Opposition side should get up to do them good rather than harm, for a man's foes were often those of his own household. He felt some concern when he read yesterday, in an influential morning paper, a statement respecting the proceedings of certain hon. Gentlemen opposite, which he would read. It was this—

"It may be taken, nevertheless, as an accomplished fact that the large body of Conservatives are bent on bringing a certain force to bear on the policy of the Government, and there is some reason to fear that the action has already taken effect in an invigorating sense. The gentleman who has been elected as chairman is Sir Lawrence Palk, a county Member, of good family, and great possessions."

This statement threw a light on the policy of the Government. He had wished in vain to find out from the other side of the House what was the object of the £6,000,000. He saw now, however, that the Government were determined to have that large sum in hand in order to counteract the great possessions of the chairman of that committee. Hon. Members on the Liberal side would cordially support the Government against the rebels who had risen up under the hon. Member for East Devon. Again, he asked the Government to be bold, to throw aside all equivocation, and say plainly whether they meant to fight Russia out of Constantinople or whether they did not. If they said they did mean to fight, he for one, and he thought other hon. Members also, would use every means in their power to prevent them getting a penny to carry out that policy until they had put it fairly and distinctly before the country. If, on the other hand, the Government declared they did not intend to go to war, they would greatly calm the present mischievous excitement in the country, and secure the support of the Liberal Party; and he was sure that by so doing they would act much more in accordance with British interests than by adopting a warlike policy.

MR. PARNELL said, he thought it quite unnecessary that a direct answer should be given to the question which had just been put by the hon. Baronet. Everyone who saw the dispirited and broken attitude of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer that night, so utterly different from what he had exhibited during the previous stages of the measure, and the altered demeanour of his supporters, must have perceived that all intention of carrying out their threats towards Russia had been definitively and decidedly abandoned. He did not think there was any necessity for the hon. Member (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) to be the first to initiate a policy of obstruction on this subject in—dependently of

the fact that the Speaker would probably order him into the custody of the Sergeant-at-Arms as a wilful obstructionist—the necessity for obstruction had passed away. He would, therefore, advise the hon. Baronet to reserve his powers for some fitter opportunity. The Government had got their way in one respect. The Russians had beaten them, but they had beaten the Opposition. They had got their £6,000,000 and their Vote of Confidence, and, to a certain extent, had saved their Parliamentary credit in the House of Commons.

MR. MONK said, that when the Fleet was in the Sea of Marmora, it was time the Government stated explicitly what was the object they had in view. It was true that in the statement of last year the Emperor of Russia had declared that he would not occupy Constantinople merely for the sake of military honour, but only if it were rendered necessary by the march of events. The march of events had probably rendered it expedient, from a Russian point of view, to occupy Constantinople; and, before voting the £6,000,000, he thought they had a right to ask the Government whether they had received communications from our Ambassador, to which reference had been made that evening. He believed they were drifting hopelessly and helplessly into war, and the question was, for what purpose were they going to war? Why, against the will of Turkey, were the Government sending the Fleet into the Dardanelles? There had been no explanation of that manœuvre, but they were told they must have confidence in the policy of the Government. For his part, he mistrusted their policy, because he felt sure that it was at present undeveloped and un-matured. He sincerely trusted some Member of the Government would tell them what their policy was, and why the Fleet had been sent to Constantinople.

MR. BIGGAR said, he was of opinion that the open-air meeting at Cremorne on Saturday, which was only attended by 5,000 people, showed only a small amount of interest on the part of the people of London. We were now in a very strange position, for England had committed an act of war against Turkey, and, as a consequence against Russia, as those Powers were now Allies. He would not be surprised if the British Fleet,

after going into the Dardanelles, surrendered to Russia and Turkey; because he had never heard of an iron-clad being built that a cannon-ball had not got through.

MR. W. E. FORSTER said, he rose for the purpose of appealing to the hon. Member for Dundee not to put the House to the trouble of a division at that stage of the proceedings. He, like other hon. Members, felt an intense anxiety with regard to the present position of affairs, and all of them felt the responsibility that belonged to a Member of Parliament at such a time; but he was of opinion that every English interest, and certainly the interests of peace, would be better served by not continuing the debate. He entirely agreed with what had fallen from the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) and should be very glad if the Government were able to give more information as to their actual policy; but if they felt that they could not say more at that moment, he did not think that Members ought to interpret, or that the country would interpret, that refusal to mean that they were going to hasten the country into war. He was one of those who believed that, notwithstanding the excitement of the last two or three days, there was as yet no ground on which the country ought to go to war. And he felt persuaded that the Government, like any other Government, would not bring on the country such an incalculable calamity and commit them to a policy which, if not necessary, was wicked, without letting the country know why they took such a course. Therefore, he relied upon it that the Government would not take any such step without informing the House. He, of course, had his opinion; and, although he should be very sorry to see the Russians enter Constantinople, and though he agreed with the Government that the step which they had taken, with regard to the Fleet, whether it was right or wrong, was not in itself a justification for the Russians to enter that city, he could not allow it to be supposed that he was one of those who thought that the temporary occupation of Constantinople by the Russians was a sufficient ground for war. Upon that point, however, he did not wish to enter into a fruitless discussion. He would again strongly appeal to the hon. Member for Dundee, in the interests which he him-

self had at heart, not to force the House to a division; but he must say that if the hon. Member did insist upon a division, he (Mr. W. E. Forster) should find it impossible to avoid voting for the Government, and for this reason—they had not the policy of the Government now before them, and they had not before them the question whether the Vote of Credit should have been originally asked for or not. It had, by a very large majority, been declared that the Government ought to have the money, and after that it appeared to him the logical result was that they must find ways and means of carrying out that decision. He should feel himself under a logical necessity to vote for the Government; but it must not be supposed from that that he had in the slightest degree changed his opinion as to the impolicy of the Government and their want of grounds in first asking for the Vote.

MR. C. BECKETT-DENISON said, there appeared to be a strong opinion that a continuation of this discussion must be very injurious to public interests. Hon. Members opposite had on various occasions endeavoured to provoke sharp retorts; but he was not going to seize the opportunity which now presented itself, as others would arise hereafter. As Turkey was no longer a free agent, and was not an Ally of Russia, he denied that Her Majesty's Government had committed an act of war under those circumstances.

MR. DELLWYN was of opinion that an act of war had been committed, but said he could understand the difficulty of the Government in answering at the present crisis questions as to their policy. He therefore asked the hon. Member for Dundee not to go to a division, as there would be an opportunity to take a vote on the subject when the House went into Committee or when the Bill was read a third time, and the Government might, at a later stage, be in a position to give fuller information. In deference, however, to the feelings of hon. Members, he hoped the Government would not take the Committee stage to-morrow.

*Motion agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and committed for To-morrow.

## COUNTY GOVERNMENT BILL.

(Mr. Solater-Booth, Mr. Asheton Cross, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.)

[BILL 93.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that having trespassed at some length on the indulgence of the House on a recent occasion, when he asked leave to introduce the Bill, it was not his intention to occupy its attention now for more than a few minutes. He would not enter into the motives or the policy of the Government, which he then indicated at sufficient length, nor would he again refer to the new powers which they considered necessary to be entrusted to a county authority. Those powers seemed to be generally acceptable to the House, and he should have an opportunity by-and-bye, if occasion should require, to enter into them more fully. He wished now to explain more clearly than he had hitherto done, some of the provisions of the Bill, as to which some little misapprehension appeared to have arisen. First of all, there was the selection of the petty sessional area as the area upon which the new county body was to be constructed. So far as it was to be of an elective character, it must not be supposed that the Government had any rooted objection to the Union area as a basis of local administration, and still less that there was any *a priori* desire to select the petty sessional area on account of any motive which was not apparent on the face of the Bill, or in the speech with which he introduced it. There was no such motive or intention. Indeed, when he first began to endeavour to construct a Bill on this subject, his desire was to adopt the Union area as the unit, and he only gave up the idea, just as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen) gave it up eight years ago, because of the extreme difficulty and complexity which he found to exist in connection with it in pursuing it to a final issue. The Government had therefore adopted the petty sessional area as the unit most convenient and ready to hand, and which seemed to present, on the whole, the fewest objections and the greatest advantages. All the objections he had heard against the adoption

of the petty sessional unit applied equally to the Unions, while the recommendations in their favour far outnumbered those who attached to the Union as the unit, besides which, they would have the effect of encouraging county feeling, which, were it not for the Parliamentary Elections, would have long since died out. One objection to the adoption of the Union area was, that out of 650 Unions—in round numbers—in England and Wales, 180 overlapped county boundaries, and some of the Unions overlapped the boundaries of two and three counties. Therefore, in laying down the regulations for the election of a county board, it would be necessary to provide special arrangements for the exercise of their duties by the Guardians of such outlying parishes. That alone was a very serious difficulty. He would not here dwell upon the question as to whether it would be possible to bring the Poor Law business within the county boundaries, as that would lead him to prolong his remarks to too great length. He would only say that although, in some instances, that no doubt might be effected in the course of time; yet, generally, he should say that the operation was impossible so long as the Poor Law administration remained as it was. The extent to which Unions overlapped county boundaries varied very much; but, however large or small the overlapping portion might be, that portion must, of course, be represented on the county board. Another objection to the Union areas was, that in many cases they comprised quarter sessions boroughs, which were omitted from the action of the present Bill. That objection was entirely removed by adopting the petty sessional area, which in no case included quarter sessions boroughs. Then the petty sessional divisions, when combined together, formed a complete county, and the centre of each petty sessional area would generally be a more convenient place for the Guardians to go to than the workhouse of the Union. Further, there was the incidental advantage that the clerk to the justices was a convenient person to exercise the functions of a returning officer for the purpose of conducting the elections under the Bill. It was a postulate of his that these petty sessional areas must, as a rule, be convenient. It might be said, however, that they varied

very much in size. No doubt there was a good deal to comment upon as regarded their inequality; but did it really matter if inequality existed as regarded population? He should argue that the great object was to get the county represented as a whole in a convenient and equal manner; and taking the average of the counties of England, the petty sessional areas were sufficiently numerous to form a fair basis for constructing a county authority. They had no separate rating powers, and no separate interests, which would make them rivals of one another, and that appeared to him to be a very great advantage. It should be remembered, too, that there was not a large proportion of very small petty sessional divisions. Out of 750, only about 50 contained a population of less than 10,000; there were 33 with a population under 6,000, and 21 with a population of more than 6,000 and under 10,000. One great advantage of the arrangement he proposed would be that the county boards would be framed with a view to the interest of county ratepayers as a body. It not being a rating area, the members would attend the county board in the interest of the county rate as a whole, and they would have for the first time to look at the county as that which was to be the special object of their attention. There could be little doubt that advantage would arise from making the counties the real administrative areas; although, without doubt, something could be said in favour of the adoption of Unions as the units. The natural effect of the Bill, moreover, would be to give to the largest populations the major part of the voting power. As regarded the county rate, the working of county boards would not necessarily involve any great addition to the expenditure. He had already shown that when the Prison Act came into operation, the county rate would not exceed 1½d. in the pound, and there was no indication that under the Bill any large expenditure would be incurred. Whether, as time went on, any further powers would be assigned to the county board was a point on which he would not enter. There might certainly be some small addition, but the main function of the boards would be to carry on the work which had previously devolved upon the magistrates sitting at quarter sessions. It had been supposed that under Clause 19 the elected mem-

bers of the boards would have nothing to do with the administration of the county road fund. That was a misapprehension of the objects of the clause. The only elected members who would be debarred from the administration of the fund in question would be those from the towns, who contributed nothing towards it; the other elected members would, of course, take part in it. It had been suggested that the three Bills which stood in his name on the Paper—the County Government Bill, the Highways Bill, and the Valuation of Property Bill—might in some particulars have been amalgamated; but he could assure the House that, having carefully studied the whole question, he had only included in each measure the principles which belonged exclusively to the particular subjects with which they proposed to deal. At the same time, he had endeavoured to arrange the provisions of these Bills so that they would work into each other. The Highway Bill, he hoped, might be read a second time at the same time as this Bill. Its great object was to facilitate the formation of highway boards. With regard to the Valuation Bill, it proceeded on the same lines as the Bill of last year, and the system was one which was familiar to the Assessment Committee. It was no new scheme; indeed, much of the difficulty had arisen from attempting to separate in the public mind what was old from what was new. He might mention that he had inserted in the Valuation of Property Bill a provision which set out very clearly the duties and functions of the county board with respect to valuation business. If, hereafter, when the county boards should have secured their position in the country, they should become dissatisfied with the operation of the proposed measure, they might endeavour to construct a new system of valuation upon the principles of the Scotch Act. In conclusion, the right hon. Gentleman moved the second reading of the Bill.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Selater-Booth.*)

MR. STANSFELD, on rising to move as an Amendment—

"That, with a view to simplify and strengthen local self-government, it is desirable, with a



little delay as possible, to bring each sanitary district and Poor Law Union within the area of one county, and to give to the ratepayers in and of such districts the power of directly electing members to the county board exceeding in number the representatives of justices,"

said, that he had no intention of defeating the Bill, and did not wish to press his Amendment to a division; it was not framed to catch votes. If he received assurances from the Government that they would go into Committee with the view of making this really a House of Commons' measure, he would not divide. There would, however, he believed, be a division on the Bill; because some hon. Members were so strongly impressed with the conviction that the Bill was insufficient to meet the exigencies, that they would vote against its second reading. Such was not his view. He wished to compare the Bill, as explained by his right hon. Friend, with the Amendment which he had placed upon the Paper, avoiding entirely the question of the functions of the county boards, and dealing only with their construction. The modern art of drafting a Bill had become quite a strategical and diplomatic matter—indeed, he might say a fine art—and it would seem that the present Bill was no exception. It was usual now to place at the commencement of a measure some clause which would define and express in some few words the policy of the whole Bill. That clause was called a dominant clause, and he had found that all inconsistent clauses which followed it either disappeared in the course of discussion, or became inoperative. In the Bill now before them, the 3rd and 4th clauses were the dominant clauses. They provided that the court of quarter sessions, when transacting administrative business, should constitute the county board. The board was to be a quarter sessions board—a justices board, with the addition of some elected representatives. They were to be chosen in a division which was a justices division, and not within the administrative area. But he held that the question of the consolidation of a system of local government in our counties was so important that the best way was not necessarily the easiest way. They should look difficulties in the face and adopt the best, although it might not be the easiest, course. The 25th clause of the Bill proposed to confer upon the new county

board very important functions, and enabled it to undertake a difficult and, it might be, an invidious task. The county board would be entitled to prepare schemes for the approval of the Local Government Board and the confirmation of Parliament for the re-arrangement of areas and boundary lines. That was an admission that such re-arrangement was desirable. He would go further, and say it was not only desirable, but absolutely essential. His right hon. Friend opposite (Mr. Selater-Booth) had said—and it had been made almost an argument in favour of the Bill—that the elected members of county boards, not being so as representatives of administrative areas, would represent the county at large, instead of any particular district. Instead of that being a virtue, he (Mr. Stansfeld) considered it as a radical fault, a fatal provision of the Bill. He failed to see in the composition of the county board the motive power or the authority necessary for the carrying out of the policy of the 25th clause. The members of the board would be chosen by Guardians, it was true, but by Guardians of the petty sessional division. There would be, in fact, no relations between the board and the subordinate sanitary authorities, either in the functions or in the constitution of the board. The power to be conferred was permissive, but there was an entire absence of motive to exercise it. There was no obligation placed on the board to undertake the difficult and, as it would sometimes be, invidious work of dealing with areas and boundaries. If there was failure as to motive, there was failure also in the matter of authority. It would no doubt be said—and there was some truth in it—that gentlemen chosen to represent districts would be the most difficult to convince of the necessity for a re-arrangement. Although it would be very difficult, the true way to go about the matter and get the work done—work which was admitted to be desirable and which he regarded as absolutely necessary—would be to put upon the districts concerned the duty of re-arranging the boundaries. With the permission of the House, he should now pass from the Bill to the Amendment. It involved three propositions, and they were large ones. The first was that, in order to ensure a sufficient reform of the organization of local

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government, all subordinate areas should be brought within the county, and that the members of the county board should be chosen in and for those areas. The second proposition was that the members of the board should be chosen by the direct election of the ratepayers; and the third proposition was that the elected members should be the majority of the board. The first proposition was, in his mind, the most important, though the others were also important. Let them inquire what it was they wanted when they proposed, as hon. Members had been urging, the institution of county boards. If their sole object was to create some body partly representative and partly consisting of the justices of the county, if their views were confined to that question, then the Bill was a very good one. He should undoubtedly have certain criticisms on clauses to offer; but, if that were the limit of his hope and vision, he should not have placed an Amendment on the Paper to the second reading. But he did not think that was the problem in the minds of local government reformers. He thought it was a very much larger problem. It was the simplification and consolidation and strengthening of local government within the counties, and he hoped that the simplification and consolidation could be effected in connection with the institution of county boards. That was, he held, a very much larger proposition. There were certain principles which he thought should be kept in view. In the first place, they ought, according to his opinion, to begin and build up from the smallest administrative units, and every large area in a county ought to be a multiple of those smaller units. The relation of the county to the smaller bodies, in his opinion, ought to be that the county should be a federation of the whole. In the second place, all the functions in a given area ought to be exercised by one governing body. If they wanted to get the best men, they must not be afraid to place responsibilities on the boards, and they must avoid small and petty areas. In the third place, let all the electoral areas be administrative; because, he believed, by that process they could best consolidate the local government of a county into one whole, and thereby enable it, in these difficult, centralizing days, to hold its own. He maintained

that the principles he had laid down were the principles contained in the Report of the Sanitary Commission. It laid down a proposition which the Public Health Act of 1872 was drawn to carry out, and since it was passed the whole country had been divided into sanitary districts, with only one sanitary authority in each. In framing that measure, he was not restricted to this object, but he had in view the proposal now before the House. The passages in the Report of the Sanitary Commission relating to the waste of power in local government from the variety of areas, and the desirability of making the larger areas exact multiples of the smaller, showed that he was not original in the views he laid down; but that he was entitled to endorse them with the authority of the Sanitary Commission. There were two lines, either of which the House might adopt; but it could not devise a compromise which would secure the advantages of both. It might adopt what he would without offence call the quarter sessions point of view; it might recognize the fact that the justices, as the existing authority, held the county administration, and might constitute a board by adding to the court certain representative members. That was the easiest plan, if we did not look further than the construction of a board to do the present work of the justices. The other view was that which he had endeavoured to embody in his Amendment—that of local government reform, of building up from units an administrative whole, and thus constituting an authority which should have vitality, cohesion, adaptability, and strength enough to resist the centralizing tendencies of the day. That was an advantage they would never get out of a board standing by itself. He did not much care about its present functions; he was content, when it was founded, to give it enough business to begin with, and to let it have time to grow. But it was essential, when they undertook re-construction, that they should construct upon true lines, and should constitute a board the best calculated to accomplish the objects for which it was founded, and the best able to hold its own. If, however, they once adopted the plan now proposed, it would stand in the way of a more eligible scheme. Any mistake in respect to function or the mode of electing members

might easily be remedied; but, if county boards were once built up from petty sessional divisions instead of administrative areas, the difficulty of abandoning those lines would increase with the necessity for doing it, and he believed they would have to abandon it if they were going to effect any real reform. There were between 30 and 40 urban sanitary districts which crossed county boundaries, and 11 of these were boroughs; and of Unions which did so there were about 180. The difficulties presented by these cases ought to be faced, not only for the sake of improved administration, but also for the sake of certain reforms which their solution would facilitate, and which he had long had in his own mind. For that reason, he was anxious that the first part of his Amendment should be adopted. It was now universally admitted that the great test of a good administration of the Poor Law was the rigid administration of out-door relief, and that it was not only best for the ratepayers, but for the poor man himself; and the process would be assisted by enlarging the area of charges for in-door relief. That had been the experience of the metropolis, and it would probably be that of the country. Union of administration would also facilitate the classification of poor-houses and of pauper inmates, and that in itself would be an immense administrative reform. It was evident the transitions incidental to these changes might render it less difficult to deal with outlying parts of Unions beyond county boundaries. There were two other propositions on which he would touch very briefly. The first was the question of election. He was in favour of direct election by the ratepayers. If the members of county boards were elected in that way, they would speak with greater authority. He thought that the Metropolitan Board of Works had gained neither in dignity nor in authority by the process of indirect election. The objection to direct election was the very natural one of trouble and expense. But that objection might be completely met by the adoption of the American system of simultaneous election throughout the country of all kinds of local boards on the one day, the one hour, and by the same process. According to the Bill, in only 12 out of 60 counties would the elected members be in a majority upon the boards. He proposed

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in his last proposition, however, that the justices should be in a minority of one-third upon the boards, and not on an equality; as, according to the provisions of the Bill, they would be, in 48 counties out of 60. He believed, even from the justices' point of view, it would be far better that the justices should be in a minority of one-third. He had not the slightest feeling of jealousy towards the justices. They belonged to a class which had the utmost capacity for county work, and it would be their own fault if they did not become supreme in the management of the county board, however that board might be constituted. But they had better be in a minority, because, if they were half, a question of parties would arise, and there would be a Guardians' party and a justices' party; whereas, if they were put in a minority of one-third, they would be put in a position in which they would seek to lead. The right hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Amendment.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "with a view to simplify and strengthen local self-government, it is desirable, with as little delay as possible, to bring each sanitary district and poor law union within the area of one county, and to give to the ratepayers in and of such districts the power of directly electing members to the county board exceeding in number the representatives of justices," — (*Mr. Stansfeld*),

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

**MR. J. R. YORKE** said, he had listened with great satisfaction to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (*Mr. Stansfeld*), which was characterized by great clearness of statement and philosophical breadth, and was a valuable contribution to the literature of this question. With the exception of that part of it which related to direct election, he agreed with all the propositions laid down in the Amendment, and if the right hon. Gentleman would only consent to leave out that little question, he (*Mr. Yorke*) would be willing to enrol himself as one of his disciples. In the construction of the higher local authority we ought to consider the position in which it would

stand towards the intermediate authorities which at present dealt with so many different functions, and in the future would probably have to deal with more. He believed, therefore, it would be the wiser course in the long run for his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board to adopt the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman and make the rural and sanitary district the administrative unit. He had listened with great pleasure to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman as to the Poor Law reforms likely to result. He (Mr. Yorke) was a member of the Board of Guardians of St. George's Union, Hanover Square, and he had been much struck by the superiority of the work done in London for the education of the young and for making provision for the aged and infirm over what could be done in rural districts, where the inmates were comparatively few and the workhouses scattered. A large number of officials might be abolished altogether, while the different classes of paupers were better attended to than they were at present. He agreed, also, with the right hon. Gentleman as to the propriety of extending the area of contribution towards the expense of in-door paupers. It would, in his view, be very fortunate if they could add to the already powerful inducements to restrict out-door relief, especially if, in more prosperous times, they could get help for these purposes from Imperial sources. The right hon. Gentleman had every right to speak with authority on this subject, for he was the first to divide the areas into urban and sanitary districts, and the first effect of the measure they were now called upon to consider would be not only to strengthen local government as opposed to the advance of centralization; but also to promote the simplification of the extraordinary complexity and difficulty of intermediate areas and jurisdictions. As to the number of magistrates as compared with the elected members of the future board, he said that he was willing to believe that the majority of the elected members would be magistrates, and he agreed that it was better they should be so; because they not only had more leisure, but, from the advantages of the position they occupied, were particularly qualified for the office. If they were magistrates, it was better

that they should appear there as elected members rather than as *ex-officio* members. He had always considered it a great anomaly that the nominees of the Crown should appear to deal with rates not as ratepayers, but in their official capacity; and he thought they would occupy a stronger position, and be less likely to excite jealousy, if they appeared not as nominees of the Crown but as elected ratepayers. The only other point between himself and the right hon. Gentleman was that of direct election, and here he thought he saw, he was sorry to say, a little of the cloven foot of political feeling. There was a talk of household suffrage in counties, placing everything on the same footing as in boroughs. This Bill had even been called a measure for erecting county municipalities. Now municipalities were very good in their way; but there were many drawbacks associated with them. There were contests which led to carnivals of intoxication and riot, which often lasted some days, and the best men were not always appointed. Then there was the objection of expense, which was one of the questions which the Local Taxation Committees had set their faces against, believing that they had sufficient in the way of expenses already; the school-board elections had produced a considerable amount of dissatisfaction on account of the expense involved, and he would be unwilling to see any further steps in that direction. He believed if his right hon. Friend having charge of this Bill would consent to substitute the area proposed by the right hon. Gentleman opposite for the petty sessional area which he sought to introduce, and would grapple boldly with the question, he would have a better chance of effecting a great and satisfactory change than if, from alarm at difficulties as to the question which were rather on the surface than real, he were to pursue a different course. At any rate, if the right hon. Gentleman withdrew from his Resolution the part he (Mr. Yorke) had indicated, he should be prepared to give him his support.

MR. HUTCHINSON said, it was his intention to support the Amendment. When the Bill was introduced, the hon. Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) expressed his satisfaction that the Government had redeemed the pledge given by them last Session, and there

could be no doubt that great interest was generally felt on the subject. He approved of the proposals which tended to make the office of Guardian of the poor more important by investing it with new powers. The 19th clause, as it stood, would be most objectionable, and should be struck out, as it included justices as well as elected members, the latter being assumed to be unworthy or incompetent. [Mr. SOLATER-BOOTH said, he had already explained that that clause had been wrongly drawn.] The questions of direct and indirect representation, and of the proportion in which magistrates and elected members sat at the board, were of vital importance; and he thought the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Solater-Booth) could only make a system of indirect election acceptable by increasing the proportion of the elected members. The public might accept indirect election, provided there was a majority of two-thirds of nominated elected responsible members. The propriety of giving in-door or out-door relief depended entirely on different social conditions, and there were cases in which it would be a great cruelty and a great error to force a family into a poor-house when a little out-door relief would enable them to avoid it. It was an omission that there was no provision in the Bill for the publicity of the proceedings of county boards and for the periodical publication of accounts of the expenditure of the rates. In view of the large sums of money which these bodies would have at their disposal, their accounts should be periodically published, and should be forwarded to each contributing body. He should vote for the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stansfeld), and, should it not be carried, for the second reading of the Bill, on the ground that it was the beginning of a better state of things. The public once being accustomed by it to a system of local self-government, would desire to extend what must now be looked upon as an experiment.

MR. W. STANHOPE thanked his right hon. Friend for producing this Bill. He thought, in doing so, that the Government had worthily, so far as opportunities had been presented to them, fulfilled those pledges which they gave when they came into office, inasmuch as they had redressed the grievances of ratepayers who had been paying taxes

which ought to be transferred from local to Imperial account. The Government now proceeded with a steady step in the same direction, and he thought it very necessary that a large and powerful body should be interposed between the Unions and the Local Government Board. There were continually new duties which had to be cast, on account of fresh legislation, upon Unions, such as sanitary and educational measures. Many of these duties were not such as could be properly performed by the quarter sessions; and, therefore, there should be a direct authority established by a fresh modification of the quarter sessions. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) had remarked that the dominant clause in the Bill was the 3rd clause, and it was to that clause he took the greatest exception, and wanted to fill up the county board from the areas of the rural and urban sanitary authority. He (Mr. Stanhope) differed from him on this point, because there existed so large a number of urban authorities, composed of small isolated parishes, where the Local Government Act had been adopted. Twelve or 13 years ago he proposed that this authority should be built upon the authority of the quarter sessions, and that proposition had been favourably received by the Guardians and by the ratepayers generally, by whom he thought it would be considered more of an honour to be themselves received as members of quarter sessions for all purposes except those for the administration of justice than that the magistrates, on their side, should be elected to a county board which sprang from a lower division of the people of the county. But it was necessary that a large and fair portion of that body should be elected, though not by the direct system approved by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. If the right hon. Gentleman was unwilling to have one-half magistrates, he (Mr. Stanhope) was willing to accept a smaller proportion than that. The great object with respect to this board was, that it should comprise men of all classes who were best acquainted with the subject, who had time to give to the work, and who were likely to form a good working county board. Then, it should do its work by committee; and, being composed of a large number, it should comprise some of the first people in the county—Members of Parliament, gen-

tllemen who had been chairmen of committees on county business, and of Chairmen of Boards of Guardians who were not magistrates. On the question of boundaries, the county boundaries should be inviolate; parish boundaries should not be altered further than they could be altered by existing laws; and the question was, what would be the best representative area? He had always advocated Unions, and he thought the best and most direct representation could be secured in that way. With respect to the petty sessional divisions, although they might be useful in bringing the Guardians together for the purposes of election, still that gave too much of a magisterial complexion to the popular part of the Bill. By the law of England, if two magistrates met together they could hold a petty session. He thought the suggestions about direct election to the boards most objectionable—in the first place, because of the expense which they would involve; and, in the second, because he did not believe there was any real popular feeling on the matter. Good men would not like to subject themselves to the excitement of having to secure an election for a wider district than their own parish. He regarded the provision of the Bill that the members of the board were to remain in office for one year only as objectionable; but he had nothing to say against the proposed constitution of the board, although it had been generally admitted, and, indeed, could not be disputed, that the administration of county funds by the magistrates had been very economical. The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain), who was opposed to the Bill, in speaking of the Corporation over which he had presided, stated, in the last Session of Parliament, that they had incurred a debt of no less than £5,000,000. Well, that was not the kind of administration they desired to see prevailing in the counties. Their debt in the West Riding only amounted to £140,000; but perhaps some gentlemen, if popularly elected, might think that a very poor affair indeed. He, therefore, hoped that when the new county boards were constituted, they would go on the lines of those who had hitherto managed county finance. It seemed to him that the Bill did not clearly enough distinguish between what belonged to its principle and what were

matters of detail for consideration in Committee. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Selater-Booth) would, no doubt, explain; but to him (Mr. Stanhope) it appeared as if the Highway Bill were included in the County Government Bill, and that the former was merely a kind of enabling measure directing how the highway provisions in the latter were to be carried out. He, however, looked upon this Bill as providing a new starting-point in county government, and he should be glad to support the second reading.

MR. MUNTZ observed that if his hon. Colleague (Mr. Chamberlain), to whom the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Mr. Stanhope) had referred, were in his place, he could have explained that the debt to which allusion was made had been incurred under the authority of an Act of Parliament in the purchase of gas and water works. He regretted to oppose any measure brought forward to meet the wants of society; but with respect to the present Bill, he was opposed to it, because he believed that to adopt it would simply be getting out of the frying-pan into the fire. He admitted that the present position of county affairs was anomalous; but still the existing system of county government worked well; it was the most economical and most orderly of any that he had known in any part of the world. They must, therefore, go in for something better or leave well alone. This Bill was neither one thing nor the other. It offered what was to him always repulsive, a divided responsibility, and under its provisions the responsibility of a high-minded body of men would be taken away. He would ask, however, whether the magistrates did not represent the great mass of the property in a county? He had worked on town councils and on quarter sessions, and he knew which was the more economical of the two. The existing county government was to be displaced by a sort of hybrid body, composed of county magistrates and men elected by Boards of Guardians, who belonged to different classes and were not likely to work well together. In the place of those whose administration was efficient and economical they would have 15 or 20 men of one class and 15 or 20 men of another, and if everything did not run smoothly the responsibility would be thrown from one to the other. County boards should

embrace such important duties or responsibilities so as really to encourage the most competent men—not the highest in position, not the moneyed men, but those who would humbly and unostentatiously do so—to come forward and discharge the various important duties connected with county administration. As now proposed, there would be a series of boards all making and levying and collecting rates at enormous expense and with no little difficulty. He had considerable doubts whether these county boards would ever be properly worked by single counties. He doubted whether they would ever get the class of men they desired to work on these boards if they had simply single counties. It appeared to him that it would be better—and that the Bill furnished an opportunity—whereby if they could have two or three counties together, so that something like Provincial Councils might be formed. They would thus have something on a larger scale than that proposed in the Bill, and local legislation could be achieved under favourable conditions. Work which now to a large extent came to London could be done in the counties, and they would not have men coming up to London from long distances for the purpose of getting little matters arranged which might be arranged in their localities. If the Bill were carried, he hoped the Government would adopt the Union instead of the petty sessional district as the electoral area.

MR. PERCY WYNNDHAM said, he agreed with the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. Muntz) that the present system of managing county business was satisfactory, and would contrast favourably with the manner in which Business was conducted in that House or by Boards of Guardians. It was not, however, a matter of much surprise to him that it should be so; because those now entrusted with the management of these local affairs were the first men in the country, and the system on which they acted had been laid down by such men as the late Speaker, Lord Eversley, Sir William Heathcote, and Mr. Charles Buller. He thought they must first agree upon the object they wished to effect, and from what stand-point they viewed it. If the object was the good government of the counties, he believed that could not be

better arrived at than by leaving things as they were. If they were to satisfy a feeling which it was said was growing, but which he believed was exaggerated, that representative government should be carried out fully—they must adopt a scheme much more stringent than that before the House. But he was content to leave the scheme before them as it was, and contrast it with the proposition of the right hon. Member for Halifax. He understood the right hon. Gentleman adopted a *via media* between the two. He did not himself see, however, what was the use of retaining so small a number of magistrates as one-third. He preferred the scheme of his right hon. Friend to that shadowed forth from the other side of the House. He hoped, however, with regard to rivers, that it was not intended that the county board should usurp the power of conservancy boards. As to the elections, it was suggested on the other side of the House that there should be elections for all the county officers on the one and the same day; but he believed if this were carried out, and if they had elections for all the objects covered by the Bill in the same day, in Cumberland, at least, and, probably, in most other places the elections would be turned into a political question, and people would vote blue and yellow as the case might be, instead of centring their attention in the one object for which the person was elected.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER said, that though prepared to vote for the Bill, he was not prepared to give a silent vote. If the Bill were founded on a grievance at all it was founded, to a great extent, on a sentimental grievance. The grievance was that the taxation and government of counties by magistrates at the quarter sessions was a violation of the principle of popular representation, that taxation and representation should be co-extensive. But those things never could be co-extensive. There must always be people who were not represented. The county magistrates did not tax by virtue of the commission of the peace—they taxed by virtue of the power given by Parliament, which had thought fit to delegate to magistrates the power of taxing counties. Therefore, the powers which magistrates exercised for the levying of rates were practically the powers of Parliament, which represented the nation. It had not been shown that the

magistrates of counties had been extravagant in the expenditure of county money. Many of the magistrates were owners of three-fourths of the land of the country; and seeing that the land bore the burden of the rates, it was clear that the rates were paid more by the magistrates than by anyone else. It was therefore very unlikely they would be extravagant; and he must say he had always observed the most minute care taken with regard to the details of the finances of counties. Turning to the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman opposite, he found it exceedingly difficult to understand it. As far as he could make out its scope, however, it did not propose to remove the magistrates altogether, but to constitute a Governing Body, on which there should be a majority of elected representatives of the ratepayers. The effect of the Amendment would be to create a sort of Home Rule government in each county; and whatever he might think of Home Rule for another country, he did not think it would work well in each county. He objected to anything that was likely to turn the elections for these county boards into trials of strength between political Parties. In the case of Town Councils many men were elected, not because they were capable administrators, and therefore best fitted for the office, but because their election served Party ends. This evil would be greatly intensified if it were extended to the elections for county boards, which would then become hotbeds of corruption and jobbery. He thought, therefore, that the proportion of the magistrates on these boards should not be diminished, inasmuch as they were naturally averse from spending money, part of which must necessarily come out of their own pockets, unnecessarily. Popular representation, on the other hand, would be unable to resist local pressure, and would, therefore, be unable to exercise a prudent control over the expenditure. It should be borne in mind that once this power of electing the members of the board was given over to the ratepayers it would be impossible to resume it, and therefore it should not be bestowed without full consideration of the consequences the gift would entail. He thought the plan proposed by the Bill—providing for the election by the Unions of a certain number of representatives on the county

board—preferable to that proposed by the right hon. Member for Halifax, and far less dangerous. He objected to the proposal to hand over the conservancy of the rivers to the county boards, inasmuch as he thought that the only bodies which could properly deal with the rivers were those which had control of them from their sources to their mouths. He had been a Member of two Committees of that House which inquired into the Thames Conservancy, and of one Committee of that House which had inquired into the conservancy of the River Lea; and from his experience of those Committees he thought that if they entrusted that duty to the county boards they would necessarily, in cases where a river ran through several counties, have a divided jurisdiction, and he therefore hoped the point would be reserved for further consideration. He also doubted the propriety of placing the control of sanitary matters in the hands of these boards; but, in any case, he hoped that some steps would be taken to prevent the sanitary officers from being a nuisance and a source of annoyance to all the landowners of the district.

Mr. RATHBONE: Sir, this Bill has been a great disappointment to those who desire a thorough reform of our local administration. I have always felt that a Conservative Government possessed great advantages for dealing with this question, and had hoped that they would deal with it, as far as they dealt with it at all, effectually, and so as to prepare the way for a gradual systematic improvement of our local institutions. But this Bill, it seems to me, deals very incompletely with many of the points that it attempts to deal with, and I fear that it will actually make the real reform of our local institutions, where most needed, more difficult than ever. A Bill introduced by Government to deal with county management can only be considered as part of a great plan for that reform of the local government of the country which is generally admitted to be necessary. Such a Bill must evidently contemplate the adjustment between the country and the different administrative districts within it of the various functions of local government. It should provide for the joint performance of some of the most important of those functions. This is, in fact, admitted by this Bill, on the face of it, in that im-



portant part dealing with highways. The principle on which it deals with some parts of the country is admirable. But it leaves altogether out of the application of that principle the largest proportion of the population of the country. The urban sanitary districts, though included for other purposes, are left untouched; and yet the most aggravated cases of hardship, as regards highways, occur in many of those urban sanitary districts. This is a Bill which we have all been expecting so anxiously, and which professes to deal with this question of highways; and yet I do not see how it deals, or how it is to be made to deal, with this question with regard to so large a proportion of the districts in which the hardship is so seriously felt. I hope the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Selater-Booth) will explain this point. This is an instance of sins of omission of one class which, in my opinion, renders the Bill defective. But the sins of commission chargeable against the measure appear to me to be still more serious, for it not only omits to introduce simplification and improvement into our primary areas of local government, but, by constituting a new area, it actually makes it more difficult to introduce improvement in the future. I have never said or intimated, as the right hon. Gentleman once inferred, that I expected, in the establishment of county boards, a panacea for the present widespread disorder and inconvenience which prevail in our primary areas of local government. On the contrary, I have rather advocated that it would be well to begin by establishing good primary areas of local government, and, on that foundation, proceed to build a system of county administration. But, as it has been decided to begin with county government, the multiplicity and confusion of our areas, and consequent weakness of our system of local government, ought not to be aggravated by such a Bill as this, when a wisely-drawn measure might be made the means of greatly improving those areas. I will leave others to deal with the question of the choice of the petty sessional division as the unit of representation for the members of the board who are justices; but so far as the petty sessional division is made a unit for representation for the elected members, the proposals of the Bill appear to me to be unwise, contrary

*Mr. Rathbone*

to the recommendation of the Sanitary Commission, and contrary to the course of recent legislation. One of the recognized evils of the present system of local government is the multiplicity of areas; another is the overlapping of areas. The Bill proposes to create a new electoral area for administrative purposes, and one which overlaps and differs from every other area. It ought to be a principle in legislation—and it has in recent years been adopted as a principle—that the unit of local government should be strengthened. The Union, or sanitary district, has now been adopted for most purposes, and it is desirable to consolidate and strengthen it; but the Bill proposes wholly to disregard the Union. It is an admitted principle that electoral units ought to be based on community of interest. How is this Bill consistent with this principle? The chief local interests are sanitary, highways, poor, rating, and education. All these are common to the Union or sanitary district in a more or less complete degree. No one of them is usually common to the petty sessional division, which most often disregards the sanitary area, the highway board area, the area of poor relief, the area of rating, and the area of the educational powers recently given to the Union. The petty sessional division has no community of interests, and is unfit to be an electoral unit. Even on its own merits, the petty sessional division is an inconvenient area. They are very unequal in size and population. In Bedfordshire, four divisions with less than 40,000 aggregate population will have 12 elective members; and four other divisions will have only the same number of elective members for 90,000 aggregate population. In Berkshire, divisions of less than 8,000 population will have the same representation as divisions of 20,000. In Durham, 70,000 persons in one large division will elect two members; while 66,000 persons in six small divisions will elect six times as many. While in the West Riding of Yorkshire, Kirkby Malzeard, with a population of 3,000, will send the same number of representatives as East Morley with a population of 108,000, and West Morley with a population of 110,000. In other words, divisions 36 times as populous as Kirkby Malzeard will have to be content with the same number of representatives.

This question of area appears to me to be the most important of all, because it is the very foundation of local government. Now, as to the constitution of the county board. In the first place, it seems to me a very great mistake to have so excessive a proportion of members who sit there as justices. It will be a constant source of discontent, and a loss of real influence. We must all wish that men of culture and wide experience and leisure should have great influence on these boards. This would best be secured by taking care that you do not require that a greater number of justices should be elected to sit on the county board than you can find men who will attend regularly and do their fair share of work, and who will not come down only when an appointment has to be made, or a particular point carried. Men of position and ability in this country always have their full share of influence on such bodies if they have to rely on convincing and carrying their colleagues with them, and do not excite jealousy by what may seem to the other members an unfair share in the representation. If the Bill really made an equality between the justices and elected members, still that would have the unfortunate effect, as it has had in such cases, of arranging them into two separate parties, as it were. Now, I do not care so much for direct representation as some others on this side of the House. It has some very great advantages; but there is considerable uncertainty whether people will take sufficient interest in the elections to realise all those advantages. But the plan proposed in the Bill, while not obtaining the advantages of direct representation, throws away all the advantages which are secured by the ordinary approved form of indirect representation. If the Board of Guardians, as the rural sanitary authority, were empowered to send their best men to sit upon the county board, they would send men whose work they had seen, and could judge of; whereas, voting in the petty sessional division, they will be called upon to vote for men of whom they have no such experience; and again, the knowledge that the Guardians were to choose the county board would increase the interest taken in the election of Guardians, and be an inducement to men who thought they might be useful on a county board to obtain that honour

by seeking election as Guardians, and doing good service on the Board. There is another omission in this Bill to which I must draw attention. It is surely very unjust that all those boroughs with separate courts of quarter sessions, which are compelled to contribute largely to county expenditure, should have no representation whatever. For instance, Liverpool contributes from £12,000 to £16,000 a-year towards general county expenditure, and yet would, under this Bill, have no representation whatever. I am sorry to have had to find so much fault with the Bill, and glad to find some points on which I can speak with unhesitating praise. I am glad that, with regard to the payment for roads, the right hon. Gentleman has adopted the principle of dividing the cost between owners and occupiers. It is just that the whole of a charge of this sort, liable to fluctuations, should not be thrown primarily upon the weaker party; but to my mind it is of the greatest importance to the owners of property that their attention should be called to the rise and fall of these charges, and that they should be led to watch and control them before, having become permanent, they have to pay a considerable share of them. Another admirable provision of the Bill is that which requires the county board to classify its work, so as to divide it among committees, and gives it authority to delegate all its powers, except that of borrowing, to such committees. The power of providing county asylums for imbeciles will also, I expect, be found very valuable. I am not without hope that the right hon. Gentleman will consent to modify his Bill to meet objections which I observe have been raised very generally, from the rural as well as from the urban point of view. I think I understood him to infer that he considered this petty sessional division a provisional area, and that it might subsequently be exchanged for a more convenient one. I hope he will consent to grapple with the difficulty at once, and that he will adopt the sanitary district as the primary area. No one knows better than he does, that with every increase of rates or charge, it becomes more difficult to re-adjust our areas; and, at the same time, no one knows better than he does that there is no insuperable difficulty in doing this, for he is constantly making such re-adjustment in the case of sanitary districts.

Suggestions have been made in several quarters for rendering more equitable the incidence of certain of our local burdens. These, if adopted, would still more facilitate this re-adjustment; and I am inclined to believe they are not looked upon with disfavour by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board. One suggestion, which I know has the concurrence of many hon. Members opposite, though I do not know the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman thereon, is that, for purposes of in-door relief, counties should be substituted for the present Unions. Such a measure would produce great economy, and make possible great improvements in the administration of poor relief; and if it were adopted, a contribution towards the necessary cost of in-door relief might be one of the best forms of public grants in aid of local expenditure, because it would give a direct and powerful stimulus to the general enforcement of the recognized principles on which poor relief ought to be given. I must just point out that a Paper which has been recently issued by the Local Government Department would, if read casually, give a very exaggerated idea of the amount of change necessary to bring the boundaries of Unions within the borders of counties. Anyone looking at that Return of Unions and Petty Sessional Divisions would suppose that there were no fewer than 862 Unions in England and Wales, and that out of those 862 Unions, 403 distinct Unions were partly in one county and partly in another. Now, in this enumeration, a number of Unions are made to play the part of soldiers in a pantomime, in which the same body of men march round and round, appearing several times, in order to make an impression by their numbers. Some of these Unions are made to do duty in this way as many as four times. But what are the real facts? In 1876 there were only 646 Unions in England and Wales. I cannot place this matter before the House so shortly and clearly as it has been put in a paper by Mr. R. S. Wright, a short extract of which I will read—

“Out of about 650 Unions, about 60 are wholly urban; of the remainder, about 410 are wholly comprised each in one county. Out of the 180 Unions which remain, and which extend into several counties, the parts which extend into a different county from that in which the bulk of the population is situate have in 100

cases a population of less than 2,000, and in 54 other cases less than 5,000, and might probably be merged in other Unions. In the 63 other cases the population of the outlying part exceeds 5,000. In some of these cases there will, no doubt, be some inconvenience in disturbing the existing Unions. But even if it should be thought expedient in certain of these cases to preserve the existing Unions, with special provisions for representation on the county boards of the several counties into which they respectively extend, this does not appear to furnish a valid argument against simplification of areas and authorities in that great majority of cases in which no such special difficulties exist.”

I do hope that the right hon. Gentleman will consent to modify the Bill so far as regards the choice of the electoral area and the number of elected members of the county board. Unless this is done, it appears to me that the Bill will only make a real reform unlikely, and I should be sorry to see it pass.

Mr. PELL said, that if the thanks of the country were due to the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Solater-Booth) who had brought forward the Bill, they were also due to his Predecessor in the office of the Local Government Board, the right hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), for the speech and the propositions he had made. He (Mr. Pell) would say at once that he entirely concurred with the greater part of his Amendment—namely, with so much of it as related to the electoral area. He thought they would get with greater readiness a better selection of representatives upon the board if they voted in the Unions. No doubt, such a change as the permanent re-arrangement of Unions would impose upon the Department a vast amount of inconvenience, labour, thought, care, and time and patience; but, after all, these made up the best part of human life, and he would not, on the strength of such considerations, abandon the idea of reform, but would rather face every difficulty. But although the area which the right hon. Gentleman opposite proposed for electoral purposes might perhaps be the best, his method of election was decidedly the worst. It was the unhappy conjunction in the Amendment of two propositions that made it difficult for hon. Members to know how to vote. He suggested, then, that the right hon. Gentleman should withdraw the latter part of the Amendment—namely, that which came after the word “county,” relating to the mode of election; and that if he did so he

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would probably receive an overwhelming amount of support from both sides of the House. With regard to the Bill, he was quite sure that the House would do its best to make it a good Bill. As to the composition of the board, it was not quite clear to him; but he supposed it would be possible for the Guardians to elect a magistrate, if they liked, over the heads of other persons who were qualified to serve on the board, but who were not magistrates. If that was so, and knowing the sort of feeling there was in the country to elect the big man of a district, he thought the Bill would be none the worse, and probably more acceptable to the counties, if, with such limitation—not more than one-third magistrates—the electors were free to select whom they chose, whether he was a magistrate or not. The hon. and learned Baronet the Member for Wexford (Sir George Bowyer), crossing the House from the other side, where he was naturally to be found—[“No, no!”]—as much so as a salmon in a river when it was not visiting the sea—in order to speak on this side, had propounded the most extreme Tory doctrines. Whatever might be the case in Ireland, rates fell upon occupiers in England. The hon. and learned Baronet said he had been a conservator of two rivers, including the Lea, which was contaminated by indiarubber works and gasworks, and in other ways between Hertford and London; and, as one who once drank the water, he remembered that you could tell by the sickness in a street the side that was supplied with the water and the side that was not. For his own part, he (Mr. Pell) thought that the transfer of the conservancy of such rivers as the Lea from special to county boards would prove a very beneficial change. As to the second portion of the Bill, with regard to roads, he considered that it had better be omitted altogether, for the less the Bill was loaded with details, the more likely was it to get the assent of Parliament this Session. It was undesirable to give the new boards too many functions at first, and the questions concerning the highways might very well have stood over for the present, to be dealt with by the Highways Bill now before the House. The change proposed in the manner of electing coroners, by transferring the franchise from the freeholders

to the county board, was a very desirable one; but he had indulged the hope that the county rate would be relieved of that official, and he still wished the right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench would take him under their charge, appoint him, and pay him—everything, in fact, except let him sit upon them. The most valuable portion of the Bill seemed to be that relating to the re-adjustment of areas, comprising, as suggested by the right hon. Member for Halifax, the re-arrangement of Poor Law Unions. If the House would not sanction the new electoral area suggested in the Amendment, he hoped nothing would be done by the Bill which would put the office of Guardian, or the area in which he worked, into an inferior position to that in which a country gentleman performed his public duties. By making the Union the electoral area they would get men who had been accustomed to act together in reference to the most important of questions—the administration of the Poor Law. It was possible that in future the administration of justice might be more or less intrusted to stipendiary magistrates; but the Poor Law could not be administered by paid officers; the duty must devolve upon those volunteers who were willing and able to discharge it. It would rather raise the position of Guardians and encourage them to cherish noble aspirations if representatives of the petty sessional divisions were sent to work with the Guardians in their Unions. Perhaps one of the first questions dealt with by county boards would be in-door relief. The contrast was most marked between the provision made in London by means of combination and that furnished by isolated Unions in the country. The advantages of combination were seen, not only in dealing with the sick and aged and mentally diseased, but also in matters of education as regarded pauper children. The economy of combination was as well accompanied with better teachers, better buildings, better apparatus, better results. They did not get so good a class of teachers for the Union schools in the country as they had in towns, and there was little hope of any improvement in that matter. It was also impossible to do justice to a few children in a small establishment; and in his district they had disposed of the question by passing

the children into the village school with great advantage, especially to the children themselves. He hoped to see two of their almost empty workhouses transformed, where it was possible, one into a district school and the other into an infirmary for imbecile patients. He believed that by that means the rates would be greatly diminished; that the unfortunate creatures referred to would be better treated; and that their friends would be more likely to send them into an infirmary than into the workhouse, to the very name of which they had a strong objection. The country ladies, with time to spare and an aptitude for such duties, would visit them and look after their comforts, as they did in the Metropolis. In that way, and by mixing up men of higher education with the Guardians, the Bill would unite individuals of the highest position and education with those who belonged to a class below them in the management of county establishments in a way in which they had never been united before, which would, he thought, be productive of the best results.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER, in reference to a remark from the last speaker (Mr. Pell), explained that he had never stated that he had been a Conservator of the Thames and of the River Lea. What he did say was that he had been a Member of two Committees of that House which inquired into the Thames Conservancy, and of one Committee of that House which had inquired into the conservancy of the River Lea.

MR. DODSON accepted the Bill with satisfaction, because it was a step in the right direction—in the direction of a board that would conduce to local centralization, which he regarded as a great and much-needed safeguard against the tendency to Government centralization. Further, he held the Bill to be a stepping-stone from which they could go forward at no distant period towards a more popular and more powerful institution. He was sorry to hear the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), who was so conversant with subjects of this kind, express a wish that the functions given to the board might be diminished by the withdrawal of the clauses relating to roads. Instead of that, he should like to increase the importance of the board by giving to it more functions than were

named in the Bill; such, for instance, as the duty of deciding appeals with regard to assessments, and questions relating to arterial drainage and the storage of water. Having accepted the Bill as embodying a sound principle, he should not be prepared to vote for the Amendment, if he thought that Amendment was in any way calculated to defeat the Bill. His right hon. Friend (Mr. Selater-Booth), however, must be aware that, technically and literally, the Amendment did not defeat the Bill, but only deferred the second reading to another day. He (Mr. Dodson) thought the Amendment might be advantageously incorporated with the Bill. Indeed, two of its principles were not resisted by most of the speakers who represented the landed interest; and as to the third—the principle of direct election, as to which objection had been taken by several hon. Members opposite—it was more in accordance with the custom and habits of the people than indirect legislation, which was quite a novel institution. There were only three instances of it to be found in the country—the Metropolitan Board of Works, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and Aldermen. He would further make a few remarks upon the point. Indirect election might be valuable as a check against democratic excitement. County boards would arouse no passions. Indirect election almost necessarily involved one of two evils. Either the elected elector became a mere delegate—a sort of telephone through whom the original elector conveyed his own voice to a remote point, or else the original elector lost sight altogether of the purpose for which he was entrusted with a vote. In the present case, he thought the original elector would remember that he was electing a person to discharge the duties of a Guardian, and he would not attach much weight to the fact that this Guardian was to hold a power of attorney, as it were, to elect on his behalf members of the county board. This would be the least of the two evils, as otherwise, instead of choosing the man who was best fitted to discharge the duties of Guardian, the original elector would select the man whom he could reckon upon to vote for a friend or a patron whom he might wish to see introduced to the county board. One of the advantages of direct election was this—the

*Mr. Pell*

men who would be directly elected by their constituents would sit with the magistrates on the county board with a keener sense of the importance and responsibility of their position than they would otherwise have. Another advantage would follow; one rural ratepayer becoming accustomed to elect representatives for different purposes and with distinct functions would be prepared for political enfranchisement. He objected to the multiplication of elections; but this might, in the present case, be easily avoided, inasmuch as the ratepayer might be called upon to elect a member of the county board at the same time that he was electing his Guardian. If these elections were held at the same time, a good opportunity would be afforded of getting rid of plurality voting and substituting for it single or cumulative voting. And now as to the proportion of justices to elected members. For his own part, he would not have the least objection to make the whole board elective, and he thought eventually the whole of the members would be elected directly by the ratepayers. He had no fear that the justices, if they cared to be elected, would not be elected in sufficient proportions. But he was not willing to risk the passing of this Bill by pressing an Amendment of that description. It was essential to the good constitution of the board that there should be on it a considerable proportion of gentlemen in the position of magistrates or, at all events, of owners of property. The interests of owners and occupiers were, he would not say antagonistic, but different. The owner had a permanent, the occupier a transitory, interest, and it was important that both should be duly represented on the board. He was quite sure that gentlemen in the position of magistrates would be quite able to make their influence felt, though in a minority. Magistrates would be men of larger knowledge and wider experience than the elected members, and it would be well for them and for the character of the board that they should feel the necessity of relying for their influence on their knowledge and experience, and not on their numbers or social position. He did not wish to go at length into the important question what was the best area to constitute the unit out of which these boards were to be selected. Simplification of areas was no doubt the one

thing specially needed, because many areas meant many authorities, many authorities meant insignificant authorities, more elections, more officers, more expense, waste of power, and less unity of interest. Wherever it was possible the area ought to be the same. There were 649 Unions, between 700 and 750 petty sessional divisions, 640 local boards, about 70 improvement districts, 400 highway districts, and 6,000 highway parishes. In that multiplicity of areas there was scope for immensely reducing their number. It ought to be our aim to assimilate the petty sessional divisions and the highway districts to the Unions. That would get rid of a great many of those divisions. The difficulty was as to the rectification of Unions. There were 181 or 182 Unions which ran into different counties—not only into two, but into three or four counties. It was easy to say, Rectify the boundaries, lop off that part of the Union which projects into another county; but there was this difficulty to be got over—a change of area meant in many cases a shifting of burdens. It might be said that a Valuation Bill would equalize the assessments throughout the country, and no doubt such a scheme would remove some difficulties, but it could not equalize rates. It appeared to him, therefore, that, however desirable it might be to rectify the boundaries of areas and to diminish their number, the task was a difficult one, and would take a considerable length of time. If that could be effected at once, he was prepared to give it his hearty support; but if that could not be done, he would rather accept the disadvantages attending petty sessional areas. He cordially gave his adherence to the principles embodied in the Amendment of his right hon. Friend, and if all three or any of them could be introduced into the Bill in Committee, he thought it would be an effective improvement of the measure.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he might congratulate his right hon. Friend (Mr. Selater-Booth) upon the reception which his measure had met with, because the right hon. Gentleman opposite who moved the Amendment (Mr. Stansfeld) distinctly stated that he did not wish to vote against the principle of the Bill, although he set up a directly opposite principle in the programme he laid before the House. He gathered

from the right hon. Gentleman that rather than imperil the passing of the measure, he would cordially support its second reading. No doubt some objections had been made to the Bill, and they had broadly to consider what was the best thing to be done under very difficult circumstances. They had got to constitute a new board from the commencement, and to take the best materials they could find at hand. He believed his hon. Friend the Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read), while objecting to the number of magistrates upon the board, had stated, and would state again, that so far as magistrates were concerned they had administered most fairly, most economically, and most justly all those matters confided to their charge. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) would go a step further. He was speaking before men who thoroughly understood the question; and while he agreed with the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz) that it was of the utmost importance that they should take not those who were highest in position, not the moneyed men, but those who were determined to do their duty humbly and unostentatiously, none could be got more likely to act in that way than the magistrates of this country. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) called this a Court of Quarter Sessions Board; but there was nothing which had so much kept the counties together as the quarter sessions and assizes held in them. The right hon. Gentleman had said before doing anything with regard to an elected board they should rectify all the anomalies which now existed.

MR. STANSFELD said, he did not say "before" doing anything.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT considered that to be the very pivot of his speech; but what the right hon. Gentleman wanted—the altering of the boundaries of Unions—was the most difficult of all things to do. How were those Unions usually formed? They were formed so that they should be nearest to the largest towns in the district to enable members of the Boards of Guardians to attend at what was known to be the most convenient place. It would be a downright revolution to change all these Unions, and the Committee which had investigated the subject, over which the right hon. Gentleman himself (Mr.

Stansfeld) presided, distinctly laid down that no alteration of boundaries of counties should take place except where portions of a county were situated within another county, and they did not feel themselves justified in making any alteration in the boundaries of Unions. They did recommend outlying portions of parishes should be annexed to the parishes they joined. Yet all these alterations were to be made before any board was established.

MR. STANSFELD said, that what he had said upon the matter was in directly the contrary direction. His argument was that the board which he proposed would be an efficient instrument in preparing a scheme for the purpose.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked what the board was which the right hon. Gentleman proposed. He proposed that one-third should be magistrates, and that the remainder should be elected by the Unions; but those Unions had not always the interest of the county at heart, because they were situated in different counties. They must consider that. But his right hon. Friend said, Take what you have got—petty sessional divisions which did not overlap other counties and parishes—let them elect representatives. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) was not going further than that. He considered that his right hon. Friend (Mr. Solater-Booth) was right in adopting the petty sessional district as the electoral area. It was the best scheme that came to hand, would be more easily carried out than any other, and would give an efficient body of men. Then, as to direct representation, the right hon. Member for Chester (Mr. Dodson) wanted a scheme which would teach these men to vote for county representation. But that, of all things, was not wanted.

MR. DODSON had only said that incidentally that would be the effect.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT wanted to have these boards kept absolutely free from politics. They did not want talking, officious men, but members who would discharge their duty in the best interest of their county, totally irrespective of politics. He was, therefore, entirely opposed to direct election. Considering the importance of these boards, and the number of duties that would be imposed on them, he thought they ought to be elected, not for

*Sir Walter B. Barttelot*

one year but for three, if not for five years. If they were to have control with regard to turnpikes, rivers, the building of schools, asylums, &c., time must be given to them to mature their plans. The duties which they had once undertaken they would like to carry to a successful termination. With regard to turnpikes, which were being destroyed as fast as possible, his right hon. Friend proposed that they should be handed over to these county boards, and he proposed that in certain cases they should be enabled to erect a toll. Now he (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), for one, totally dissented from the proposition to give them the power of erecting tolls. If it had been thought wise to do away with tolls, he was certain it would be unwise and impolitic to erect tolls. There should be some way of getting out of the difficulty. Surely those on the other side who represented towns must see that the main traffic was between town and town. Take Leeds and Bradford, take Manchester and Oldham, or Sheffield and Rotherham, or any other towns you wished to name, and then see whether the putting of tolls just outside those large towns would not be very detrimental to them. Surely some arrangement could be arrived at by which the towns, for the benefit of which more or less these turnpike roads were made, should pay a small proportion of the county rate. Considering the enormous omnibus traffic in towns like Manchester, he thought that traffic might fairly be charged by itself. There were few people who knew anything about rivers or Commissions of Sewers who would not like to learn from his right hon. Friend how far he meant the control over matters of that kind to be undertaken by a county board. In all our counties where there were tidal and other rivers there were Commissions of Sewers. Did his right hon. Friend mean to sweep away those Commissions and to give to the county board authority in such matters? Those who lived on the spot knew more about those matters than persons who lived at a distance. With reference to the observations of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) as to workhouses and schools, there could be no doubt that it was a most important thing to curtail out-door relief. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) had said that for years. He had pressed upon Guardians that a

lavish expenditure in out-door relief was one of the most mischievous things as far as the people of this country were concerned, and in order to make an improvement in the system, in more than one rural district they might combine the Unions together; while the workhouse children might be educated outside. The schools in the workhouses were not to be compared with those outside, and if the children could be brought up in a different atmosphere a good work would be done. He had also always been in favour of imbecile and harmless lunatics being kept in proper and certified workhouses, instead of being sent to the costly lunatic asylums; and he hoped this would now, should this Bill become an Act of Parliament, be carried out. Looking at the whole matter before the House, their great object ought to be to have such a board as should not only carry out all the matters which would be entrusted to it to its own satisfaction, but to the satisfaction of the counties as well and of the country generally.

MR. HIBBERT said, he thoroughly agreed in what had been said by the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) as to the way in which magistrates had discharged their duties with regard to the finances of counties. No body of men could have managed matters more better or economically than the magistrates. Neither did he think there would be any great jealousy between Guardians as a class and magistrates as a class. In fact, a feeling of mutual confidence was often manifested between the two classes. He could not agree with the observations of the hon. and gallant Baronet as to the making of the petty sessional district a unit for the purposes of this Bill. He thought there were many reasons against the petty sessional system, and he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would re-consider that part of the Bill. The most important question brought forward was the area, because when it had been decided upon in the Bill it would remain the area for all time to come. But as to the mode of election, whether direct or indirect, and the tenure of office, that could be altered in the future. The right hon. Gentleman had said that there were 180 Unions that overlapped counties, and that arrangements would have to be provided for 400 different Unions. He



(Mr. Hibbert) was quite prepared to admit that special arrangements would have to be provided, although his right hon. Friend looked forward to the time when the boundaries would be so altered as to be coterminous with the counties. On the other hand, there were so many reasons against fixing upon petty sessional districts as areas that he was hopeful his right hon. Friend would not persevere with that part of his Bill. What he would advise was, that they should be satisfied with leaving the clause to be considered by the county boards when elected, and that they should at present accept the Union for their unit. Until the question of boundaries was considered by the county boards there would be no difficulty in accepting his (Mr. Hibbert's) own proposal, providing that Guardians of Unions which overlapped counties should vote in the counties in which they resided. The change would certainly be no greater than that proposed in the Bill. As between Unions and petty sessional districts, the adoption of the Union as the unit would slightly reduce the number of persons to be elected, but would give a fairer representation. Another point in the Bill to which he thought it right to call attention was that in petty sessional districts the towns which had a court of quarter sessions would not be represented. While in some parts of the country towns with courts of quarter sessions did not contribute to the county rates, Liverpool, Manchester, Bolton, and Wigan contributed to the general purposes account, for Militia store-houses, and to the asylums no less than £8,000. If a board was to be a real county board, he did not see how the boroughs, which contributed to the county finances for a variety of purposes, could be left without the representation which the Bill did not propose to give them. [Mr. SOLATER-BOOTH said, he believed those arrangements were peculiar to Lancashire.] Perhaps that was so; but there were, or would be, reasons why all boroughs should have representatives; and one reason would be furnished by the proposal to make the boards courts of appeal in matters of assessment, instead of the courts of quarter sessions. He objected to the petty sessional districts being the areas of election, because it would be introducing another new electoral district,

*Mr. Hibbert*

another anomaly into local government, and adding to the chaos which at present existed. As to direct or double election, there was much to be said on both sides; and while, on the one hand, there were good men who did not like to go through a contest for office, yet, on the other, direct election was more in accordance with the present system. He could state that there was a growing feeling in favour of Guardians being elected for three years, instead of as now for one year only. He would further suggest, that as it was a tentative Bill it might only be passed for a limited period, say, for three or six years, and then reconsidered. They were all anxious to get the best boards possible, and in the meantime it might be ascertained how far the proposals contained in the measure, when adopted, had answered the purpose they had in view. He was, however, very anxious not to add to the difficulties and anomalies of the present system; and therefore he hoped that the Union would be taken as the unit for the elections, that being the unit for all administrative purposes. In conclusion, he thought the questions raised by the Bill were so important that they might well occupy the attention of the House not for one night only, but for several nights.

SIR BALDWIN LEIGHTON said, on the occasion of the first introduction of the Bill a hope was expressed by his right hon. Friend (Mr. Solater-Booth) that no political or Party feeling would be imported into the discussion, and he (Sir Baldwin Leighton) ventured humbly and *longo intervallo* to re-echo that hope. Perhaps, therefore, he might be allowed to observe that at least up to this point the discussion had been singularly free from any Party bias, and he trusted it might so continue if they were to get a real practical measure. He should hardly venture to take an active or prominent part in such an important discussion, had he not for some time past taken an active share in the administration of a county and also of a Poor Law Union that had been looked upon as very favourable examples of local administration and government; and, with the practical experience of those localities before him, he came to the conclusion that the Bill was singularly well adapted for carrying out the principles which it undertook—namely, the

self-government in the counties. To-day they were, of course, discussing the principles. At the proper time there would be Amendments in detail to be submitted; but the points chiefly objected to on principle were, he thought, the mode of election and the area of election. In a lesser degree also the term of office touched on a principle. Now as regarded the mode of election—that was the principle of double election herein embodied—a broad distinction might be drawn between legislative bodies, which might or might not be constituted by direct popular election, and administrative bodies, which should not, in his opinion, be so constituted. Indeed, he would go so far as to say that if it were proposed to constitute these boards by direct election this measure, which had his hearty support, would have his strenuous opposition; the best men would decline to come forward, and our whole local government would be ruined. There was another principle contained in this mode of election which he would designate “local election.” A Guardian was elected by the ratepayers of his parish who knew him, and the elective member of the board would be, under this Bill, elected by his brother Guardians, who also knew him personally. But if he were to present himself to the whole Union there would be an end of that personal or local election, and the worst candidate, not the best, would generally be elected. Then, as to the area, he confessed he was himself taken by surprise at the proposal to adopt petty sessional districts. Also, he entirely agreed with hon. Members opposite and on the Liberal side that *ceteris paribus* the Union would be the best, as the most important, local body, to send representatives. Further, he agreed that a better selection might be made by men with whom the elective representative should have transacted business; but the difficulty of reducing the Unions to the dimensions of the counties, which applied also to sanitary and highway districts, was for the present insurmountable. It would cause a delay of three years to create a Boundary Commission to correct the overlapping and to act on it, causing at the same time endless local difficulties and heart-burnings. Therefore, he came to the conclusion that the petty

sessional division, the only one contentious with the county, was, at least for the present, the right one to adopt—it was the only practical solution of the difficulty. Then as to term of office, it might be thought by some hon. Gentlemen opposite that the one year of office would be more democratic than a longer term; but, in fact, the contrary was the case, as a man would have no weight or influence until he had learnt the business, which he could not learn in one year; he would altogether be a more useful member of the board if he remained three years or more in office; and they had likewise the precedent of the school boards. But there was another class of objections, of which they had heard very little that night—in fact, not enough—except a few words from the hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Muntz). It was a feeling held by many out of that House, as well as some within the House—and, if he did not share their conclusion entirely, he quite sympathized with their reasoning. It was the argument—“Let well alone.” The county business was almost a pattern of how public business should be managed; it was administered as efficiently and economically, on the whole, as it well could be by the magistrates. Why seek to interfere with them? That was a very strong argument to one who looked at the question from the practical point of view that he took; but he submitted also those other considerations to those who offered that objection. The magistrates who now managed the business so well would in every case be associated still to the Board of Management of the county, and be, he trusted, supported by the elective members as much as by the magistrates heretofore. Then there was a not unnatural aspiration among the ratepayers to take a more active share through their elected representatives in the business. Then, again, they would have many larger functions thrown upon those boards, and it was well to strengthen the foundation to carry a heavier weight; and, lastly, those boards would, he trusted, become sufficiently important to counteract the centralizing tendency of the day. To sum up the general results, if the Bill became law, he believed that where a county strengthening and popularizing of local

had been well and efficiently managed, like his own county, there would be little or no perceptible difference; in some there might be room for improvement; in some—very few, he trusted—there might be a slight change for the worse; that was in the expenditure; but even that would be cheaply purchased at the strengthening of local self-government. He believed there were men scattered up and down in the country in every county of England, as there were in every community of this Anglo-Saxon nation, willing and able to undertake the work of local government, who would bring their best abilities to the work for the benefit of their neighbours and the public; and, if he might venture to go one step further, he would say that should that great House ever come by faction, obstruction, or corruption, to lose something of its old renown—or by adhering too closely to the theories of foreign States rather than to the practical teaching of their own stately history, that Assembly should come to lessen its great influence in the councils of the State—then, perhaps, those rural municipalities, those local parliaments they were to-day calling into existence, might serve to maintain in the country the principles of good government and purity of administration, which were the essence of practical progress and of civilization.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE moved the adjournment of the debate.

*Motion agreed to.*

*Debate adjourned till Monday next.*

#### LICENSING LAWS AMENDMENT BILL.

(*Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Heath.*)

[BILL 82.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Staveley Hill.*)

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, he hoped they would have some expression of opinion from the Government before they proceeded with this Bill. A Committee had been sitting on the subject in the House of Lords, and he believed there was an understanding that no measure of this description should be

*Sir Baldwin Leighton*

proceeded with in that House until a Report had been received from the House of Lords.

MR. STAVELEY HILL said, that although he would have no objection to postponing the Committee until Monday, it must not be taken that he consented to an adjournment of the Bill until the Committee of the House of Lords had reported. They had the whole of the evidence; but as it seemed to be the opinion of the House that it was not advisable to proceed with the Bill at that hour—10 minutes to 12—he would consent that it should be taken for Monday.

MR. FAWCETT said, he hoped that the Government would give some expression of opinion on the subject. The Bill would affect a very important class of trade, and he thought that, considering the very many thousands of people who were connected with this Bill, and would be seriously affected, and seeing that the Bill was introduced without a word, and the second reading was agreed to without a word, that the Government were bound to state their views upon it. If this were not done, he should take the earliest opportunity of moving the adjournment of the debate.

*Motion, by leave, withdrawn.*

*Committee deferred till Monday next.*

#### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.

(*The O'Connor Don, Mr. Richard Smyth, Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. James Corry, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Dease, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Redmond.*)

[BILL 44.] COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

MR. O'SULLIVAN trusted at that hour of the night the Bill would not be proceeded with. There were very many Amendments, some of which would take a day to discuss, and therefore he should move to report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. O'Sullivan.*)

THE O'CONOR DON thought his hon. Friend was not very reasonable in moving immediately after going into Committee to report Progress. The hon. Member knew the difficulties which a private Member had to contend with in bringing forward a measure of this sort. He thought they might make some progress in the Bill before adjourning, and he did not see why at that early hour of the night the Chairman should report Progress. The hon. Member had stated that there were very many Amendments. That being so, he regarded it as a greater necessity for proceeding with them until they came to the usual hour.

MR. O'SULLIVAN remarked that many of the Members who were opposed to the Bill were under the impression that it would not come on that night, and had consequently left the House. The first Amendment was one of the most important Amendments to the Bill, and would occupy, at least, half a day; therefore, he considered it would be impossible to proceed with it at that time of the night.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY reminded hon. Members that Government assistance to obtain them a day had been promised, and under those circumstances he saw no occasion for proceeding with the Bill at that time. It was a very serious question. There had been a very important Bill before the House, which was expected to last all the evening, and it had lasted all the evening; and now this important Bill came on when many Members interested had left. He trusted that the Bill would not be proceeded with.

MR. STACPOOLE hoped the Bill would not be proceeded with now.

MR. CORRY pointed out that the House frequently considered important questions at a later hour than that.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, that if his hon. Friend postponed going on with the debate they should have some promise that they would do what they really could to allow this question to come on for consideration. We were told early in the Session that the Government would give facilities for the passing of this measure. Nothing special, however, had been done; and if the Government would state what they would really do it would satisfy all parties.

MR. ASSHETON CROSS observed that all he had to say on the part of the Government was that they would do whatever was convenient to the Irish Members. They did not want to interfere one way or the other, and the question was for the Irish Members to say whether they should begin or not.

THE O'CONOR DON wished to say a word or two as to the position in which he stood in regard to the conduct of this measure. The Bill had come on at an hour at which they usually transacted Public Business, and it would not be unreasonable to make what progress they could. He was perfectly aware that the Government had given a pledge that they would give facilities for the passing of this Bill. They had not, however, distinctly told them that they would give up Government time day after day until the Bill was passed; and therefore it would not be reasonable to expect that private Members, at an hour at which they usually transacted Public Business, should agree to give up the opportunities which they had of going on with this Bill. If the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would state to them that he would undertake, on behalf of the Government, to give them day after day until the Bill was passed, then he should feel free from responsibility, and would certainly consent to reporting Progress on the present occasion.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that it was desirable that there should be no mistake as to the position of the Government in regard to this Bill. They agreed to support the second reading of the Bill, on the understanding that they would propose certain Amendments in Committee. If these Amendments should be substantially adopted, the Government would be prepared to do what reasonably lay in their power to facilitate the passing of the Bill; but if the Amendments were rejected, the Government would be in a different position. With regard to the present discussion, he supposed it had been quite a chance that the Bill had been reached this evening; and it was for those who were interested in the discussion to decide whether they would or would not proceed with it to-night. That was a matter on which the Government expressed no opinion; but he could

give no promise now, before the discussion of the Amendments, that he would give Government days for the Bill.

THE O'CONOR DON said, that after the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer it would be impossible for him to give his consent to reporting Progress, without endeavouring, at least, to obtain the opinion of the Committee on the subject.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON hoped the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan) would withdraw his Motion. After the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, it was important that they should get through with the Amendments, and they were now in a position to discuss them.

MR. O'SULLIVAN thought that it was really unreasonable to ask them to go on with the Bill to-night.

MR. WHITWORTH thought it was most unreasonable that hon. Members should prevent the progress of a Bill which was so strongly desired by the people of Ireland.

MR. M. BROOKS hoped the hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan) would persevere with his Motion. Several hon. Members interested in this Bill were not present. His hon. Colleague the Member for Dublin was not here; the hon. Member for the county Cork was not here; and he trusted, therefore, that the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Conor Don) would not persist in taking advantage of that which was really a surprise.

MR. PARNELL wished to point out to the promoters of the Bill the difficulty in which they would place those who, like himself, had always supported it. He represented a county—Meath—which was in favour of the Sunday Closing Bill, and nearly all the Irish counties appeared to take the same view. He had always himself felt considerable doubts as to the principles of the Bill; but he had never felt himself sufficiently justified in going against the declared wishes of his constituents in regard to a matter which concerned only themselves. He had, therefore, always felt it right to support this Bill in its previous stages. He understood from the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that he would give every facility to the passing of this Bill, provided certain Go-

vernment Amendments were agreed to by the House. The principles of the Government Amendments, he believed, did not affect the counties. They related to certain towns in Ireland with a certain population; and therefore, representing the wishes of a county, he felt absolved from any opposition to these Amendments. The proposition which the Government had made was that, if these Amendments were adopted, they would facilitate the passing of the Bill; and if its promoters insisted in opposing the Motion to report Progress, he would feel compelled to walk out of the House.

THE O'CONOR DON thought it necessary to say a few words in reply to his hon. Friend. He seemed to be under the impression that, in the remarks which he (the O'Conor Don) had made, he refused to accept the Amendments of the Government. He certainly never intended to convey any such idea. The Government Amendments had not been proposed; they had had no opportunity of discussing them; but when they were proposed, if there was any strong expression of opinion in their favour, he thought it was very likely that the promoters of the Bill would accept them. It was out of his power to answer for others, or to give any pledge that the Government Amendments would be agreed to; but his own opinion was, that they should accept the Amendments of the Government, upon the conditions which the right hon. Gentleman had stated—namely, that the Government would give every opportunity for passing the Bill. He himself could give no pledge for others; but he did not want it to be supposed that he declined to accept the Government Amendments.

MR. PAGET said, that this important measure affected the interests of Ireland, and it had come on as a surprise, and that it would be quite unreasonable to ask them to proceed with it to-night.

DR. WARD said, that the assertion that this was a matter of surprise astonished him. This Bill had passed the House several times, and he regarded the attempt to obstruct it now as an attempt to prevent effect being given to the public opinion of Ireland. ["No, no!"] Well, the enormous majority of the Irish Members had voted in favour of this Bill. It had been most amply

*The O'Conor Don*

discussed, and the efforts which had been made to defeat it had proceeded from a very small number of Members. To tell the House that this was a matter of surprise was, to him, a most extraordinary statement, the more particularly as the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) had not pressed the advantage which he possessed when this Bill went into Committee a few days ago. The reward which the hon. Member received for his moderation was the attempt now made to resist the progress of the Bill. The House had time after time approved of the principle of the Bill, and it was most extraordinary that they should be asked to give up the advantage which they had obtained.

MR. WHEELHOUSE said, it was abundantly clear that there was a mistake somewhere, and it was a very easy matter to find out and explain it. The error was one of words merely—the fact remained. So far as this matter being on the Paper was concerned, it was not, and could not be, any surprise to anybody; but it was unusual, and therefore not only a surprise but a great surprise that this—the 10th Order of the Day—an Order, moreover, so important as it was, should, by the merest accident in the world, have been reached, and should, therefore, have come on for discussion when a very large number of the Members for Irish constituencies had left for the night, never expecting the Order would, or could, be reached. That was the only mistake. Let them look at the empty benches at this moment, and could anybody believe that the opinion given by so few Members would be taken as the general views of the House on a question of such magnitude and importance. Really, to discuss the matter under such circumstances was little short of an insult to Ireland itself. It was well known that this Bill did not affect the interests of those who were promoting it; but it applied exclusively to those who, comparatively speaking, were unable to make themselves heard in that House. It would be most unfair, unwise, and unjust, to proceed at this hour of the night with even one stage of this Bill. It was a measure which involved one of the greatest principles of Imperial legislation, and it ought not to be advanced a single step at such a time. It was only right to say that he was not one of those who cared about excluding or ex-

empting certain places from the operations of the measure. He objected to the Bill altogether as an attempt to carry into effect the very worst and most objectionable form of class legislation. It was useless to deny, by those who would, no doubt, very willingly do so if they could, that it was a Bill brought in at the instance of a certain number of irresponsible people—teetotallers and Sabatarians—both in England and Ireland, and they all knew who were the wire-pullers who worked behind the scenes. In a matter of this kind they were not there to legislate for the “Upper Ten Thousand.” Much as he respected some of them on other subjects, on this he did not care a single straw for the Bishops, nor did he value the opinions of the aristocratic element. What he wanted to arrive at was the uncontrolled and free view of the peasant. Those who had signed and professed to desire the passing of this measure not only had their own cellars, but knew how to use them. In fact, there was not a single thing which they denied themselves. Why, then, should they seek legislatively, as in truth they were now doing, to coerce the peasant class of Ireland? Why should he be asked to help that class which was not affected by the measure, at the expense of those classes who were? If these persons wished to avoid going into public-houses, nobody asked or compelled them to enter one, and by all means let them keep away; but they had no right to deny to a whole people, as it was thus sought to do, their common food and sustenance, and that mainly to support a crotchet.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, there was a very strong argument in favour of the Motion. Only a short time ago one of the cities which it was proposed to exempt from the operation of the Bill presented a Petition, signed by 2,700 persons, against the measure. He believed that about the same number had petitioned in favour of the Bill; but he had also reason to believe that within the next few days another Petition would be presented against the Bill which would be signed by upwards of 4,000 persons, as well as several very large Petitions in its favour. That Petition came, he was told, principally from artisans, and it showed that it was only at this stage of the agitation that public opinion was becoming directed towards the measure among persons of one set of opi-

nions. Under these circumstances, with a long Session before them and the Government pledged to give proper facilities for the discussion of the Bill, he could not understand what the motive was for pressing it forward at 12 o'clock at night, except that it was desired to pass into its details without full discussion and before the various Petitions could reach. He asked the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) to treat the Bill as he would treat a Government Bill if an important public measure were endeavoured to be forced on at that late hour of the night. If such a course were attempted by the Government it would be resisted by the House, and the Government would be compelled to postpone the Bill, and to fix a reasonable day and hour for resuming it. He could not conceive how the hon. Member could suffer any injury by postponing the Bill. If the hon. Member was perfectly sure of his case, and believed it to be in accordance with the feeling of the Irish people, the only result of postponing it would be to secure in its favour a still stronger expression of opinion, and to ensure that the issue would be fairly tried.

MR. ONSLOW said, he should certainly vote for the adjournment of the discussion, and he asked hon. Gentlemen to recollect how it was that so early in the Session they had arrived at this stage of the Bill. His hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), on the Monday after the meeting of Parliament, put this Bill down upon the Paper for a second reading. It was expected that the Government would move the postponement of the Orders of the Day, so that the Government Business might be brought on; and very few hon. Members had any idea that this Bill would come on upon that particular day. It did, however, come on, and passed a second reading, few only being present to oppose it, and it was thought unwise to challenge a division. On the following Wednesday it was put down again for Committee, and a curious thing—one that was almost unprecedented—happened. The House adjourned at 10 minutes to 1 o'clock; but, before doing so, the hon. Member for Roscommon moved the House into Committee on the Bill. Nobody had expected that the Bill would come on, as an important Scotch Bill was on the Notice Paper

before it; but owing to an informality when the second reading was moved, the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair ruled that the Bill could not be proceeded with. He (Mr. Onslow) thought the measure was one of very great importance. He might be told that the minority against it was comparatively small. He did not care how small the minority was, but he should always give his vote so as to prevent the Bill from passing if possible. At the same time, he did not wish to be an obstructionist. He wanted to ensure for the Bill a full, fair, and free discussion. A Session or two ago, he believed, the Bill passed a second reading by a majority of 50; but he thought that many hon. Members who voted for the second reading then were very sorry that they did so, considering the way in which the Bill had been brought before them since. He sincerely hoped the hon. Member for Roscommon would agree to the adjournment of the discussion, and that he would not attempt to force on so important a Bill in such a thin House. There was another reason why he objected to that stage of the Bill being taken. Judging from the cheers which came from both sides of the House that evening, when a New Writ was moved for the City of York, he gathered that they now had a very popular Chief Secretary for Ireland; but the hon. Gentleman who had recently accepted that appointment (Mr. J. Lowther) had not yet had time to go into the details of this measure. It was, therefore, only fair to that hon. Gentleman that he should have an opportunity of considering the Bill, and of saying whether he approved of the measure or not. For these reasons he (Mr. Onslow) hoped the House would not, on the present occasion, proceed further with the Bill. The hon. Gentleman who spoke last, the hon. Member for the city of Limerick, had told them that further Petitions were coming in. Let them wait, then, and see the nature of these Petitions, and ascertain what the real feeling of the people of Ireland was. Probably it would have changed, now that they saw there was a chance of the Bill being rushed through the House. It was quite certain that the people of Ireland were more excited now in regard to the measure than they had been up to this time. He did not care what some unfortunate people among his constituents

*Mr. O'Shaughnessy*

might have to say upon the question. He had certainly been very much blamed by a certain section among them for having opposed this Bill. All he could say, in his place in the House, was that he did not care what any particular section of his constituents might say; but he would still endeavour to oppose the Bill, in every possible way. He opposed it, in the first place, because he believed it to be a restriction upon the liberties of the people; secondly, because he feared that, if it were passed, it would only lead to an increase of drunkenness; and thirdly, because he believed it was exceptional legislation, that was not in accordance with the wishes of the Irish people; and because, if it were passed for Ireland, the hon. Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), or some other hon. Member, would bring in a similar Bill next Session for England. Under circumstances almost unique, he was precluded at this stage of the Bill from entering into any lengthened discussion on its merits or demerits—undue haste, as he thought, having been exercised in bringing it to its present forward stage. For these reasons, he should certainly vote for the adjournment of the debate; and he trusted the Committee would see that there was really no necessity for passing the Bill hastily.

MR. O'CLERY pointed out that for three Sessions the question involved in this Bill had been discussed over and over again. No measure had ever received a fuller and fairer discussion. The hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) had made some reference to Petitions being got up against the passing of the Bill. Now a Petition was presented not long ago, or rather two Petitions, purporting to be signed by 14,000 inhabitants of the town of Naas, in Ireland, against the Bill. It was a most singular fact that such a Petition should have been procured, seeing there were not 2,000 inhabitants which could be reckoned in the population of that town. He believed it was a well-known fact that the men most opposed to the Bill in that House were men who had a direct interest in the liquor traffic in Ireland. They were the men who were determined to obstruct the measure in every possible way. ["Order!"]

MR. STACPOOLE rose to Order. The hon. Gentleman had made a charge that

the opponents of the Bill were in the liquor trade. He (Mr. Stacpoole) was opposed to the Bill, but he was not in the liquor trade.

The CHAIRMAN did not think anything had fallen from the hon. Member which called for the intervention of the Chair.

MR. O'CLERY was quite willing to say at once that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Stacpoole) was not directly interested in the liquor trade. But he was sure that those who were interested in that trade were to be found among the most persistent opponents of this measure, and they manifested the interest which they took in the welfare of the people of Ireland by the fact that when an effort was made to have the public-houses in Ireland closed on Saturday evenings, they opposed it on the ground that the Sunday closing measure should first be settled, and yet when the Sunday Closing Bill came before Parliament they manifested just the same opposition. He trusted that the present discussion would be persevered in, even if it took till 6 o'clock in the morning. He thought it would be well worth while to adopt that course, as it would at once give an assurance to Ireland that the House would deal properly with this measure and facilitate its progress.

MR. O'SULLIVAN said the hon. Gentleman (Mr. O'Clery) had pointed out that there were Petitions from the town of Naas containing 14,000 signatures against the Bill. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) had himself presented two of those Petitions; but they came not only from the town of Naas, but from the county of Kildare, and most of them were signed at the Curragh, so far as he could learn. He denied that he had said that the bringing in of the Bill at this hour of the night took the House by surprise—what he had said was that arriving at it so early took the House by surprise, and that hon. Members who opposed it had left the House under the impression that there was no chance of its coming on. He should certainly do all that lay in his power to prevent its being proceeded with to-night.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS trusted that the postponement of the Committee would not be agreed to unless some understanding was arrived at with the Government as to what they meant to do in reference to the Bill. A very poor re-



turn was now being made for the honourable and delicate conduct of the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), who, when he got the House into Committee on the Bill the other Wednesday, declined to make any progress with the clauses because of the absence of those whom the hon. Gentleman knew to be opponents of the measure. As to bringing on the Bill at a convenient time, they knew that no time would be convenient to determined opponents. If an adjournment were now agreed to, the Government ought first to say what facilities they would give for discussing the clauses in Committee. If the sort of guerilla warfare which had been exhibited to-night was to be carried on for the future, no private Member would ever have a chance of getting a Bill through Parliament.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, the hon. Gentleman was in error in supposing that the Government supported the Motion for reporting Progress. He had stated already what the position of the Government was—they had agreed to the second reading of the Bill, and they had agreed to put certain Amendments on the Paper. If those Amendments were in substance adopted, the Government would make facilities for the Bill; but if, on the other hand, they were not, the Government could not make themselves responsible for the measure. They only pledged themselves to have their Amendments discussed, and they left the promoters of the Bill to pursue what course they pleased. If the hon. Member for Roscommon divided the Committee against the Motion, he (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), for his own part, would vote with him.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 20; Noes 79: Majority 59. — (Div. List, No. 12.)

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, he did not appear there as a partizan, he had long abstained from voting against the Bill; but he thought it impossible to proceed this evening, and he would therefore move that the Chairman leave the Chair. He could not, in justice to the constituents he represented, who were at that moment engaged on both sides in collecting and expressing their opinions on the subject—he could not, in justice

to those constituents, be a consenting party to pressing forward the Bill at that period. They were now expressing, some on one side, some on the other, their opinions on the subject. It was not necessary that he should again go through the arguments which had been already stated in favour of an adjournment. They had a long Session before them, so that it was not necessary that they should discuss the Bill at that late hour of the night. Under these circumstances, he would move that the Chairman leave the Chair.

Motion made, and Question put, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(Mr. O'Shaughnessy.)

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 20; Noes 77: Majority 57. — (Div. List, No. 13.)

MR. ONSLOW begged now to move that the Chairman report Progress. He had one remark to make on what the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. O'Clery) had said. The hon. Member said that the principal opponents of the Bill in that House dealt in liquor. Now, he supposed that he (Mr. Onslow) was one of the last men in that House who could be accused of having anything to do with the liquor traffic, except in regard to what he took himself. What he wanted was to secure a full and fair discussion for the Bill. Was it right for the hon. Gentleman the Member for York (Mr. J. Lowther) to come down there a few days hence, and say—"This Bill, in which I took so much interest, has been passed during my absence?" He (Mr. Onslow) thought no one would be more surprised than the hon. Member himself (Mr. J. Lowther). Really they ought to give hon. Gentlemen time to consider the matter. Let them also consider who had been the Tellers in the division. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was one of those Tellers. He thought that was a very significant fact. It enabled them to see at once where the opposition to the Bill came from, and where the money came from to get up all the Petitions. It was not Irish money, but English money; and, therefore, upon all these grounds, he hoped Her Majesty's Government would agree, now that they had had their amusement and a little discussion, to report Progress.

Mr. Charles Lewis

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Mr. Onslow.*)

DR. CAMERON said, he was a warm supporter of the Bill, but he thought the hour had now arrived when there was really no prospect of getting on with the measure, and he hoped the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) would therefore give way.

THE O'CONOR DON thought it was perfectly clear, after what had happened, and after the proposal made by the hon. Gentleman opposite, that it would be impossible to make any progress that evening; but what had taken place clearly demonstrated that it was quite impossible for any private Member to pass the Bill through all its stages, or through that stage which was necessary in order to enable the Government to ascertain the opinion of the House upon the Government Amendments. Therefore, he thought he had a strong claim upon the Government that they should now name an early day for proceeding with the measure. He hoped he might be allowed to call the attention of the Committee to the whole facts of the case. This Bill, as already stated, came on in Committee on a Wednesday morning at half-past 12. The whole of that Sitting was then open for proceeding with the Bill; but, upon that occasion, not wishing to take hon. Gentlemen by surprise, but in order to give them fair play, he postponed the Bill at once and agreed to report Progress the moment the Preamble of the Bill had been postponed. What would be the position of the promoters of the Bill if they were not allowed to go on with it any night when it came on before 12 o'clock? If they were to be persistently opposed as they had been to-night, what possible chance would there ever be of getting on with it? He had looked carefully over the Order Book, and he found that all the Wednesdays were occupied until the close of the Session. He therefore appealed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was now able to see the character of the opposition likely to be offered to the Bill, and that it was of the same description as the opposition offered in previous years—he appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to name an early Government day when

they could go on with the consideration of the Amendments. His hon. Friend the Member for the city of Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) said he ought to take the same course as the Government took in regard to Government measures that were called on at 10 minutes to 12 o'clock. That would be all very well if he had the same number of days at his disposal as the Government. In that case he would adopt to-night the course usually followed by the Government, and put the Bill down for Monday next. But, unfortunately, he was not in the same position as the Government, and he therefore appealed to the Government to redeem their pledge and give him an early day.

MR. O'SULLIVAN wished to say one word in regard to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don). His hon. Friend had taken credit for not pushing the Bill forward when it went into Committee on a Wednesday morning early in the Session. He (Mr. O'Sullivan) wished to remind his hon. Friend that he had told him (Mr. O'Sullivan) the night before, that he had only put the Bill down for that Wednesday in order to name a day for bringing it on. Under these circumstances, how could the hon. Member have pressed it forward upon that day, when everything else had lapsed? There were 17 Amendments down in regard to the Bill already, and they all knew, from the number of the Petitions which had been presented against it, that it would meet with considerable opposition. There were eight hon. Members representing constituencies in the county of Cork who were opposed to the measure, and not one of them was there that night. It was well known that the large majority of the people of the county and city of Cork were opposed to the Bill, and yet the hon. Members for that district had all gone away under the impression that the Bill was not coming on that night. He therefore hoped that the hon. Member for Roscommon would not persevere further with the Bill, but would consent to report Progress.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT thought the appeal of his hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) was one that deserved and required an answer from the Government. This Bill stood in totally different relations from

any ordinary hon. Member's Private Bill. A pledge had been given by the Government last Session in reference to the measure, and an undertaking had been given that Session. That pledge and undertaking did not leave it at all in the category of a Bill of a private Member. The Government had undertaken to give facilities for proceeding with the Bill, with certain conditions, and his hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon said that, unless the Government gave facilities immediately, it would be impossible to discover whether the conditions could be fulfilled or not. He understood his hon. Friend to say that the question of how far the Amendments of the Government were or were not to be adopted must really depend upon the course taken in Committee upon the Bill. He (Sir William Harcourt) could not conceive that the Government would take so irregular a course as to enter into a bargain outside the House as to what the exact character of the Bill should be when it came into Committee; and, therefore, the nature of the Amendments must be discussed in Committee. His hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon had said nothing more than was patent to every hon. Member of the House—namely, that if he was left to his own unaided efforts, this sort of opposition, proceeding, not from a majority, but from a minority, of the Irish Members, and from a few hon. Gentlemen who took the view of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow), would leave him entirely helpless. Therefore, there was great force in the appeal of the hon. Member to the Government that they should give him an opportunity of placing his Bill in such a position as would enable him to get the Government Amendments discussed.

Mr. ONSLOW said, that hon. Gentlemen would recollect that Her Majesty's Government last year offered every facility for proceeding with this Bill. On one Wednesday hon. Members who had precedence were induced to give way in order to make room for this measure, and the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) actually withdrew the Permissive Bill so that it might come on. Therefore, Her Majesty's Government had given every possible facility for proceeding with the Bill, and he hoped the hon. Member for Roscommon (the

O'Connor Don) would now be content, and allow the Bill to run the ordinary course of Bills introduced by private Members.

Mr. O'CLERY wished to remind the Committee that the concession made by the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) last year was defeated by one of the staunchest Friends of the Government—the hon. and learned Member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse)—who succeeded in talking the Bill out. [Mr. WHEELHOUSE said, that was an entire mistake.] He (Mr. O'Clery) was so accustomed to the persistent opposition of the hon. and learned Member for Leeds, that he might be pardoned for the unintentional mistake he had fallen into. He might say that the Government had hitherto professed ignorance of the desire of the people of Ireland to have some such measure as this passed. He thought they could not plead ignorance of the desire of the House to have some such measure passed, judging from the majority that recorded their votes last year in its favour. Therefore, if the Government would not state frankly to the supporters of the Bill what they intended to do with it, it would be the absolute duty of the Irish Members to stand to their guns, and to show they were thoroughly in earnest in the support they gave the measure by continuing the discussion until their ends were obtained, or until they could induce Her Majesty's Government or the Leader of the House to come to some arrangement with regard to the Bill.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON said, he would do justice to the hon. and learned Member for Leeds (Mr. Wheelhouse). It was quite a mistake that the hon. Member talked the Bill out last Session. The hon. Member did not talk it out every Session, and it was in the preceding Session that he succeeded in talking it out. What the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) had said might mislead the House. The only thing the Government did in favour of the Bill last Session was to allow it to be put down for a Morning Sitting, and when two or three hon. Gentlemen were determined to talk out a Bill they could easily accomplish that object in a Morning Sitting. The proper thing for the Government to do was to give a Sitting which might be prolonged for an indefinite period, and that they did not do.

*Sir William Harcourt*

MR. M. BROOKS hoped the Government would not give the exceptional facilities that were asked for in favour of this Bill. He regarded the course which had been taken that evening as an attempt to steal a march on the Irish Members who were opposed to the Bill. The Bill itself was intended to coerce the large majority of the Irish people—not those who were upon the electoral list, but those who did not enjoy the franchise. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would not give any further facilities, or make any further concessions to the appeal of the hon. Member for Roscommon.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought the undertaking of the Government was as much as could reasonably be expected from them, and they had not the slightest intention of departing from it. They stood now to what they had said—namely, that as the Bill proceeded, if the Amendments proposed by the Government were subsequently adopted, then they would endeavour to give all the facilities in their power for passing the Bill through the other stages it would have to pass; but they could not, at that period of the Session, undertake to set aside Government Business for the discussion of a Bill in regard to which there seemed to be a great deal of difference of opinion among the Irish Members, and about which there must naturally be a great deal of discussion. Hon. Gentlemen must be aware that the Government had throughout been prepared to aid the hon. Member in discussing the Bill to-night; but the feeling of the House was against this course, and it was impossible to proceed in opposition to such a clearly-expressed opinion. He was sorry that it was so; but he did not think it would be at all fair that the Government at present should be called upon to give any definite promise.

THE O'CONNOR DON said, it was difficult to understand how the feeling of the House could be against him when 77 hon. Members present had voted for proceeding and only 20 against. But irrespective of that, he had risen chiefly to ask his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer if they were to understand that the Government would give no facilities for the progress of the Bill until the question had been finally decided in regard to the Government

Amendments? If those were the promised facilities offered by the Government, he thought the proceedings which had taken place that evening showed that the facilities promised would be comparatively valueless. It was quite in the power of hon. Members who were opposed to the Bill to prevent any opinion being given on the Government Amendments. They had only to put down Amendments themselves and make long speeches in order to render it impossible for a private Member to advance the Bill sufficiently to reach the required point until the close of the Session. He therefore wished to know from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he understood him to say that until the Government Amendments were passed he would give no facilities for proceeding with the Bill?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, he had not gone the length of saying that; and if he had said so, such a declaration might have been attended with the inconvenience suggested by the hon. Gentleman. What he had said was, that at the present early period of the Session it was impossible to go beyond the promise which had already been made. He thought that the promoters of the Bill should use their best exertions in order to try and find a day for bringing on the measure. He did not say what the Government would be prepared to do later on in the Session; but he must have regard to the other Government Business, and he could not undertake at the present period of the Session to set aside Government Business for the purpose of going on with that Bill.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS asked how the promoters of the Bill were to make further exertions than they had made? They had come down prepared to support the measure, and finding it came on before 12 o'clock, they were ready to go on with it. Yet an hour or more had been wasted in fruitless Motions for adjournment, showing what the opposition was likely to be in the future, and proving that it was impossible for the promoters of the measure to do anything in the matter unless they received aid from the Government. Whatever might have been the exact mode or form of promise made by the Government, he thought it had hardly been adhered to in the spirit. The measure was looked

upon with great gravity, and was regarded as one of great importance in the sister country. The hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had advised the hon. Member for Roscommon not to take a further division. He (Mr. Lewis) would ask the hon. Member for Roscommon to persist in dividing the House, in order to see whether the Government would vote for an adjournment or not, after the very unsatisfactory way in which they had complied with the application made to them to fulfil in the spirit the promise they had given.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, that all persons in Ireland were anxious that this question should be determined, and it was for that reason that he strongly supported the appeal made by the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) and the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) for the Government to give them as full and immediate an opportunity for discussion as possible. In regard both to those who supported and those who opposed the Bill, it seemed to him that it was to their interest to have the matter decided quickly. Last evening the debate came on unexpectedly, and he had voted for postponement; but this evening all parties were aware that it would be pressed, and if any were absent, they could not complain of surprise.

MR. MACARTNEY said, it seemed to him that the Bill, which was not now for the first time before Parliament, was being met by a most extraordinary opposition. They were now arrived at a period when, after the Government last year had foreshadowed that they would, if certain Amendments they proposed were carried, agree to the passing of the Bill. They were not ready now to redeem their promise to give facilities for passing it this Session. Now, he must say that he considered that a most unsatisfactory state of affairs. A small, but a very persistent, minority had used every possible endeavour to obstruct the measure in every Session that it had been introduced. They now argued that it had not been before the people of Ireland, and that they wished for time for the people of Ireland to consider it. Now, to say that it had not been considered by the people of Ireland, or that it had not been considered in that House, was, he thought, rather a ludicrous assertion. It had been brought before

them repeatedly and persistently, and it had been not only strongly supported, but carried by large majorities in that House. He hoped the Government would at last see their way to making some provision for having the Bill properly considered in Committee. He did not know whether those who opposed it were consumers or producers; but, between the two, they opposed it very strongly. He dare say the consumers were quite as earnest as the producers; although he could not forget that, as far as the consumption of spirits on a Sunday was concerned, a good many people might be able to supply themselves on the day before. It certainly appeared to him that the opposition at the present time was, he would not say factious, but extremely obstinate. He hoped the Government would give facilities for the consideration of a Bill which had excited such deep interest among the people of Ireland. His hon. Friend the Member for Ennis (Mr. Stacpoole) had denied that he was a producer; but he (Mr. Macartney) assumed, at any rate, that his hon. Friend was a consumer.

MR. STACPOOLE wished to know if the hon. Member for Roscommon was prepared to accept the Amendments which had been brought forward by the Government? If they accepted those Amendments, the fact might facilitate the measure going forward. He therefore asked if the Amendments were accepted or not? He had been charged with being a consumer. He certainly was; but it was not upon that ground that he opposed the Bill. He would never be prepared to support any measure that proposed to rob a man of his beer.

THE CHAIRMAN pointed out that it would be irregular to enter into any discussion of the Amendments that already stood upon the Paper.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH thought it was a waste of time to prolong the discussion; but, as he had felt it his duty early in the Session to give a promise to the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don), he wished to trouble the Committee with a few words to explain the nature of that promise, to which the Government were prepared to adhere. The promise he had made amounted to this—the hon. Member for Roscommon had given Notice of

*Mr. Charles Lewis*

his intention to introduce the Bill. The Government assumed, naturally, that he would take means for proceeding with its subsequent stages, and obtain the best days for that purpose. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was authorized, on the part of the Government, to say that, if necessary, they would give him further facilities to ensure the discussion of the Bill during that Session, in order that the question might be settled that year. Now, what had happened? The hon. Member had introduced the Bill. He had obtained a day for the second reading, and on another day had succeeded in moving the Speaker out of the Chair. So far he had been extremely fortunate. He now proposed, at 12 o'clock at night, to ask the House in Committee to proceed with the consideration of the Bill. He (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was bound to say that, though he was anxious that every fair opportunity should be given for proceeding with the Bill, and although he had supported the hon. Member in the division—he did think his proposal was somewhat unreasonable. Nobody anticipated that the Bill would come on that evening. It so happened that an earlier adjournment of the debate on the County Government Bill took place than anybody could have expected, and a Bill on which there was likely to be much discussion was not usually begun after 12 o'clock at night. At any rate, there were four or five Government Bills on the Paper, after the County Government Bill, that were not proceeded with on this ground. However, when the hon. Gentleman asked the Committee to proceed with the consideration of his Bill, the Government had done their best to induce the Committee to do so; but, in spite of what the hon. Member had said of 77 hon. Members being in favour of going on and only 20 against, he had no doubt the hon. Member would admit that, although there had been a general wish on the part of the Committee to proceed with the Bill if possible, yet there was a considerable feeling that the hour had now arrived when the further progress of the Bill must be postponed. They were now at the 14th of February; it was an early period in the Session. The hon. Member would have other opportunities of inviting the House, in Committee, to consider the provisions of this Bill. No doubt there were many days that might

be available, for all the Tuesdays were hardly likely to be occupied, and there were several Wednesdays on which particular Bills stood as the only Orders of the Day. For instance, there was the Permissive Prohibitory Bill, which stood by itself for one day; the Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill, which stood for another; and the Sale of Liquors on Sunday Bill, which was down for a third. These Bills had, he believed, in former years, been more than once postponed in order to suit the convenience of those who were anxious to proceed with this particular measure. The sponsors of these measures were certainly ardent promoters of the present Bill, and he had no doubt they might again be induced to postpone their measures for the sake of proceeding with this. It was, therefore, a little early for the hon. Member to come to the Government and say—"I cannot go any further with this Bill; you must now give the facilities you promised to give if they were necessary." He was bound to say it did seem to him that the hon. Member ought to make a certain amount of further effort to secure that consideration for the Bill which they were all anxious it should receive. The Government adhered to the promise they had made, and they considered that they were bound by it. They were certainly as anxious as the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) or the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) that the Bill should be settled before the end of the Session.

THE O'CONNOR DON said, the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) must be aware that in regard to Tuesdays there was very little likelihood of an Order of the Day coming on at an early hour. Therefore, Tuesdays were out of the question. And in regard to Wednesdays, what was it that the right hon. Gentleman proposed? The first day he had referred to as available was the 29th of May. Was it reasonable to expect that, with a great number of Amendments to the Bill, and with the promise that these Amendments would take a considerable time in discussion—was it reasonable, seeing that this was the 14th of February, to ask the promoters to postpone the consideration of the Bill in Committee until the 29th of May? That, however, was absolutely the only proposal the right hon. Gentle-

man made; and because he (the O'Connor Don) did not at once consent to postpone the Bill until the 29th of May, the right hon. Gentleman told him that he was unreasonable. If that was the sort of spirit in which the pledge made by the Government at the beginning of the Session was to be carried out, he could only say that he had been greatly deceived in regard to it. There was one statement made by the hon. Member for the county of Limerick (Mr. O'Sullivan) which he wished to refer to. The hon. Member must be under a misapprehension if he thought that he (the O'Connor Don) had assured him that he did not intend to go on with the Bill in Committee on the Wednesday when it first went into Committee; because he distinctly stated—and he believed the hon. Member for Dublin (Mr. Brooks) would bear him out—that it was his intention to go on and make as much progress as he could with it upon that day. He certainly did not expect that he would be able to make much progress, as there were several prior Motions on the Paper, and he stated this to the hon. Gentleman, telling him that if he did not make any progress, he could, at least, name a day; but he gave no pledge whatever that he would not go on with the Bill, either to the hon. Member for Limerick or to anyone else.

MR. DILLWYN asked the Government if it was not reasonable that they should give some better assurance to the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) in regard to facilitating the future progress of the Bill? He (Mr. Dillwyn) had voted for the Bill, not because he was particularly fond of it, but because he conceived it to have been undertaken in accordance with the wishes of the Irish Members. If his hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon had been told that he must find his own opportunities for passing the Bill that Session, there certainly would not be much chance of making progress with it, if he was to be treated as he had been that evening. They had already had a good specimen of the way in which he was likely to be met. The Government told him that, if he had not disposed of the Bill before the end of the Session, they would give him facilities. He was afraid in that case we should have the same scenes repeated that we had had before under the

present Government. Everything was deferred until the end of the Session, and then it was all hurry-scurry to get through the Business, without any chance of disposing of it satisfactorily. If the Government pledge was merely a promise to the hon. Member for Roscommon to give him facilities at the end of the Session, then the measure must be considered to be in the category of those which were certain to be obstructed and defeated. He thought the Government might make some concession to his hon. Friend, and ensure that the measure should receive discussion at an earlier period than the end of the Session.

MR. ONSLOW thought he could suggest a solution of the difficulty. His hon. Friend the Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) said he might be able to bring the Bill in on the 29th of May.

THE O'CONNOR DON said, he had not stated that it could come on on the 29th of May. His impression was, that if it were postponed until then, it would not come on at all, looking at the state of the Order Book. What he had said was, that that was the first day the right hon. Baronet the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) had mentioned.

MR. ONSLOW hoped it might come on on the 29th of May. And, as the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) did not seem to care very much for his Bill last year, he might be induced to give up also the 26th of June. Last year the hon. Baronet appeared to care more for this Bill than his own, and he (Mr. Onslow) hoped the hon. Baronet would have no objection to give way to the hon. Member for Roscommon.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said, he was present in the House when a celebrated discussion took place between the late Prime Minister and Mr. Miall, who thought he had been taken in about the Education Bill, and said "once bitten, twice shy." Now, he (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) would not be taken in or led away by any promise of the Government such as that which was made last year. The promise made last year was what he said at the time he thought it would be. Although he gave way, it had turned out to be entirely a mockery, a delusion, and a snare.

*The O'Connor Don*

Question put.

The Committee divided :—Ayes 25 ;  
Noes 37 : Majority 12.—(Div. List,  
No. 14.)

MR. CHARLES LEWIS, in moving that the Chairman do leave the Chair, said, that the promoters of the Bill, he thought, ought to be satisfied, now that they saw the kind of support they were to expect from the Government, who, after two divisions, had walked out of the House. He thought this would let the people of Ireland know that there was some ground for the assertion that this was a publican's Parliament, and that there was ground for believing that the Conservative Ministry were too much identified with the publican interest.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Charles Lewis.*)

THE O'CONOR DON said, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Charles Lewis) could not be aware of the effect of carrying such a proposal as he had just made. The effect of it would be to throw the Bill back a stage ; therefore it was impossible for the supporters of the Bill to consent to a proposal of that kind. Surely the hon. Member had made the Motion under a misapprehension. With regard to the charge against the Government, he could not go so far as the hon. Member. He thought, however, that the Government might have given them stronger assurances than they seemed disposed to give, for they must see the difficulties in which the promoters of the Bill were placed. For the right hon. Gentleman to refer them to the 5th of June or 26th of June was practically to say that the facilities offered by the Government were not real facilities at all.

MR. M. BROOKS, rising to a point of Order, asked if it was Parliamentary language to describe the House as a publican's Parliament ?

THE CHAIRMAN said, the phrase was one that was not usual ; but it would have been more in Order if the hon. Member for Dublin had risen at the time the assertion was made.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT thought they really ought to come to some understanding now. The facilities the Government had offered had been few, either in

the abstract or concrete, judging from the proposition of the right hon. Baronet the late Chief Secretary for Ireland. The right hon. Baronet said—"Oh, you can make your own exertions in this matter ; and when you have done so, we will see what we can do for you." The only practical offer he had made was—"If you can get the 26th of June, why then we will see what we can do for you." That was practically to say that the Government did not mean to give any facilities. Really, that was the only chance the right hon. Baronet offered the promoters of the Bill to bring on their Bill. It would be dealing with more straightforwardness if they would get up and say—"We really don't mean to give any facilities at all." Anyone who had any experience of Parliamentary Business must know that an offer to bring on a Bill in July was equivalent to no offer at all.

MR. MEREWETHER said, the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) could hardly have been in the House when the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a promise to the other side, which was received by several Members with profuse thanks. It was not until what had been called a "specimen of obstruction" took place, that the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) was compelled to say that the Government could not assist him at all. He (Mr. Merewether) asked whether the hon. Member for Roscommon, because he met with obstruction on his own side, was to come here and ask the Government to give him facilities which no private Member on that side could obtain if he was subjected to the same obstruction ?

MR. O'DONNELL asked if "obstruction" was a regular Parliamentary expression ?

MR. MEREWETHER said, he was quoting from the remarks of one of the hon. Member's own friends, who said—"This is a specimen of obstruction which hon. Members had to meet with." He did not mean to say it was applicable, or even Parliamentary.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH said, the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt) had entirely misrepresented the remarks he (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) made. He never intended to say, and never said, that the hon. Member for Roscommon



(the O'Connor Don) might endeavour to bring on his Bill on the 26th of June, and that the Government would not give him any day until after that date. All he did was merely to suggest to the hon. Member that he might endeavour to persuade the promoters of other Bills to give way for him, as they had already yielded; and he instanced certain Bills, the promoters of which had in previous Sessions given way in favour of this Bill. He certainly did not think that the promises of the Government would be redeemed by waiting until the 26th of June, in order to give facilities for the hon. Member to proceed with his measure. On the other hand, he thought it was entirely unreasonable that on the 14th of February they should be asked to postpone all other Business in order to facilitate the progress of this Bill.

MR. O'SULLIVAN said, he could not often support the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis), but he could heartily support him in his Motion now before the Committee. He must remind the Committee that the last time there was an Irish Coercive Bill before them it took 12 nights to discuss it. If the Government were to give two days, then they might discuss the Sunday Closing Bill, but they could not do so in less.

THE O'CONOR DON informed the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that he had looked through the Order Book, and certainly he had not intended to make any appeal to the Government until all the means at his own disposal were exhausted. So far as he could see, there was no day which he could have a chance of having before the 5th of June. An hon. Friend reminded him that the 5th of June would be the Derby Day, and as there would be no House on that day, it really came to this—that they had no day open to them before the 26th of June; for, as regarded Tuesdays, they were quite out of the question. He did not want the Government to postpone any of their measures for him. All he wanted them to do was to say they would take the matter into consideration as soon as they could, that they would, at as early a period as possible, give the House an opportunity of discussing some of the Amendments to the Bill, of which Notice had been given. If they would do that early in the Session, it would save a good

deal of Government time as well as that of the promoters of the Bill. He did not at all wish to be unreasonable, and if the Chancellor of the Exchequer would say something of the kind, he would appeal to the hon. Member for Londonderry to withdraw his Amendment.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER thought that the course which had been pursued within the last hour or two with regard to the facilities asked of the Government had not been a wise one. There had been no indisposition on the part of the Government to give fair opportunities for the progress of the Bill; but it was unreasonable that at this early period of the Session they should be pressed to promise to give up Government time for this Bill. At the present time of the Session, and under existing circumstances, he was not in a position to enter into any formal engagement with the promoters of the Bill and the Committee as to when the Bill should be brought on. He had no doubt that if the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Connor Don) and his Friends were to look at the Paper, they would find an earlier day than they anticipated on which to bring forward their measure. If they failed to do so, the Government would be ready to consider what should be done. The hon. Member for Roscommon knew perfectly well there was no indisposition on the part of the Government to give fair play to the Bill. The Government had certainly been pressed in an unbecoming manner, and especially so by the hon. and learned Member for Oxford, whose only desire seemed to be to find something about which he could blame the Government. That kind of proceeding was not such as would bring about an amicable arrangement. With regard to the observations that were made as to their not voting on the last occasion, he really understood from the hon. Member for Roscommon that he saw no use in proceeding. He (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) would advise the Committee to agree to report Progress.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS said, he would withdraw his Amendment. ["No, no!"]

Question put.

The Committee *divided*: — Ayes 6; Noes 56: Majority 50. — (Div. List, No. 15.)

*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach*

THE O'CONOR DON said, that, after what had taken place, it would be quite useless to proceed further that evening; therefore, he would move that Progress be reported.

Motion agreed to.

Committee report Progress; to sit again *To-morrow*.

#### MATRIMONIAL CAUSES ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HERSHELL, Bill to amend the Matrimonial Causes Acts, ordered to be brought in by Mr. HERSHELL and Sir HENRY HOLLAND.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 117.]

#### COMPANIES (FOREIGN SHAREHOLDERS) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Registration of Foreigners as Shareholders in Companies, ordered to be brought in by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Sir ANDREW LUSH, Sir CHARLES MILLS, and Mr. CHARLES PRADD.

Bill presented, and read the first time. [Bill 118.]

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

### HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 15th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Inter-  
ference, Earl of Minto added.  
PUBLIC BILL.—*Second Reading*—House Occu-  
piers Disqualification Removal (17).

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE TERMS OF THE ARMISTICE.

##### OBSERVATIONS.

LORD CAMPBELL: I beg to inform noble Lords that the terms of the Motion I propose to make on Monday are as follows:—

"In the opinion of this House, the terms of the Armistice between Russia and the Porte are such as to justify Her Majesty's Government in taking every precaution to discourage the encroachments by which the Treaties of 1856 and 1871 are unfortunately threatened."

Let me add that, although upon a Motion framed with a view to general support, a division is not probable, it is impossible to say that no division will occur.

### HOUSE OCCUPIERS DISQUALIFICATION REMOVAL BILL—(No. 17.)

(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

#### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

EARL STANHOPE, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was one which had received the support of both sides and of Her Majesty's Government in the House of Commons. The object of the Bill was to provide that householders in boroughs should not be disqualified from being on the register, notwithstanding that during part of the qualifying period, not exceeding four months, they might have let the whole or part of the qualifying premises as a furnished house. At present the hardship was two-fold; first, that the householder continued paying the rates when his house was let, and yet might not exercise his vote; and, secondly, that a householder in a county was not disqualified under similar circumstances. It was especially to remedy cases which frequently arose, more particularly at seaside places, where it was the custom for householders to let their houses during the summer months. He begged to move the second reading of the Bill.

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Earl Stanhope.*)

Motion agreed to.

Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> (according to order), and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on *Tuesday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter-past Five  
o'clock, to Monday next,  
at Eleven o'clock.

### HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 15th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS.—*Second Reading*—  
Criminal Law Practice Amendment \* [89].  
Committee—Report— (£8,000,000) Consolidated  
Fund \*; (£6,000,000) Exchequer Bonds and  
Bills \* [107].

*Third Reading*—House Occupiers Disqualification Removal (Scotland) \* [106], and passed.

## PRIVATE BUSINESS.

## MANCHESTER CORPORATION WATER BILL.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH moved—

"That it be an Instruction to the Select Committee on the Manchester Corporation Water Bill, that they have power to inquire into and report upon the present sufficiency of the water supply of Manchester and its neighbourhood, and of any other sources available for such supply: To consider whether permission should be given to make use of any of the Westmoreland and Cumberland Lakes for the purpose; and, if so, how far, and under what conditions: To consider the prospective requirements of the populations situated between the Lake District and Manchester: To inquire and report whether any, and if so, what, provisions should be made in limitation of proposals for the exclusive use of the water of any of the said lakes."

MR. WHITWELL: I understand that the Instruction moved by the right hon. Gentleman is generally satisfactory to all persons interested in this question; but there seems to be some doubt as to the meaning of the expression—"to consider the prospective requirements of the populations situated between the Lake District and Manchester;" and some people are of opinion that those words would limit the inquiry to the line taken in the scheme put forward by the Corporation of Manchester. If the words are to be construed in that sense, then the scope of the usefulness of the Committee might be curtailed. I would, therefore, propose as an Amendment, that instead of the words "between the Lake District and Manchester," the words "in Lancashire and Yorkshire" should be substituted. The water on the Lake District is quite sufficient to supply both Lancashire and Yorkshire.

MR. JACOB BRIGHT: I hope that the House will not consent to give such enlarged powers to the Select Committee upon the Manchester Water Scheme. If the Committee had such powers, it would be almost impossible for them to conclude their labours this Session; and I therefore hope the Government will not give way without having some better reason than that which has been advanced by the hon. Member for Kendal.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member propose to move an Amendment?

MR. WHITWELL: I propose to leave out the words "between the Lake District and Manchester," in order to insert the words "Lancashire and Yorkshire."

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "between the Lake District and Manchester," in order to insert the words "in Lancashire and Yorkshire,"—(*Mr. Whitwell*),—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: As the Instruction now stands, it does not include an inquiry into the water supply of such an important town as Liverpool. That town is not in the line between Manchester and the Lake District; and I think there ought to be something in the Instruction to the Committee as to the prospective requirements of all the populations of Lancashire. I need scarcely remind the House that there are many large towns in South Lancashire which are deeply interested in the question of water supply.

MR. HARDCASTLE: I would venture to point out that the case of Liverpool hardly comes into the question, because there are plenty of other Lakes from which Liverpool could obtain a supply of water. As regards the proposition of the hon. Member for Kendal for extending the inquiry, I do not see why the scheme of the Corporation of Manchester should be made the means of initiating an inquiry into the requirements of the whole of Lancashire and Yorkshire. I hope the House will reject the Amendment of the hon. Member, for it really appears to me to be beside the question under discussion.

MR. RAIKES: I regret that the hon. Member for Kendal should have brought forward this Amendment; and I think I can point out to him that the words of the Instruction, as they stand, are better than the Amendment proposed by him. One of the hon. Members who spoke in the debate the other day called attention to the concluding recommendation in the Report of the Royal Commission on the Water Supply—

"First, that before any great water scheme was considered, the House should have an opportunity of ascertaining the wants of the immediate locality of the Lakes which it

might be proposed to have recourse to; secondly, the wants of the intermediate population; and thirdly, the wants of the locality which proposed to take the water."

The Instruction which my right hon. Friend proposes to give to the Select Committee is really based upon that recommendation of the Royal Commission; and there is, I think, a line to be drawn between that which properly belongs to, and may be fairly considered in connection with, any scheme, and that which does not belong to it. Now, I think it would be rather hard upon the people of Manchester if their Private Bill were to be made the means of raising a very large question; and one which, in many respects, would be wholly unconnected with Manchester. You are asked in the Amendment to deal with the whole of Yorkshire. Now, I have no doubt that the Lake District is adequate to supply the whole of Yorkshire with water; but it is very unlikely that the whole of Yorkshire would ever go to the Lakes for a supply, as they have quite sufficient for their own purposes much nearer—namely, in the gathering grounds on the Yorkshire Hills. Therefore, the addition of the words proposed in the Amendment would only tend to prolong the inquiry unnecessarily; and it would be unfair to the people of Manchester that their Bill should be made the means of promoting a general inquiry into the wants, as regards water supply, of the whole of this very extensive district. My hon. Friend the Member for Reading (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) talked about Liverpool; but I think the circumstances of that town are rather an argument against the course which is recommended in the Amendment, because if you are going, in an inquiry into the merits of the Manchester Bill, to open an inquiry into the supply of Liverpool, you would, I think, be treating Manchester in an exceptionally unfair manner. Surely, if you are to say that every large town that is 40 or 50 miles away is to have its water supply considered before you will consent to adjudicate upon this Bill, you would be treating Manchester both exceptionally and unfairly. I hope, therefore, that my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board will adhere to the existing words of his Instruction. Personally, I have no objection to the words of the Amendment *per se*, but I think that the original

words are better. I think the matter is a very interesting one, and one that requires the attention of Parliament; but I also think that this is not the fairest and best occasion for conducting such an extended inquiry.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH: I, like my hon. Friend, would have no personal objection to the substitution of the words moved by the hon. Member for Kendal. But I may remind the House that this Instruction has been on the Paper now for some days, and has met with no other objection from any part of the House, or from anyone interested in the question. That being so, I should be very sorry to make a change at the last moment, especially as no Notice has been given. I also think it would be objectionable, even if the language proposed by the hon. Member for Kendal did not enlarge the inquiry; because it is too specific in the way of a direction. If the Committee saw "Lancashire and Yorkshire" in the Instruction given to them, they would probably feel it incumbent upon them to go into an exhaustive inquiry as to the wants of the whole of those large counties; whereas "between Manchester and the Lake District" would place them upon the exact line of inquiry affected by the present Bill. I think, therefore, that my hon. Friend the Member for Kendal would do well not to press his Amendment; and, I take it that, after this discussion the Committee would feel themselves perfectly justified in enlarging the scope of their inquiry if they found such a course necessary.

MR. WHITWELL: After what the right hon. Gentleman has said, I beg to withdraw my Amendment.

MR. SERJEANT SPINKS: I wish to call the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the circumstance, whether the words of the Instruction, as now drawn, are large enough to include towns a little distance off Manchester, although "in the neighbourhood of Manchester." The words which have just been adverted to by the right hon. Gentleman—"in a line between the Lake District and Manchester"—certainly do not include them; and I doubt whether the words in the earlier part of the Instruction—

"to inquire into and report upon the present sufficiency of the water supply of Manchester and its neighbourhood"—

would be sufficient to include the borough which I have the honour to represent,

and which is seven or eight miles from Manchester. I should like, if the right hon. Gentleman would be good enough to accept the Amendment, to substitute for "Manchester and its neighbourhood" the words "Manchester and the towns in its neighbourhood." That would be quite satisfactory to me. I am very much afraid, when we come before the Committee, we should find that the inquiry governed by the words as they now stand in the Instruction would be limited to places within a mile or two of Manchester, and that an inquiry into the wants of a town eight or 10 miles from Manchester would not be entertained.

MR. SPEAKER: Before that Amendment can be put, it would be necessary that the former Amendment should be formally withdrawn by leave of the House.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. and learned Member for Oldham move his Amendment?

MR. SERJEANT SPINKS: I would propose as an Amendment, after the word "and" in the fourth line, to insert the words "the towns in the neighbourhood."

Amendment proposed, after the words "Manchester and" to insert the words "the towns in."—(*Mr. Serjeant Spinks.*)

Question proposed, "that those words be there inserted."

GENERAL SIR GEORGE BALFOUR: I beg to remind the House that my hon. Friend the Member for Kendal (Mr. Whitwell) did raise the objection on the first night of the discussion which he has raised again to-night. I am very sorry that my hon. Friend did not adhere to the suggestion which he then made—namely, that it should be an Instruction to the Committee to inquire by what means the rain-water which annually falls in such masses on the hills of that part of England could be best collected, and the best storage works constructed, so as to enable any quantity of water to be taken from the Lakes that may be required for the many localities so much in need of good water. That is the whole question at issue. The doubt was whether the one Lake already formed—namely, that of Thirlmere—would be partly exhausted by abstract-

ing the water for the requirements of Manchester. If that were found to be so, then it would be important to have an enlarged inquiry as to how the gorges of adjoining hills could be dammed up so as to multiply the water reservoirs. I have, unfortunately, been under the necessity of dealing with this kind of question in India. There we have tanks or reservoirs many times larger than any of the Lakes in question, and the great necessity for providing additional storage for water has been shown by the late water drought in Madras. Now, I think these Lakes could be so improved and so added to, in the direction the hon. Member for Kendal has pointed out, so as to enable them to increase their storage power to a very considerable extent, without in any degree destroying their pleasant appearance. Therefore, I think the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board should take that matter into consideration. I believe that with a very small outlay in the construction of adequate embankments, not only would the Lakes themselves be improved, but the general scenery also. We are told that the rainfall in this particular district is excessive and larger than in any other part of the Kingdom. The extent of the gathering ground is also so vast that it is quite certain that a very large amount of the rain that now falls must run away in other directions than into the Lakes. I hope, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman will take all these matters into consideration, and will not, for the sake of Manchester, limit the inquiry in such a manner as to prevent the Committee from reporting in what way it may be possible to enlarge the storage capacity of the existing lakes or provide additional reservoirs in suitable localities.

MR. RAIKES: I will not follow the remarks of the hon. and gallant Member, because I think they have more reference to the debate which occurred the other day. But in regard to the Amendment of the hon. and learned Member for Oldham (Mr. Serjeant Spinks), I think he can hardly have studied carefully the words of the Instruction. If he had done so, I think he would have found that "the line" to which he has referred does not exist in the Instruction. There is nothing said as to the population

*Mr. Serjeant Spinks*

situated upon any line, but there is merely a reference to the population situated between Manchester and the Lake District. It is clear, therefore, that the Committee would have a wide discretion in considering what that population is, and the inquiry would certainly include any town such as Oldham, which he represents. As far as my view of the Instruction goes, that would be quite within the limits of the inquiry proposed to be allotted to the Committee, and I hope that he will see that it will not be necessary to insert the words he proposes. To say "Manchester and its neighbourhood" is exactly the same as saying "Manchester and the towns in its neighbourhood."

MR. SERJEANT SPINKS: After that explanation, coming from such an authority as the Chairman of Committees, I am quite willing to withdraw my Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

*Ordered*, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records.

*Ordered*, That Five be the Quorum of the Committee.

And, on February 18, *Ordered*, That Dr. LYON PLAYFAIR, Mr. SALT, Mr. RODWELL, Sir UGHTRED KAY-SHUTTLEWORTH, and Mr. KNOWLES be Members of the Select Committee on the Manchester Corporation Water Bill.—(*Mr. Sclater-Booth*.)

## QUESTIONS.

### METROPOLIS—NEWSPAPER KIOSQUES. QUESTION.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether it would not be possible to make arrangements for the construction of kiosques at suitable places in the metropolitan thoroughfares, for the sale of newspapers, as is done in Paris and other continental cities?

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG, in reply, said, the thoroughfares of the metropolis were under the control of the Vestries and District Boards, and a Question of this sort would naturally come before them. He had no doubt the

local authorities would be happy to give their best attention to any proposal for the comfort of the sellers and the convenience of the purchasers of newspapers.

### ROADS—SOUTH WALES DISTRICT. QUESTION.

MR. BLAKE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether there is a general superintendent of the South Wales Turnpike Roads appointed and paid by Government; and, whether the loans advanced to the South Wales counties by the Public Works Loan Commissioners in 1844 for the payment of the local debts on their turnpike roads have been repaid; if so, whether it is intended to continue the office of general superintendent?

MR. SCLATER-BOOTH, in reply, said, it was true that there was under the South Wales Turnpike Act of 1844 a general superintendent of roads for that district appointed and paid by the Government, and his functions had been discharged very much to the advantage of South Wales. The debts contracted under that Act were paid off about a year ago; but the officers' statutory duties remained, together with the other provisions of the Act. As soon as the new arrangement for the management of highways and turnpike roads had been settled, he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) should be prepared to consider whether the time had not arrived for the repeal of the Act.

### RUSSIA—POLES IN TURKEY. QUESTION.

MR. OWEN LEWIS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If there is any truth in the following statement, which appeared in the "Pall Mall Gazette" of the 12th instant:—

"The distress among the Poles in Turkey, and especially in Constantinople, is reported to be terrible. A recent letter from Lemberg says,—'They have no pecuniary means whatever, as they have for some time not received any pay or pension. It is, therefore, not possible for them to escape; and, if they remain till the Russians come, a certain death on the gallows awaits them. Many have already perished in this way; among them are not only such as have served in a military capacity in the Turkish army, but also surgeons, who, being attached to the hospitals, have trusted to the Geneva Convention to protect them. According to our latest information, five Polish surgeons

have already been hanged by the Russians—two in Asia and three in Europe—besides several Polish officers and soldiers who were taken prisoners;”

and, if so, whether Her Majesty's Government can see any way of rescuing these unfortunate men from such a fate?

MR. BOURKE: In answer to the Question of the hon. Member, I have to state that we have received Reports from Constantinople stating that certain Poles who have fallen into the hands of the Russian authorities have been hanged; but Her Majesty's Government are of opinion that we should not be justified in laying those Reports before Parliament until we have received further information upon the subject from Constantinople, which the Government have asked for. We have also heard that a Petition has been presented to Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople asking for British protection for certain Poles who are anxious to go to some place of safety in case the Russians should occupy Constantinople, and who have not the means of doing so. Her Majesty's Ambassador has been told that it would not be proper for him to afford British protection to foreigners. At the same time, he has been instructed to afford them his good offices, in case any of them were in distress, and were anxious to leave Constantinople to go to some place of safety where they could carry on their ordinary occupation.

MR. OWEN LEWIS: May I ask whether the Poles that have been hanged were acting as surgeons attached to the hospitals?

MR. BOURKE: That is one of the statements upon which we have not had accurate information. We have asked for it.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: I wish to ask whether Her Majesty's Government have received any information whatever? If you have not, we had better not let the story go abroad. If you have, let us have it.

MR. BOURKE: I can only repeat the Answer I gave. I do not think the right hon. Gentleman heard it. I said that Reports had reached Her Majesty's Government: that we thought we should

#### POST OFFICE—THE INDIA MAIL CONTRACT.—QUESTION.

MR. BENTINCK asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is true, as stated in a letter which appeared in the “Times” of December 28th 1877, signed by “a late Commander of a mail steamer,”—

“That in the last contract with the Peninsular and Oriental Company, the Government fine them heavily for not delivering the India Mail on the contracts' dates, making no allowance for fog or bad weather, and not allowing (as in a previous contract) the give and take system;”

and, if true, whether this arrangement was made solely upon the decision of the Post Office, or whether, before altering the terms of a previous contract, the Post Office obtained the opinion of any nautical authority upon the subject?

LORD JOHN MANNERS, in reply, said, that the Department had consulted the proper authorities, and that the other party to the contract had, no doubt, done the same.

#### NAVY—ROMAN CATHOLICS.

##### QUESTION.

MR. SULLIVAN asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he can state the actual or approximate number of Officers, Seamen, and Marines professing the Catholic religion now serving in Her Majesty's Navy; whether Catholics so serving in the Royal Navy are afforded, equally with their Protestant brother officers and messmates, the ministrations on shipboard of a chaplain of their own faith; and, whether it is the present intention of Her Majesty's Government, if no such provision now exists, by the appointment of Catholic chaplains in the Fleet, to insure for Catholics who may belong to the Navy the spiritual ministrations of a chaplain, such as are already accorded to Catholics serving in the Army?

MR. W. H. SMITH: A good deal of the information which the hon. and learned Member asks for is to be found in a Return for the year 1876, No. 132, which was presented to the House on the Motion of the hon. Member for Car-

Navy who are of that faith. The number of seamen and marines who are Catholics is 5,350; the number of members of the Church of England is 33,172; Presbyterians, 1,748; and Protestants of other denominations, 4,162. There are no Roman Catholic chaplains in Her Majesty's ships afloat, nor any other chaplains than those of the Church of England; but at all the chief naval ports there are Roman Catholic chaplains who are paid by the Admiralty, and have free access to the seamen of that faith on board Her Majesty's ships. Every facility is afforded to Roman Catholic seamen or marines to attend Divine Service at the several naval ports; but I cannot hold out any prospect of the appointment of Roman Catholic chaplains to ships of war, as I am afraid there is no accommodation for them.

#### TURKEY—THE WAR—AUSTRIAN INTERESTS.—QUESTION.

MR. GLADSTONE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can give to Parliament any information on the subject of a statement from St. Petersburg recently published in this country, to the effect that on or about 30th January the Austrian Government announced to Prince Gortchakoff that in the present negotiations

“the matters specially affecting Austrian interests were the situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the territorial aggrandizement of Servia and Montenegro, and the temporary occupation of Bulgaria by Russian troops?”

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir; we have no information on this subject; and I think it is hardly to be expected that we should be able to give information as to communications between two foreign Governments.

#### TURKEY—THE WAR—RUSSIAN SAILORS.—QUESTION.

MR. HANBURY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been called to the following statement in a telegram from the Vienna correspondent of the “Times” newspaper in yesterday's issue:—

have passed through Roumania into Bulgaria; though it may be impossible to ascertain the numbers;”

and, whether the Government have received any information to the effect that Russian sailors have so passed into Bulgaria?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: We have heard that about 1,400 Russian sailors have been sent to the Danube; but we have no information as to their having passed into Bulgaria.

#### SOUTH AFRICA—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK.—QUESTION.

MR. O'DONNELL asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will afford the House an early opportunity of discussing the present native difficulty in South Africa, and make a statement of the policy which the Government intend to pursue in relation thereto?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH, in reply, said, that personally he did not intend to raise a discussion on the subject, but it was, of course, open to any private Member to take an opportunity of doing so; when he should be prepared to make a statement on the part of Her Majesty's Government; but he thought it better the House should wait until hon. Members had the opportunity of reading the Correspondence, which would shortly be on the Table of the House.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—CONSTANTINOPLE—MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET.—QUESTION.

MR. GOURLEY asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he can, with convenience to the public service, inform the House the names of the European Powers invited by Her Majesty's Government to send ships of war to Constantinople, and whether for the purpose of protecting the subjects of their several States, or in case of need, the entire Christian population located in the city; and, if he can state the nature of the replies received?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: A communication was made to



applied for a firman, but I do not know whether it has been granted. France and Italy.—[Mr. GLADSTONE was understood to make a communication.]—We have been informed of that. A communication, of course, was made in answer to an invitation communicated by Her Majesty's Government to certain foreign Powers, and these foreign Powers naturally would inform Her Majesty's Government of anything they did. The Austrian Government applied for a firman, but we are not informed whether it has been granted. Italy and France gave instructions to their Ambassadors to apply for a firman in case of need; but they have hitherto refrained from doing so. The German Government have stated that they do not, under present circumstances, intend to apply for a firman.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—BESSARABIA—QUESTIONS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFE asked the right hon. Gentleman a Question, of which he had given him private Notice. It was, Whether the Government had received any information corroborative of a report which had appeared in *The Morning Post* of that day, to the effect that a formal demand had been made on Roumania by the Emperor of Russia for the restoration of that part of Bessarabia which had been lost to Russia by the Treaty of Paris?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: We have received no such information, and I must give my hon. Friend very much the same Answer as that which I have already given—that it is not a matter on which we are likely to have information.

MR. COURTNEY: Can the right hon. Gentleman tell us on what day Austria applied for a firman?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am afraid that I cannot give the date off-hand.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: I beg to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he can tell us how it is we have not received the Papers he promised last night? I believe they were in type last night; but they have not yet been delivered to Members.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I am afraid the matter is not within my Department. I was mis-

informed yesterday in stating that the Papers were then ready. They are ready now, and will be in the hands of Members immediately. I have only just received a copy myself.

MR. GOLDSMID: Will the Chancellor of the Exchequer inform the House whether the Government have received any answer from Russia to the despatch of the Earl of Derby objecting to the entry of Russian troops into Constantinople?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: No, Sir.

#### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—QUESTION.

In reply to Mr. DILLWYN,

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, it was intended to proceed on Monday with the County Government Bill, and on Thursday with either the Roads and Bridges Bill, or the Factories and Workshops Bill—he was able at that moment to say which.

#### ORDERS OF THE DAY.

##### SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

##### BURIALS.—RESOLUTION.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN, in rising to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when the long-pending controversy as to interments in parish churchyards ought to be closed, by permitting such interments either without any burial service or with the services preferred by the relatives or friends of the deceased, and conducted by persons chosen by them,"

said: Mr. Speaker, I feel that I owe the House some apology for asking them at such a crisis as this to discuss the Resolution which, thanks to the kindness of my hon. Friend the Member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock), I am enabled to move to-night. I can only say that if it had been possible to postpone it a second time I must have done so; as it is, I must throw myself upon your indulgence while I explain shortly the reasons why I have brought it forward

at the present time and in its present shape. It is in the recollection of the House that early last Session I introduced a Bill to amend the Burial Laws. Subsequently, the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary stated that the Government were prepared to deal with the question, and that pledge was in due course redeemed by the introduction into the other House, of a Bill called the Burials Acts Consolidation Bill. Now, of course, I am not going to discuss the details of a Bill which is not before the House, and is never likely to be before the House; but I hope I may be allowed to say in passing that I think the impression produced by that Bill, as soon as its provisions were understood, was one of general disappointment. It was felt, not merely by Liberals, but by many Conservatives, that a great opportunity of settling a vexed question had been missed, and it was felt too that the mode by which it was proposed to settle that question was not, to say the least of it, very felicitous. For the Bill mixed up two things which had nothing whatever to do with each other; I mean the sanitary and the religious parts of the question, and, as sometimes happens when people try to do two things at the same time, it succeeded in doing neither. The sanitary part of the Bill was loaded with a number of provisions, which certainly but for the intrusion of the religious difficulty would never have found their way into a Public Health Act, while the religious difficulty was met—I should rather say was evaded—by conferring upon Nonconformists an undesired privilege, and by imposing upon Nonconformists and Churchmen alike an unnecessary burden. But although I could not hope much from the provisions of the Government Bill, I thought it would not be becoming in me to run my own measure as a sort of opposition Bill to that of the Government; nor did it seem to me very convenient that the House of Commons should be discussing one Burials Bill whilst the House of Lords was debating another, and consequently I withdrew my own Bill, promising that when the Government Bill came down to this House I would take the opportunity to move the Resolution which I have now placed upon the Paper. Sir, that opportunity never came, for as the House knows, during the progress of the other Bill through

the House of Lords, an Amendment, which, although being part of a Bill it was necessarily much more precise than my Resolution, yet did involve, and was on all sides admitted to involve, the very principle for which I am now contending, was carried by a substantial majority. Now, the author of that Amendment was not a political Dissenter; nor was he a professional agitator. On the contrary, he was a staunch Conservative, a firm friend of the Church, and the Father of one of the most popular and respected Members of the present Government. Sir, I will only say of that vote of the House of Lords that I think that in passing it, their Lordships gave an example of toleration, aye, and of courage, which I think and hope will not be thrown away upon us to-night.

As soon as that Amendment had been carried, the Government at once withdrew their Bill. Whether they were right or wrong in taking that course I, of course, cannot say; but I think it will be admitted that the withdrawal of the Bill left me no course open except to redeem the promise I gave last Session, and to bring forward the Resolution I have the honour to submit to the House to-night. And I think we may say that we are approaching the subject under circumstances more favourable to its settlement than any that have yet presented themselves. In the first place, we can appeal to the verdict of the House of Lords, a verdict the more valuable because it is that of men convinced in many cases against their own wishes. But besides that, I think I may say that since I last addressed the House on the subject two distinct steps have been gained in the controversy. In the first place, it is admitted on all sides—it is admitted by the Government—that the law cannot be allowed to remain in its present condition. That is one step. In the next place, the proposal of the Government—the only alternative proposal that has ever been seriously entertained—has proved—I do not want to say it offensively—a complete and conspicuous failure. But even that is not all. Since the subject was last before the House of Lords, a Return which I moved for of the population and burial places in England and Wales has been presented to the House; and I think it will be found, upon analyzing that Return, that it completely cuts away from

under the feet of my opponents the main ground upon which they relied—namely, that this was a small grievance, and one which, if left to itself, would rapidly disappear.

And now one word more before I come to the Resolution itself. I have been told that there are several hon. Gentlemen who would have voted for me if I had brought in a Bill; but who will not vote now, because they cannot vote for a Resolution—just as last year I was told that I should have secured many more votes if I had brought forward a Resolution instead of a Bill. Now, I will ask those hon. Members before they take that course to do me a simple act of justice. Let them look at the Order Book which lies upon the Table. Why, Sir, the Irish measures alone are quite sufficient to occupy all the time allotted to private Members. If I had brought in a Bill the chances are three or four to one that I should never have got to a second reading, and as for carrying it—why everyone knows that one single Member of this House can, if he likes, prevent any private Member from passing any private Bill, no matter how useful or how harmless it may be. Now, I want to know what chance I should have had if I had brought in a Bill against those serried ranks. But then it will be said—"If you cannot legislate practically upon the question, what is the use of bringing forward Resolutions which must prove abortive?" My answer to that shall be very short. Either this Resolution will be carried, or it will not. If it is not, then I can only bow to the decision of the House, as I have done before, and hon. Gentlemen opposite will have the somewhat questionable triumph of having adjourned for another year a contest which can only end in one way, and which I should have thought it would have been the interest of nobody, least of all of the Church of England, to prolong. On the other hand, if, as I hope and trust, it should be carried—for I cannot believe that the House of Commons will any longer consent to lag behind the House of Lords in this matter—we shall be in this position. Both Houses of Parliament will have solemnly affirmed their approval of a particular mode of settling the difficulty, and I think, under those circumstances, I should not be asking too much if I were to apply to

so eminently Constitutional a Government as Her Majesty's and request them to afford out of the ample resources at their command—for we are no longer overburdened with domestic legislation—a few short hours for the discussion of a Bill founded upon this Resolution. I do not say that they are to give that time to me. I know that my connection with this subject has weighted it with a certain amount of unpopularity, and I should therefore prefer myself, and I think we all should prefer, that the Government should take up the question themselves, and should deal with it, not from a sanitary point of view, but in the only way in which it can be dealt with—namely, upon the basis of this Resolution. And I can assure the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will adopt that course, I shall be only too happy to hand over to him both the credit and the obloquy of the settlement.

And now I come to the Resolution itself. And if my grievance is a somewhat well-worn one, I have the consolation of knowing that at any rate it is a very simple one, and one that admits of the simplest possible remedy. I think I can state it in three sentences. The common law of England, which vests the freehold of a churchyard in the incumbent and the churchwardens, gives to every parishioner the right to be interred in the churchyard quite irrespectively of his religious creed, quite irrespectively of his right to any religious service, and quite irrespectively of the permission of the incumbent. The ecclesiastical law of England in the case of baptized persons who are not labouring under certain civil or ecclesiastical bans has superadded to this right the right to be interred with a certain religious service—that is to say, the service of the Church of England, that being the only religious service which was known when the law was made. Is it right, is it reasonable, that you should continue to force that second privilege upon those who have long since ceased to desire it? Now, really that is the question which we shall probably be engaged for some seven or eight hours in discussing to-night. Both these propositions are propositions of law, and therefore are capable of being established to demonstration; and I do not observe that anybody ventures to deny, though it is sometimes

convenient for my opponents to ignore, them.

Now, first, as to the first proposition—namely, the right of interment. That was decided 200 years ago in the case of the King against Taylor. The Vicar of Daventry, in Northamptonshire, had refused to allow a parishioner to be buried in his churchyard because the deceased was not a Christian. Well, the Court of King's Bench made very short work of that. The presiding Judge, in delivering judgment, said—

“Every parishioner had a right to a burial-place in the churchyard, otherwise they cannot be buried anywhere if they have not land of their own, for other persons are not obliged to allow them to be buried in their own property.”

Thereupon it was objected, that in that case the vicar was bound to read the Burial Service; but the Court said the two matters were entirely distinct, and they refused to entertain that question as quite irrelevant to the matter they were trying. Well, I do not think I can put the case more clearly and strongly than it was put by one of the ablest Ecclesiastical Judges that has ever sat upon the Bench. Lord Stowell puts it thus—“All parishioners have a right to be buried in the churchyard without the leave of the incumbent.” I do not think it can be put more strongly and clearly than that.

I pass, therefore, from the first to the second proposition. Now, I may remark that the right to the Burial Service is frequently spoken of as if it was the right of the incumbent, or that of the Church of England. That is a fallacy. The right is the right of the parishioner—and a very precious right it was in the days when it was believed that a man's soul could not be saved without it. And although, by a strange perversion of circumstances, it has come to be considered to be the right of the incumbent, I can assure the House that the position of the Clergy in this matter is, even as the law now stands, by no means as secure as they suppose it to be. Now, if the House will allow me, I will make that quite clear; and I am anxious to do so, because the amount of misconception that prevails on the subject amongst the Clergy is quite astounding. No doubt, under the Statute of Edward VI., all unauthorized services came within the offence known as brawling;

and as might have been expected from the nature of the times, the punishments imposed by the Statute were very severe, though probably some hon. Gentlemen might consider them somewhat disproportionate in the case of the first and second offence. For the first offence a brawler might be deprived of the privilege of going to church for the rest of his life; while for the second, he was liable to lose both his ears, and be branded in the face with a red-hot iron. This Act gave rise to great hardships; and one case, that of a poor old woman called Betty Jones, who was subjected to almost life-long imprisonment for some trivial ecclesiastical offence, made such a sensation, that two Statutes were passed to alter the law. One of them was introduced by Sir Robert Phillimore, the present Judge in the Divorce and Admiralty Division, and the other by my hon. Friend, Mr. Pleydell Bouverie. That second Statute, Mr. Bouverie's Act, finally abolished the offence of brawling, and it enacted as follows:—

“Any person who shall be guilty of riotous, violent, or indecent behaviour, in England or Ireland, in any churchyard or burial-ground, or who shall molest, let, disturb, vex, or trouble, or by any other unlawful means, disquiet or misuse, any preacher duly authorized, or any clergyman in Holy Orders ministering or celebrating any divine service, rite, or office in any churchyard, shall, on conviction before two Justices of the Peace, be liable to a penalty of not more than £5 for every such offence, or for imprisonment for a term not exceeding two months.”

Well, Sir, that is the only Act I know of, now in force, which prohibits a Nonconformist from performing his own service in a churchyard; and, therefore, unless he is guilty of indecent or riotous behaviour, he may perform any such service without exposing himself to any penalty at all. Of course, it may be said—“If that be so, why do you want any change in the law?” To a lawyer the answer is obvious. It is quite true that the friends of a deceased person have a right to enter a churchyard for the purpose of interring the body; but if they enter for the purpose of celebrating any form of service which the law does not recognize, they would render themselves liable, not to a penalty, but to a civil action for trespass at the suit of the freeholders—that is to say, of the incumbent and churchwardens. And from what I know of these actions,

I should say that, however profitable they may be to the lawyers, they would be most disastrous to those against whom they were brought, and probably, also, to those who brought them. I was talking on the subject to an eminent lawyer the other day, when he said—"For Heaven's sake, if that be law, do not alter it; for when it is once known what the law is, we lawyers shall make our fortunes out of it."

Well, but there is another reason for altering the law, and it is one which affects the Clergy more than the Nonconformists. Probably few persons are aware that until a very recent time there was no law whatever which prevented a clergyman, if he chose, from allowing a Nonconformist to perform any service he liked in his churchyard. Now, I make that statement upon the authority of one of the greatest lawyers—in fact, I may say, one of the greatest men who ever sat in this House—a man who bore a name which is still honoured in this House—the great Lord Chancellor Plunket. Mr. Plunket, when he was Attorney General for Ireland, in a speech which he made in 1824 on the Irish Burials Acts, says this—

"Suppose that the Protestant parson performs the rites of the Protestant Church, or that he waives their performance, there is no law in existence which in either case prohibits the performance of Dissenting rites in a Protestant churchyard."

Well, so things went on till the first year of the present Parliament, when an Act passed which some hon. Gentlemen may remember. It was called the Public Worship Regulation Act. It was a highly penal Act, though I may say of its provisions what Lord Bolingbroke said about our laws generally—namely, that they are nets which catch the small fish, but which the great fish break through with impunity. Now, Sub-section 8 of the 3rd clause of that Act imposes very heavy penalties upon the incumbent—

"Who within the preceding twelve months has failed to observe, or to cause to be observed, the directions contained in the Book of Common Prayer relating to the performance in such churchyard or burial ground of the services, rites, and ceremonies ordered by the said book, or has made or permitted to be made any unlawful addition to, alteration of, or omission from such services, rites, and ceremonies."

And I have the high authority of my

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hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for saying that under that clause a clergyman who has offered to allow a Nonconformist to perform a funeral service in his churchyard can be prosecuted. And to show that the Act is no mere blunt weapon, I may mention that last year the Bishop of Lincoln actually threatened an incumbent in his diocese with prosecution if he gave that permission; and the consequence was that the incumbent was obliged to withdraw the permission, and to apologize to the Bishop for an intended violation of the law. So that the law is in this absurd—this ridiculous—state, that a clergyman can be prosecuted and punished for permitting that which he cannot prevent except by, and at the cost of, an action for trespass. Well, after that, I think I am not far wrong in saying that the law requires to be changed in the interests of the Clergy themselves quite as much as in the interests of Nonconformists. In fact, nothing throughout this long and painful controversy has struck me more than the tenacity with which clergymen cling to the present state of the law. Certainly, if I were a clergyman, I could not conceive anything more painful—I might say more odious—than the duty which compelled me to read over the body of a man whom the accident of death had thrown into my power, a service which I knew that the man would object to if he could hear it, and which I know his friends and relatives who hear it do object to. Talk about desecration and profanation; if that is not desecration, I should very much like to know what is. And yet I am told that a memorial which I hold in my hand, against any change in the law, has been signed by 15,000 of the Clergy, or about three-fourths of the whole of the Clergy of England. Well, I hope I should be as ready as anybody to attribute the greatest weight to a memorial coming from such a large number of ministers of religion and educated men; but I think that the fact that this memorial has been signed by so many of such persons is itself a proof that there does exist amongst the Clergy an astounding misconception as to their present rights; because I cannot conceive that so large a body of educated men would, under any other circumstances, commit themselves to so utterly untenable a posi-

tion. However, there is one remarkable fact connected with this memorial, and it is this—that although no pains have been spared to circulate and obtain signatures for it, it has been signed by only 30,000 laymen. And, considering that there are 15,000 parishes in England, each of which has two churchwardens, that only gives two signatures to each parish. So that this memorial, though it represents an overwhelming proportion of the clerical opinion, only represents numerically the opinions of the churchwardens of England and Wales! Or to put it in another way, every clergyman has only been able to induce two laymen to sign the memorial, and as there must be in England several millions of laymen in the Church, that does seem to me a remarkable disproportion.

Now, that memorial is in these words—

“We, the undersigned Clergy of the Church of England, being averse to the introduction of such services into the churchyards as would be sanctioned by the Earl of Harrowby's proposed Amendment to the Burials Acts Consolidation Bill, hereby declare that we consider the churchyards (subject to the legal rights of the parishioners to interment) to be the property of the Church of England.”

Well, now, you cannot make a thing your property by asserting that it is so. If you could, the accumulation of wealth would be a very simple and easy process. But what does this statement mean? It cannot mean literally what it says, because we all know that the Church of England, not being a corporation, cannot hold property at all. What it probably does mean, and what no doubt in a certain sense is true, is this—that the freehold of the churchyard is vested in the incumbent and the churchwardens. Well, but so is the freehold of the Thames Embankment vested in my hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Truro (Sir James M'Garel-Hogg), and his colleagues of the Metropolitan Board of Works; but that does not enable him to say to me that because I am a Liberal I shall not ride over the Embankment of a morning on my way to Chambers. Sir, let us get rid of these legal fictions, for until we do we shall not get to the bottom of this question. Believe me, the churchyards are not in any real sense the property of the Church or the incumbent.

If the churchyards were the property of the incumbent, then the incumbent would be entitled to say—“I won't allow any man to enter here who is not a member of my flock, or whom the law does not compel me to acknowledge as a member of my flock.” But that is the very thing which the incumbent, according to every lawyer from Fortescue down to Lord Selborne, cannot say. No doubt the freehold of the churchyard is vested in the clergyman and the churchwardens, and for a very good reason; because the law of England requires that the freehold of every inch of land shall be vested in somebody, and when churchyards were constructed, the vicar and churchwardens were the only persons in whom it could be vested. But it is vested in him in trust, not for the Church of England, or for the members of the Church of England. It is vested in trust for all the parishioners, be they members of the Church of England, or Nonconformists, or Roman Catholics, or Secularists, or Jews, or even Mahomedans—if any such are to be found. And it is surely too much to say that land so vested is to be held for purely ecclesiastical uses. Why the very contention sounds like a voice from the Middle Ages. And that really, I think, is the answer to the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour), which purposes to limit the operation of my proposal to 30 years. Now, let me ask, in passing, does my hon. Friend mean that limitation to apply to lands given by Nonconformists, or to lands which have not been given at all; but which have been purchased under the Act of George IV., at the cost of the rates, levied, of course, upon Churchmen and Nonconformists alike? But there is a further answer to the Amendment, which is this—that the law of England does not recognize any *arrière pensées* of this sort on the part of donors of land to public purposes. If a man dedicates land to a public purpose, whether that purpose be a road or a churchyard, he must give it out and out, and he cannot reserve to himself any rights over it.

But it has been said that if you apply this principle to the churchyard, it must apply to the church also. Well, allow me to say that this is a very dangerous argument, for it is an argument which, some day or other, may be used as a

weapon against you. Of one thing I am sure. The Liberationists will not quarrel with you for using it. They know very well that to say the surrender of the churchyard involves the surrender of the church itself is the very way to make it so. But I wish to examine it in the most unprejudiced and unimpassioned way, as a mere abstract question. Does the surrender of the churchyard as a matter of fact involve the surrender of the church itself? It is said, no doubt, and truly said, that both are vested in the incumbent, but they are vested for entirely different purposes. The church is intended for religious services; the churchyard for the interment of the parishioners, not necessarily with any religious service at all. No doubt, as things are at present, the churchyard is an appanage of the church; but as I pointed out when I last addressed the House on the subject, that is quite a modern innovation. Some hundreds of years ago, the graveyards, as they were then called, were outside the walls of the city; and it was only shortly before the Reformation, when the monks and priests became too fat or too lazy to go outside the walls of the city to recite prayers for the dead, that they began to establish graveyards around the church, in spite of several Statutes, which denounced such churchyards as a subtle device of the Bishop of Rome, and within the compass of the Statutes of Mortmain.

But besides this, surely there is a practical difference between the two cases. As I have often said, the use of the church is optional; the use of the churchyard is compulsory. I do not suppose there is a single parish in England in which a man can honestly say that he is compelled to enter the parish church; but alas! we all

"Await alike the inevitable hour;"

and, as I shall show you presently, in nine parishes out of ten, every man must sooner or later enter the parish churchyard. And if that be so, does not the law as it now stands compel Nonconformists indirectly—just as it compelled them 30 or 40 years ago to be married with ceremonies to which they objected—to be buried with rights of which they disapprove? Is that a right state of things? Just let me bring it home to you, by an illustration drawn

from what lately occurred in Spain, the only European country where the English law of burial prevails. Last autumn, the wife of an Englishman, who was settled in an out-of-the-way parish in Spain, was confined of a child. As soon as the Alcalde and the parish priest heard of it, they came and entered the house of the Englishman, and insisted upon it that, under some old law of Spain, the child must at once be baptized according to the Spanish law; and accordingly, notwithstanding the tears of the mother and the protestations of the father, who was a staunch Protestant, they carried off the poor little baby to the parish church, and baptized it. Well, the thing created a great sensation even in Spain. All the Liberal papers took it up, and there was a general feeling of indignation that any nation however bigoted, or however backward, could tolerate such a practice. But now let me ask you to shift the scene. Instead of a child of English parents, born in a rural parish in Spain, let me put the case of a child of Irish parents dying in a rural parish of England. The English law, like the law of every civilized country, provides that child with a decent place of burial. But then it says to the parents of the child—"As the price of your child being buried in the churchyard, which is the only place of interment—that is to say, as the price of its being buried at all, we insist that it shall be buried according to the rites of the English Church." What is the difference between the two cases? To the poor little child I do not suppose it matters what the rites are. But to the survivors, I venture to think that the insult—I may say the outrage—is equally gross.

Now, I put it to any man, is that a state of law which you can possibly defend? I am quite certain no one will defend it. The Government do not defend it, for they say—"We will offer you two remedies. In the first place, we will permit you to be buried, as our ancestors would have said, 'without bell or book'—that is to say, without any religious service." In other words, they will allow Nonconformists to be buried in a manner which, although I believe it is common enough in Scotland, in this country is generally believed to be reserved for unbaptized persons, excommunicated persons, suicides, and

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murderers. And then you turn round upon my noble Friend, Lord Granville, and myself, and say—"That is your own proposal." So it was our own proposal, but we proposed it as one of a number of alternatives, and you propose it as the only alternative. We proposed it to meet the case of Scotchmen. It is surely one thing to say to Englishmen—"We won't allow you to have a service which you do want;" and it is another thing to say to Scotchmen—"We won't compel you to have a service which you do not want." If I were to ask a mixed party of Englishmen and Scotchmen to dinner, I suppose I should take care to provide some of those dishes and beverages, which are believed to be dear to Scotchmen; but that is quite a different thing from saying to my guests—"Because some of you are Scotchmen, therefore I insist that you shall all drink Scotch whiskey and eat oatmeal porridge."

But the Government in their liberality do not stop here. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard), says that Nonconformists shall be free to provide cemeteries for themselves. Well, but they knew that before. The Government are more liberal. The Government say—"Not only will we allow you to build cemeteries at your own expense, but we will allow you to provide them at the expense of the rates, and that whether they are wanted or not." Now, my Motion does not deal in any way with cemeteries, and I do not want to enter upon the question; but still I cannot help saying in passing, that it does seem to me that this cemetery system, with its divisions into Roman Catholic ground, and consecrated ground, and unconsecrated ground, does not commend itself to me as a very edifying spectacle, or as one very worthy of a Christian country. I believe we are the only Protestant country in Europe where such divisions exist, and I know of cases in which they have produced the greatest distress of mind by separating those who in death ought not to have been divided. Will the House allow me to read a letter I cut out of *The Times*, a letter which shows to what an absurd extent this state of things has gone? It is signed "A Sufferer," and the writer says—

"My first wife, a member of the Church of England, died and was buried in the consecrated

portion of our public cemetery. My second wife was a Roman Catholic, and of course I laid her remains in the Roman Catholic portion. I am neither a Churchman nor a Romanist, but I had hoped that one of those two graves at least might be made available for myself. Our local authorities, however, say no, unless I agree to the religious service, and when I complain of the hardship of having to pay for a third grave in a cemetery in which I have already purchased two, I am told that it is my own fault for not marrying a Nonconformist."

But I find that these arguments in favour of the cemetery system are generally accompanied by allegations, that the grievance is a very small one, which if left to itself will soon disappear. Now, I always have protested, and shall continue to protest, against that way of getting rid of the difficulty. To my mind all these comparisons as to there being only 30 per cent buried in the unconsecrated portion, and 70 per cent. in the consecrated, are quite beside the mark. Because if a thing is wrong or unjust, it does not become less wrong or less unjust because those who suffer from it can be counted by hundreds or thousands instead of by millions. Surely to say to a Nonconformist living in Denbighshire, that if he can only make up his mind to come and die in Stoke Newington he can be buried with any service he likes at Abney Park, is very like a cruel mockery. Yet, that is what hon. Gentlemen opposite really offer to us. But I will show you that this argument is not only unsound in point of logic, but that it is quite unfounded in point of fact. Now the way in which the Home Secretary in his speech dealt with this question is this—"He said that the population of England and Wales was 22,000,000—I suppose it is now 23,000,000—and he said that of those 22,000,000, 14,000,000 were provided with cemeteries under the present law, and that left only 8,000,000 who suffered from this grievance." Another hon. Member carried it still further, and by some process known only to himself, arrived at the fact that only one quarter of the Home Secretary's 8,000,000 were Nonconformists; and so he said triumphantly that there were only 2,000,000 suffering from this grievance, and therefore it was an infinitesimal grievance! Two millions an infinitesimal grievance! Why the whole population of Wales is not much more than half 2,000,000. The population of Scotland is not more than



double 2,000,000. Indeed, the population of our whole Australian Empire, including New Zealand, does not amount to 2,000,000. But I wonder what any Queenslander, or New Zealander, or resident in New South Wales, would say if he were told that a grievance affecting the whole of the population of that great Empire was an infinitesimal grievance. But I will show you that this grievance not only affects millions of persons, but that it is spread over the whole of England and Wales; and for this purpose I turn to the Return which I moved for in June, 1875, but which I only got last July. I think its disclosures will be found to be very startling.

According to this Return, there are in England and Wales church and graveyards, which would be affected by my Motion, to the number of not less than 14,066. Of these only 1,476, or only 1 in 10, have been closed, leaving 12,590 open. Well, in order to meet the case of these 1,476 closed graveyards 639 cemeteries have been opened; in other words, one cemetery supplies the place of more than two churchyards. It will be seen from this that the churchyards open in England and Wales are to the cemeteries in the proportion of 20 to 1. As regards Wales, the statistics are even more striking. The number of churchyards in Wales is 1,016. Of these 48, or only 1 in 20, have been closed, leaving still open 968. To supply the place of these churchyards only 26 cemeteries have been opened, so that the churchyards are to the cemeteries in the proportion of 40 to 1. But that is not all; of these cemeteries, 14 are situated in two counties, leaving 10 counties, having among them a population of not less than 800,000, with only 12 cemeteries among them. Well, now, these people are almost all Nonconformists living in rural districts; and if you were to tell them that their churchyards on the mountain sides ought to be closed on sanitary grounds they would not understand you. That is the difficulty I have found in arguing the question with Members who represent populous cities and boroughs. But

in populous districts, and not distributed over the rural districts, where people are not rich enough to pay for them. For instance, in Flintshire, where there are 55 parishes, there are not more than six with burial-places. But besides, these burial-places are very small, sometimes not covering more than two or three roods; and if they were used to any extent, they would have to be closed immediately. Moreover, they are not open to Nonconformists generally. They are as much private property as my garden. They are vested in trustees for the communicants of one particular denomination; and if those trustees were to throw them open, of course the Court of Chancery would restrain them from committing so gross an infringement of the rights of private property. Well, hon. Gentlemen say—"Why don't you treat the churchyards in the same way?" Simply, because churchyards are not private property. The Church of England cannot be denominational and national at the same time. The Clergy cannot say, as they do at the present time—"We are trustees for the nation, and also trustees for one religious denomination." That argument takes you straight into Disestablishment without hope of escape.

Well, now, I hope I have said enough to show that it would cost an enormous sum to carry out the Government proposal. The lowest sum at which I have heard it put has been £2,452,000, and that is only reckoning £300 for each cemetery; and as the only cemetery I know anything about cost something more like £5,000, I think it would be more likely to take nearly the whole of the £6,000,000 which we voted the other night. I do not know whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer can see his way to spare any of the sum for that purpose; but perhaps a worse use might be made of it. And I should like to give the House one example of the impression produced by the Bill in a part of the country where its operation would be felt. Shortly after its introduction there was an election for the Montgomery Boroughs. I am told that the Government Bill created quite a panic,

should vote against the Government Bill. Well, of course, the amount of money which would be required to carry out the Government scheme is a matter more or less of conjecture; but one thing is a matter of arithmetical calculation, and that is—the time it would take to close all the churchyards at the rate at which they have been closed lately. I have taken the period of the last 20 years—between 1855 and 1876—and to make the case as strong against myself as possible, I have included the partially-closed churchyards as well as the wholly-closed; and I find that, according to the rate at which the churchyards have been closed during the last 20 years—and the rate is growing slower and slower every day—it would take, to close all the churchyards in England and Wales, exactly 304 years 10 months and several days. So that this grievance, which according to some hon. Gentlemen opposite would disappear in a few years if left to itself, will, it seems, go on until the close of the 22nd century of the Christian era—if the world lasts so long!

But then it is said that this, if not an infinitesimal grievance, is a sentimental grievance, and, therefore, you ought not to regard it. Sir, I am afraid that in this country, men, and women too, have faced the faggot and the scaffold rather than submit to sentimental grievances. The poor Puritan who went to the stake rather than go to Mass—the Scotch Covenanter who laid his head on the bare bleak rock rather than worship his God in a new-fangled fashion, were, no doubt, in a certain sense, the victims of a sentimental grievance. A man must be a very shallow observer of human nature who comes to the conclusion that a grievance is unsubstantial because it is sentimental. But there is one very good way of testing whether this is a substantial grievance, and it is this—bring it home to yourselves. Let every man who intends to vote against me to-night ask himself, first—“How should I like to be obliged to bury my

is one of my most honest, as he is one of my most eloquent, opponents, the Bishop of Peterborough. That right reverend Prelate, referring to the subject at a late diocesan conference, said—

“But he did see that, though there was not a shadow of a grievance, there was the reality of a great grief; and, asking himself the question how he would like, in France or Austria, to have to bury a child with a service he disliked or silently, he owned that he should like to see the Church retaining her own rights and resisting all high-handed attempts of legislation to deprive her of them, devising in her charity some means of providing a remedy. As a trustee, he could only oppose the surrender which was persistently demanded.”

Well, now, I am glad to see that while the Bishop feels compelled to resist my Motion, looking at it as a trustee, as a man he admits the force of it; and, bearing in mind the first golden principle of Christianity, he does shrink from doing to others that which he certainly admits he would not like to be done to him. All I can say is, that before he approaches the question again, I hope he will see a way to reconcile his feelings as a man with his sense of duty as a Bishop; because if he cannot harmonize the two, it does not speak very highly for the efficacy of Apostolic succession.

But then it is said—“Yes, but you ought to apply that rule to yourselves, and, if we respect the prejudices and feelings of Nonconformists, you ought also to respect the feelings of clergymen who will be insulted by this invasion of what they consider their property.” Well, I really think the answer to that was well given in a previous debate by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Sheffield (Mr. Roebuck), whom we are so glad to see back in his place. My hon. and learned Friend said there were two kinds of sentiments—namely, good sentiments and bad sentiments; that the sentiments that induced a man to lay those whom he loved in the ground in the manner most consonant to their and his own

of her dead child, and in that supreme hour of her grief is not allowed even the consolation of hearing one of her own hymns sung by her own people, who is not even allowed the consolation of hearing one word of hope or comfort from the lips of her own minister—do you mean to compare that grievance with the grievance of the man who chooses that time and that place to bandy words about what he calls his freehold? Sir, the Home Secretary, in a remarkable speech which he made on this subject two years ago, charged me with having shown no regard or respect for the feelings of the Clergy. That is a very serious charge, and if I am arraigned upon it again I hope the House will allow me to show them what those feelings are, and how they are expressed. Here is a specimen. It is from the pen of one of the most distinguished dignitaries of the Church, the principal of a well-known theological College. Canon Curteis, in a paper read before the Church Congress, at Croydon, says—

“We do find it hard to forget the reiterated falsehoods with which week after week things and persons dear to us are assailed by the *Liberation Press*; we do find it hard to put any true Christian construction on the attempt now being made, not to reform, not even to confiscate our time-honoured churches and their tranquil, lovely, burial-grounds, but simply to spoil them for our religious use, to desecrate them to our religious sentiments, and to make them hateful in our eyes as Babels of confusion and discord where once all was order and peace.”

Are those the sentiments which I am to be called upon to honour and respect? I am far from saying that this language expresses the feelings of all the Clergy on this question. I wish publicly and unreservedly to thank the many liberal-minded Clergy who, at some sacrifice of personal popularity, have supported me in this Resolution; and I wish also to thank those who, while opposing me, have at least given me credit for common honesty. But sentiments such as those which I have quoted are far too common among the Clergy, and they are to be heard even from the Episcopal Bench.

Well, I think I had better not quote any more such passages, because by so

man bound and sets the Dissenter free. That may be a very good argument for loosening the yoke from the neck of the clergyman, but is no argument at all for leaving it riveted on the necks of the Nonconformists. The Nonconformists are not responsible for the Church Burial Service any more than they are responsible for the Church Communion Service, or the Thirty-nine Articles. Surely, it is not reasonable to say that the Nonconformists must wait for their own deliverance until such time as it please the Clergy to emancipate themselves.

But I come to a graver objection, which I feel some difficulty in dealing with, because it involves a libel on my countrymen, to which, I am sure, no other nation in Europe would submit. It has been said—it is still said—that the Nonconformists of England and Wales are not fit to be trusted with this liberty, because they would be sure to use it for the purpose of political demonstrations, or personal attacks upon the clergyman and his Church. Have hon. Gentlemen opposite so low an opinion of human nature as to suppose that even the worst of men would select the open grave for a display of party spite? Have they so low an opinion of their own countrymen as to think that they alone of all the nations of Europe would abuse a privilege which so far as I know is not abused anywhere else? Why, there is not a foreigner in London who will not be amazed to learn that England—Protestant, free, enlightened England—England, whose Prime Minister goes down once a-year to the Guildhall to thank God that Englishmen are not as other men are—dares not entrust to her Nonconformist citizens a privilege which despotic Russia, which priest-ridden Austria, aye, even poor despised, and proscribed Turkey has conceded long ago. The Members for Scotland and Ireland, who have for years enjoyed this privilege, cry shame upon our English intolerance. But I will not take you to Russia, or to Austria, or even to Scotland or Ireland, in order to show you that these apprehensions are as unfounded as they are ungenerous. I believe that if I

cemeteries are conducted with at least as much solemnity and decorum as in the consecrated portions—some say even more so. And now I want to know why, if no cause for this alarm exists in crowded urban districts, where Party feeling necessarily runs high, you should anticipate such a danger in quiet rural districts? And that brings me to the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford, which, adopting Lord Harrowby's clause, restricts the services to Christian and orderly services. I hope my hon. Friend does not think I am in favour of irreligious or disorderly services. Indeed, when I put my Resolution on the Paper last year, I, too, adopted those same words. But upon weighing the matter since, I came to the conclusion that it is not the province of a Resolution to define, either the precise nature of the services which are to be performed, or the persons who shall conduct them. These are questions to be discussed in Committee on a Bill. And I do think the burden of proof lies on those who say that a safeguard which 25 years' experience has shown not to be necessary in the case of cemeteries is required in the case of churchyards. Moreover, if, as I have shown, the privilege is that of the parishioner—that is, the citizen—why should there be any restriction at all? Indeed, I have somewhat lost my faith in the sincerity of those who say that they require safeguards; for when, in the last Parliament, I adopted in the Bill which I introduced a suggestion of the hon. Member for West Kent (Mr. J. G. Talbot), limiting the service to "prayers, hymns, and portions of Scripture," I did not gain a single vote by that concession; not even that of the author of the proposal. And when Lord Harrowby brought forward his clause last year in the House of Lords, speaker after speaker got up from the Ministerial benches and said that the words "Christian and religious" meant nothing at all. Nay, more, the clerical memorial which I have read was directed, not against my Resolution, but against Lord Harrowby's clause, and therefore against my hon. Friend's Amendment: so that I do not feel the

not, however, want to enter upon the question in an unconciliatory spirit; and if this Resolution is carried, as I hope, with the help of my hon. Friend, it will be—and, indeed, unless my Resolution is carried his Amendment cannot be put—and legislation in the spirit of my proposal should ensue, I should not, if it be the general feeling of the House were in favour of it, take upon myself the responsibility of wrecking the measure for the sake of those words, though I do not think them right or necessary myself. The fact is, that we have now an opportunity of settling this question such as has never before offered itself. If you reject this Resolution, I shall despair of anything being settled in this matter for years. But, on the other hand, if you pass this Resolution, and a Bill is brought in embodying it, adding, if it should be thought desirable, Lord Harrowby's words, with a clause throwing on the rates the burden of keeping up the churchyards, I venture to think you will never hear of the Burials Question again. Pass such a measure, and I believe that in a very short time men will wonder that so small a matter should have occupied so large a space in the annals of the House of Commons. It will be the old story over again—

"Hi motus animorum, atque hæc certamina tanta

Pulveris exigui jactu compressa quiescent."

Sir, I honestly believe that the great majority of hon. Gentlemen opposite would gladly embrace this solution of the difficulty if they were not haunted by that old bugbear about this being the thin end of the Disestablishment wedge. I have already dealt with that argument, and I only recur to it for the purpose of pointing out that whatever weight it might have carried seven or eight years ago, it cannot be expected to carry the same weight now, and for this reason—While the Nonconformists have been endeavouring to get in the thin end of the Disestablishment wedge, a large and influential party in the Church itself have managed to get in not only the thin end of the wedge, but the thick end too. Surely it would be well if hon.

in which it is defended. For my part—and I have the authority of more than one English Bishop for what I say—I cannot conceive anything more calculated to precipitate Disestablishment than this rampant sacerdotalism which combines the maximum of pretension with the minimum of concession, which displays the most unrelenting hostility to the Nonconformist, and claims the most unbridled licence for the priest. Why, there are hundreds—I may say thousands—of men in the Church who claim a privilege hitherto, thank God, unknown to Englishmen—the privilege of being above the law—and who would yet strain the law to the utmost against those whom they call their Nonconformist brethren—men who, if they could, would turn the church into a milliner's shop, and yet bar the churchyard against the widow and the orphan. I know I am treading on somewhat delicate ground; but might it not be well if these zealous champions of the Church were to turn their attention from this Burials Question to the internal scandals which afflict and distract the Church, and endeavour to cast the beam out of their own eye? The sale of ecclesiastical benefices, the practice of auricular confession, the "Priest in Absolution"—surely these are matters which might fitly demand the attention of your Church Defence Associations. But be this as it may, of one thing I am perfectly certain, that deeply interested as every religious Body in the country is in the settlement of this question, the religious Body most deeply interested in that settlement is the Church of England herself. That, perhaps, is an argument which you may scarcely care to hear from me, though we know that there are times when it is not wise to disregard even the counsels of an adversary. But I will read to you the counsels of one who is no adversary of the Church—one to whom, from his great position and high character, you are bound to listen. He says—

"My opinion is that the time has come when this matter, for the sake and in the interests of the Church of England, should undoubtedly be settled. My reason is my belief that it will be dangerous to the Church of England to leave the matter open any longer. I do not say that it is desirable in the abstract to make the concession, but I do say that it is inevitable. If, then, it must be made, surely it would be better to make it with a good grace."

*Mr. Osborne Morgan*

Now, Sir, these are not my words—they are the words of one whose courageous action in this matter I shall always remember with gratitude and respect—they are the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury. And now, before I sit down, let me make an appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite, and particularly to the Treasury Bench, and I hope—indeed I am sure—it will be met in the spirit in which it is made. Of course the Government, by putting out their full strength, can defeat this Resolution. But I would ask them, would it be wise, even at the present juncture, to keep open for another year a question which inflicts a wound on the tenderest feelings of thousands and thousands of our fellow-countrymen—the depth and poignancy of which no man here can probe or measure? I am sure you will not say that we, on this side, have, during the last two years, at least, shown any undue haste, or impatience, in dealing with this question. During the whole of last Session, for 15 weeks and more, we were content to await in silence the fate of the Government Bill. Is it our fault that we can wait no longer? Why, the subject is literally worn to rags. Parliament has debated it over and over again. Two Select Committees have reported upon it. Every parish in England has been ransacked for evidence. Every argument has been exhausted, every fact has been sifted, every fallacy has been exposed. In the interests of justice, in the interests of peace, above all, in the interests of religion itself, it is time that the question should be settled at once and for ever. And do you really believe—does anyone in or out of this House really believe, that it can be upon any other terms than on the lines of this Resolution? You have done your best. Animated by the best intentions, backed by commanding majorities in both Houses of Parliament, the Government have tried to settle it in their own way. And they have failed. They have failed because their plan—the only alternative proposed which has been seriously suggested—would have saddled the rural districts of the country with a burden which was felt to be intolerable because it was felt to be unnecessary. Surely, that was an argument which ought to carry weight with men like my hon. Friends the Members for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) and South

Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read), and the hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes), and the other Conservative Members of the House who—at least when in Opposition—so honourably distinguished themselves by their efforts to reduce the burden of local taxation. But legitimate and weighty as these arguments undoubtedly are, I prefer in making what I trust may be my last appeal to the House on this question, to rest that appeal upon higher and broader grounds. Sir, for eight years and more I have struggled to pass this small measure of justice through the House of Commons. I am fully conscious, not only of the difficulties of the task which I have undertaken, but of the mistakes which I have made in endeavouring to discharge it. I should be the first to admit that the work might have been sooner accomplished if, as I have often wished, it could have been entrusted to other and stronger hands. But this I hope I may be allowed to say, that, from first to last, I have striven to the best of my ability to rest my case on the only grounds on which such a case ought to be rested—on the grounds of humanity and justice. And now that the closing act of the controversy seems to have arrived, now that from the least expected quarters—from noble Lords and most rev. Prelates, there has come a cry for its settlement which can no longer be stifled, I would end as I begun, and, in the name of that humanity and that justice—aye, and by the first golden rule of that Christianity which has been so often invoked against me—I ask of you to affirm this Resolution, not because you fear that its acceptance has become an unwelcome necessity, but because you know that its rejection would be a cruel wrong. Sir, I beg to move the Resolution of which I have given Notice.

MR. KNATCHBULL-HUGESSEN would not have addressed the House had he not been specially requested to second the Resolution of his hon. and learned Friend. It embraced two distinct and separate propositions. In the first place, it affirmed that it was high time this question should be settled; and, next, that it should be settled in a particular manner. With regard to the first proposition, he thought there would be no great disposition on either side of the House to disagree. It

was time the question should be settled, for it was one which excited and inflamed religious animosities, which created heart-burnings and ill-feeling among neighbours, and militated against that charity which they all regarded as the greatest of Christian virtues. But when they came to the second part of the Resolution the difficulty began. Granted that the question should be settled, in what manner could it be best and most effectually settled? He desired to approach the subject in a most conciliatory spirit. Speaking as a Churchman, he knew he had the misfortune to differ from a great many of the best and the most earnest members of his own communion, and this alone would induce him to approach the subject with deep humility as regarded his own opinions, and with a sincere desire not to offend the feelings and susceptibilities of other people. The present condition of the question might be concisely stated. The Nonconformists said that in every parish a parishioner, irrespective of his creed, had a right to burial in the churchyard. "That is true," it was said; "but you have to add certain conditions, one of which is that the service of the Church must be read over the dead, and that service must be read by a clergyman of the Church of England." What the Nonconformists asked was that they should be allowed to exercise the right unlogged with the condition. Many of the objections to the exercise of that right were very weak, and might be brushed away like cobwebs from a window-pane. Among these he feared he must include one which appeared formidable at first sight, and which had been made by certain gentlemen who had given sites for new churches or for additions to old churchyards. He had that morning received a protest which contained the names of many of his personal friends, of many good and worthy persons; but no more preposterous document had ever issued from the pen of man than their protest. They had given certain lands for national purposes, and, having done so, they came and wanted to attach certain conditions which were not attached in their deed of gift. They cut the ground from under their own feet. For what were their own words?—that they had made these gifts "under the Laws of the Realm." Precisely so. Under the laws of this realm they had

given property to the Church of England, not as a private corporation, but as the Church Established, subject to the law of the country, subject to any widening of its basis, and to be held, as all other national property, subject to the will of Parliament, and to the laws passed by Parliament. It was the old story of the "pious founders" over again, only these were "pious founders" still living amongst us who already repented of their generosity. Such a plea would, if allowed, shake the claim of the Church to property which she had, and which was originally given for Roman Catholic purposes. If they once permitted property thus given to be subject to conditions not in the mind of the donor at the time of the gift, they would be entering upon a course which would involve them in endless difficulty. Another argument which had been used out-of-doors was that the Nonconformists desired the right of being buried in churchyards without reciprocating by giving Churchmen the right to be buried in Nonconformist cemeteries. That argument, however, was not for a moment tenable; for it meant either that the Church of England was on all-fours with the Nonconformist Body, or that they were willing to put Nonconformists on all-fours with the Church of England and endow their Clergy also. Otherwise Nonconformists had only private ground, while the Church of England was in possession of the national churchyards, and stood on a different footing. In regard to the argument that the Clergy were the freeholders of the churchyards, he would not attempt to give a lawyer's opinion on the matter; but he should not be surprised if, on a full and fair investigation, it turned out that the freehold was originally vested in the clergyman, because he really represented the parish. If the Clergy pushed the claim too far they might find that it would be used against them. Then, again, it was said that the proposal might be productive of improper services and unseemly brawls in the churchyards; but he considered the suggestion that disturbances would take place was not a reflection solely on the character of Nonconformists, or Nonconformist ministers, but upon the character of the English people. They were a sober and orderly people, and if there was any moment when they were more so than another, it

was when they were following their dead to the grave. No doubt there had been such things as brawls and unseemly disturbances in and outside churches, as St. George's-in-the-East and other places could testify; but these were not caused by wicked Nonconformists who went there to attack the Church, but they arose from the conduct of certain of the Clergy themselves who had attempted to introduce unwelcome doctrine and ritual. But, after all, what was the great objection to this Resolution? It was this—that such a concession to the Nonconformists as it advocated would militate against the spirit of an Establishment; that if they gave up the churchyards they would have to give up the churches. That was a question on which there would always be great difference of opinion. One man would contend that if they gave up this outwork they would imperil their inner defences, whilst another would maintain that the outwork was indefensible, and that they would be far stronger if they fell back at once upon their main position. But these objections respecting the Establishment principally came from the Clergy of the Church of England. He desired to guard himself against saying anything against the Clergy of the Church of England. Take them as a whole, there was no more exemplary and excellent body of men than the Clergy. They laboured earnestly in their Master's vineyard; they devoted their lives to the welfare of their fellow-men; and many of them spent far more than they could really afford in relieving the bodily necessities of those to whose spiritual wants they were sent to minister. Still, he could not help feeling that the reason of the clerical opposition to this measure and to the views of his hon. and learned Friend was this—that they feared their own position and status would be affected by the change he advocated. Let it not be supposed for a moment that he (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) was imputing any selfish motive to the Clergy. What he meant was that they were of opinion that a position and status were conferred upon them as ministers of the Established Church which were superior to the position and status of the Nonconformist ministers; and they could not bear the idea that a minister of any other Christian Church than their own should

be placed on an equality with them in the churchyards of the country. The law did give to the Clergy of the Establishment a status and position which it did not confer upon any other person; but if the privileges of that position were pressed too far—if they were pressed so far as to run counter to public opinion, to cause irritation, and to produce hardship, or a sense of hardship, to many members of the community, he could only say those privileges, and together with those privileges, the position, and the very law itself, would inevitably be imperilled. Let them try and take an impartial view of this question—not the view of a Churchman, or the view of a Nonconformist. There would be a parish in which, say, two-thirds of the people attended church and one-third the Nonconformist chapel. They did not interfere with the Nonconformist as long as he lived. He might go to church or to chapel as he pleased. One would suppose that if the doctrines he would hear in chapel were injurious to the State or to religion, it was during the lifetime of the hearer that they would do harm. But, this being a free country, he might hear what he pleased whilst he lived. But the moment the breath was out of his body, when no harm could possibly be done him, if his body was brought to be buried in the parish—the national-burying-ground, they would not allow to be said over his dead body words of comfort and consolation from the only person who could speak those words. Could any impartial looker-on justify such a state of things? He questioned whether anyone was benefited by these restrictions, and he did not apprehend that any harm would be done to anyone if they were abolished to-morrow. Then let them regard the matter from a Nonconformist point of view. What must render all this state of things the more bitter to Nonconformists was that they saw in the Church men, not teaching an uniform doctrine, but differing as widely from one another as they themselves differed from the Church. They need not go out of the metropolis to see men from Church pulpits denouncing their ecclesiastical superiors, and refusing to acknowledge the decisions of the very law which upheld them in their places. He had promised the House to be brief, and would endeavour to keep his word;

but, before sitting down, he wished to place before the House what he conceived to be a practical view of this question. They all wanted it to be settled. Well, did hon. Gentlemen opposite think that it was possible to settle it permanently in any other way than that which had been suggested that night? They could not expect the Nonconformists of England and Wales to abate one jot of their demand, because all they were asking was to be put on an equality in this respect with their brethren in Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies, and in every other country of Europe. Then did they think they could settle the question by forbidding altogether the burial of Nonconformists in the parish churchyards? They did not wish to do so. Yet that was the logical sequence of the argument by which they contended that the clergyman alone should read the service; for, if so, surely those over whose bodies he did so should be those only who during their lives had admitted his pastoral authority. But if this was done, they would be degrading the Church of England to the level of a sect, and, moreover, they could not go back, and deprive the Nonconformist of a right which, as a parishioner, he already possessed. Then what valid reason was there for denying his present claim? He would not make any fervent or ardent appeal, because he did not think that such appeals, from whatever quarter they came, carried with them very great weight. But he had seen on the previous day in a newspaper, under the heading, "The Churchyards Question," a strong appeal, signed by two gentlemen from Torquay, to the Conservative Party, who were told that they were invited now by "timid friends and designing opponents" to renounce their principles. [*Cheers.*] He did not know whether the hon. Gentlemen who cheered considered that he was a "timid friend or a designing opponent." He made no appeal either to the Conservative or the Liberal Party, for he recognized no Party upon this question; but he would appeal to his brother Churchmen, and he could tell them very earnestly and sincerely that it was as a friend to the Church of England that he counselled the concession of this demand. They might rely upon it that they would ultimately have to yield, and let them do so



whilst there would still be some grace in the concession. Was he asking anything which would damage the Established Church? He said emphatically no. He (Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen) had said before in that House, and he would repeat it, that an Established Church was only possible under two conditions—the first, which was impossible in free England, was that a submissive people must accept their religion from their Government, and obey their creed as they obeyed their code of law; and the next, and the only other condition on which an Established Church could exist, was that it was the religion of the people, and that it had its ramifications in the hearts and feelings of the people from one end of the country to the other. Now, this could not be said to be more than very partially true of the Church of England as she existed at present. To what, then, should they look? He maintained that the true policy for the Church was to extend and widen her basis, and not to rely on the enforcement of restrictions which were contrary to the spirit of the age, and in marked contrast with the enlightened principles of Christianity itself. Let them consider for a moment the millions of human beings throughout the world who approached their Creator through different creeds and various forms of religious worship. How infinitesimally small did these petty disputes seem between different schools of Christianity in this island! Who was there who would dare stand up and affirm that his own particular Church was indubitably the best in the sight of Heaven, and that his own creed was assuredly the most acceptable to the Supreme Being? Would he not be deemed an arrogant and presumptuous man? Was there, then, nothing of arrogance and presumption in the superiority which members of the Church of England seemed to claim over their Nonconformist brethren in this matter? He ventured to think it had somewhat of that appearance; but, in his humble judgment, the Church of England should look upon the Nonconformists, not as opponents and enemies, but as fellow-workers in the same vineyard, and as fellow-soldiers in the battle which Christianity was ever waging against the sin and ignorance which beset mankind. It was time that this question should be settled. Let them

look round upon the Nonconformity of England. Whence did it arise? The large majority of Nonconformists had been driven out of the fold of the Church of England by her persecution and neglect in times gone by, rather than by any bitter hostility to her doctrines. He would say nothing of persecutions at that moment; but could anyone deny the neglect? In hundreds of localities new villages had arisen, new hamlets sprung up, new populations been called into existence, which, owing to the defective parochial organization of the Church of England, would never have heard the name of either Creator or Redeemer but for the efforts of those Nonconformists whose children were asking us to alter our law to-day. Should we not treat these men with tenderness and consideration? Were we to try and make the burial-grounds of the country the private property of the Church? He objected to this being done, not in the interest of the Nonconformists, but in that of the Church of England herself, and in that of true religion. Whatever might be our religious differences on earth, they should be brought to an end when the grave closed over us. He supported the Resolution, not from any Party feeling, but from a sincere belief that this concession would be for the good of the Church and of the community at large; that it was profoundly in consonance with the highest teachings of Christianity; and would, moreover, tend very greatly to the advantage and unity of Christian England.

#### Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words, "in the opinion of this House, the time has arrived when the long pending controversy as to interments in parish churchyards ought to be closed, by permitting such interments either without any burial service or with the burial services preferred by the relatives or friends of the deceased, and conducted by persons chosen by them,"—(Mr. Osborne Morgan,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. J. G. HUBBARD, in rising to call attention to the Amendment which he had placed on the Paper, said, there could be no doubt as to the immense importance of the question

*Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen*

which the Resolution of the hon. and learned Member for Denbigh raised; and it was not because the alleged grievance was what was termed a sentimental one that it was less worthy of the most careful consideration by the House. The proposal of the hon. and learned Member had been presented to the House with great moderation and in a conciliatory spirit, and it was supported with skill and eloquence; but it behoved them to consider how great the innovation suggested by the Resolution would be. That proposal involved a change in a law of great antiquity and of great importance—a law not only of the Church, but of the State also, which dated from the earliest ages in our national history. Both churches and churchyards had passed into the possession of the Church of England, not in the form of gifts from the State, but through the private munificence and piety of individual landowners, who provided the churches wherein to worship, and the churchyards wherein the remains of the worshippers might be laid. He was not afraid to acknowledge that parochial churchyards were properly called national. It was, indeed, deemed safer by some to contend that the churchyards belonged to the Church of England rather than to the nation; but he knew no force in the distinction. Churchyards, like churches, were national because religious. They were altogether national in the truest sense, because they were given and instituted for religious purposes, and the moment they ceased to be appropriated to religious purposes they would cease to be national. Accepting them, however, as national property in that sense, he would ask why this assault had been directed against those who were the legalized guardians of both the churches and of the churchyards? He was anxious to separate the consideration of the charges brought against the Clergy in their regulation of the churchyards from the demand for a change in those regulations by law. The Clergy had been charged with intolerance, tyranny, and bigotry because they had, on the one hand, refused to bury with the stipulated services of the Church those who had not been baptized; and, on the other hand, had insisted upon using the Burial Service at the interment of persons who had been baptized. The child of a

Baptist was brought to the parish churchyard, and the clergyman refusing to use the Burial Service was reviled as bigoted and uncharitable. On another occasion the child of a Roman Catholic was brought for burial, and as the clergyman would read the Burial Service at its grave, a disturbance was created, and his conduct was branded as intolerant and tyrannical. In neither case had the clergyman a pretence for hesitation in his conduct. If he had taken upon himself to make a deviation in either respect from the direction of the law, he would have been subject to trial and punishment, not in virtue of any old canon law or antiquated Statute, but of a law passed only three or four years ago—the Public Worship Regulation Act—for the purpose of introducing order and uniformity into the services of the Church. Clearly in those cases the responsibility rested not with the Clergy, but with the law which they administered. [MR. OSBORNE MORGAN: Hear, hear!] The number of difficulties arising from the refusal of the Burial Service were comparatively few; for there were only two sects in England—the Quakers and the Baptists—that did not baptize their children; and the Society of Friends were generally provided with burial-grounds of their own. It was to an alleged Baptist grievance that great prominence was given in the discussion on this question in an august Assembly last year, when a noble Earl cited the case of Sir Morton Peto, who, having created and endowed a church and churchyard, was, on the death of a beloved child, obliged to carry her corpse to a strange cemetery; because only a silent burial would have been permitted to her in the churchyard which he had presented to the Establishment. The story was almost wholly untrue, and this Lord Granville subsequently acknowledged; and he alluded to it, therefore, solely as an introduction to two remarks. The first was, that the list of grievances must be very scant when the grievance paraded as the most cruel and most effective never existed. The second remark was one of amazement at the use made by a most accomplished Liberal Peer of this apocryphal history. For the argument founded upon it amounted to this—that an opulent Nonconformist, contributing many thousand pounds to the provision of a church or churchyard, was entitled to demand, on behalf of his

own family, that the ritual discipline and doctrine of the national Church should be set at naught. Surely this argument implied a most degraded view, both of the character of the person assumed to make such a claim, and of the Church which could accept benefactions upon such terms? In this hypothetical grievance, sympathy had been challenged for a Baptist—would sympathy have been claimed as eagerly for a Roman Catholic proprietor, who, having for his tenants' sake re-built the church of the parish he possessed, claimed the right to have a celebration of the Mass at the interment of his child in the sepulchre of his ancestors? There was a great difference between grief and grievance. Grief was a pain occasioned by circumstances for which nobody was immediately responsible; grievance was a pain involving a sense of wrong against some person who was supposed, rightly or wrongly, to have originated the cause of complaint. In the days when the whole community were of one mind as to religious profession in this country, there could not have existed any grievance so far as the use of the churchyards was regulated by the Laws in which Church and State concurred. Since then certain persons had separated themselves from the Church and formed Nonconformist sects; but they claimed, so far as the churchyards were concerned, the removal of the inconvenience they had incurred by their secession. He failed to see that this inconvenience was a matter of which they had any just ground for complaint. No one denied their right to secede; but he did not think anyone could maintain their right to claim, after secession, the privilege of being provided with services in harmony with their own convictions, to the detriment of the Church. The proposal made by the hon. and learned Member last year was very different from that which he now brought forward. Last year he proposed that provision should be made for having in the churchyards "Christian, religious, and orderly services." These were the qualifying words which gained the assent of the venerable Earl of Harrowby, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many other Peers. But those words were gone. The hon. and learned Member now made an entirely different proposal, and would admit every deceased person to the church-

yard for burial without any service at all, or with such service as his surviving relatives might desire. They should not, therefore, confine their view of the future ministrations in the churchyard to those of the typical evangelical Nonconformist minister; the churchyard was to be thrown open to all. He asked the House to consider what was involved in that view. According to the organs of the Nonconformist party, what they demanded for their own ministers should be extended to Jews, Positivists, Secularists—in short, to all—the interment to be carried out with such service as the relatives of the deceased thought proper, or without any service whatever. To use the words of one eminent Nonconformist minister, they insisted on the rights, not of the ministers of their own churches only, but "on the rights of every Englishman, whether believer or unbeliever." Were the churchyards so thrown open, there would be no restraint whatever, so far as ceremonial was concerned. It was said that they might safely trust to the feelings of reverence which animated people on those occasions; but he was sorry to say there were a great many persons whose expressed opinions on the subject of life and of death caused great pain to those who held different views, and who would not scruple to ridicule at the grave the doctrine of the Resurrection, which was the very foundation of the Christian faith. To the remark that the argument for the admission of Dissenters to the churchyard would have equal force in favour of their admission to the church, it had been replied—"The cases are not analogous—a man need not enter the church, but he must enter the churchyard when he dies." True, a man must die; but it is no question as to his admission to either church or churchyard—he was entitled to the use of either upon the terms of their foundation. The question was not as to the right of interment for the deceased, but as to a right in the survivors to abrogate the legal provision of minister and of service within the Church's precincts. And whom were the services for? He did not suppose the hon. and learned Member would say they were for the dead. The services were for the living—words of consolation and instruction for the living, given to them at the particular moment when they were most

*Mr. J. G. Hubbard*

calculated to do good. Many a man and woman had been turned from thoughtlessness and sin by the Burial Service and the prayers which accompanied that very solemn ceremonial. The Burial Service was but one of the services imposed by the law upon the Clergy of the Church of England. The series began with the Baptismal Service; it concluded with the service at the burial of the dead; but it, as well as the other services were for, and only for, the living. The meaning of the whole movement—the motive of the whole matter—could be clearly traced. He saw by the newspapers that some few months since the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire was presented with an address by his constituents, which they concluded by saying that their special gratitude and devotion were due to him because his agitation of the Burial Question had caused a great advance to be made towards religious equality; or, in other words, the disestablishment of the Church of England. He did not find that the hon. and learned Member had disclaimed the soft impeachment. Well, disestablishment meant robbing the poor man of his Church, and the poor man would not suffer that; he knew his own interest too well. The Church of England was the property of the poor man; it was founded for him; its ministers were paid for him; and if it were taken from him he had not, as the wealthier classes, the means of providing himself with religious teachers and places for religious worship. The demand for a free use of the churchyard led logically to a demand for the free use of the church, and should the churchyard be surrendered and the church be asked for, and should those who now voted with the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire shrink from a further aggression upon the Church, they would be told—and be told with truth—that they had surrendered the principle at stake by their vote on this occasion. Statesmen surely should be logical, and abstain from voting for changes grounded on arguments which would justify consequences they now eagerly deprecated. In the obligatory use of the Church Service, and in the occasional disability of Nonconformists to obtain the performance of a burial service by a minister of their own community, he frankly recognized a disadvantage—a distress—

a grief—which he would gladly mitigate or remove; but he could not admit as expedient the proposition of the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire, which, with the view of relieving a few Nonconformists, would inflict severe injury and pain upon the great national Church of England. Might he remind the House what had been already attempted in the way of relief. A few years since, the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire brought in a Bill in which he specially provided for the correction of the hardship involved in “forcing the Burial Service of the Church upon reluctant ears,” and he supported the claim of the Nonconformists to the option of a silent burial with his accustomed earnestness. Well, in the Government Bill of last Session, the 74th clause was prepared for securing the omission of the Church Service to those who so desired; and how was that clause welcomed? It was denounced by Nonconformists as an insult, and was consequently withdrawn. Such a reception was not encouraging. Yet an adjustment of the law of burial, combining the alternatives of (1) the Church Service, (2) an abridged service, and (3) a silent burial, could, he believed, be effected in relation to the existing churchyards. The provision of additional graveyards, either in connection with such religious communities as desired them, or as public cemeteries, would complete whatever measure of relief could reasonably be required. The Resolution before the House invited it to declare that the long-pending controversy on this subject should be closed. That event was one for the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire and his Friends to ensure by ceasing their contention; it would not be attained by Churchmen surrendering the inviolability of the sacred resting places of their beloved dead. He regarded this controversy as one of the instruments through which the political Parties acting with the Nonconformists of this country were endeavouring to make their existence felt, aiming at the ultimate consummation of their hopes in the destruction of the Church of England. That was the policy Nonconformists had in view when they, year after year, laboured for the abolition of the church rates. They succeeded then, and he wondered they did not now blush for the result. Having disburthened themselves of the

care of churchyards, they now asked to use them for nothing. He would tell hon. Gentlemen opposite that they would fight this question as often as they chose to challenge them, and that they had not the slightest idea of giving in. They believed that, the more the question was before the country, the better it would be understood in its right light, and it would then be seen that this attack upon the parochial churchyards was a violation of the principle of religious liberty—a blessing not to be confined to those who were dissentients from the national Church. His reply to the Motion before the House, he begged to express in the words of his Amendment—

“That Englishmen exercising their religious liberty in separating from the Established Church are justly free to provide themselves with places for worship and for burial with such ceremonial as they approve; but have no right to require changes in the regulation of parochial churchyards which would impair the legal security for their orderly and religious use agreeably with the purposes of their foundation.”

MR. RICHARD: The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down, tells the House that the proposal of my hon. and learned Friend is an innovation. No doubt it is. But all reform is innovation. He seems to think that because the law he defends is one of great antiquity, it must, therefore, be right and just. But the plea of antiquity can be urged on behalf of some very queer things in the history of the world. Slavery is a practice of great antiquity, and so is religious persecution. The right hon. Gentleman misunderstands, to some extent, the character of the complaint by the Nonconformists. He says that they censure the Clergy because they observe the law. That is not the ground of censure. When a clergyman refuses to bury an unbaptized person, or insists on reading the Church Service over a baptized person, no fault can be found with him, because he is doing that which he is bound by the law to do. But the Clergy are blamed because they so resolutely resist such a change in the law as would absolve them from the necessity of doing that which is so repugnant and offensive to so many of their fellow-countrymen. Nor was the right hon. Gentleman quite fair in the reference he made to the case of Sir Morton Peto, mentioned by Earl Granville. Sir Morton

Peto, so far as I know, never made any complaint of any peculiar hardship in his own case, or imagined that he was entitled to have the doctrine and discipline of the Church set aside for his special behoof. The case was cited merely to show the unjust and ungenerous character of the law as it exists, when a liberal Nonconformist having presented to the Church, at his own expense, a burial-ground, was not permitted, because he was a Baptist, to inter his own child with any religious service whatever, in the ground that he had given. It is not necessary for me to follow the right hon. Gentleman through the rest of his speech, as all his arguments have been really answered by anticipation in the able and exhaustive speech of my hon. and learned Friend. I am anxious, in the few observations I shall address to the House, not to say one word that shall wound the susceptibilities or give just cause of offence to any member of the Church of England. Whenever on former occasions I have spoken on this subject I have endeavoured to avoid all injurious and irritating language. And I am more than ever desirous to do so to-night; because I am bound to admit—and I do so with very sincere pleasure—that the liberal spirit in which we have been met by the Earl of Harrowby and the two Archbishops, and by very many of the lay members of the Church of England, deserve our warmest acknowledgments. Indeed, all the debates in the House of Lords were conducted in a generous and honourable temper. Even the Marquess of Salisbury, who stated with his customary force the objections of the Clergy to this measure, was careful to guard against being supposed to adopt or identify himself with those objections. He treated the feelings of the Clergy on this subject as “a social phenomenon” which they could not ignore, and with which they had to account. But surely the time will come—and is probably not far distant—when this controversy will be quoted as a far more extraordinary instance of the pertinacity of religious prejudice than any of those struggles for religious freedom in the last generation to which we now look back with mingled wonder and shame. Anyone who has marked the extent to which the ecclesiastical world—or rather the clerical world—has been convulsed and agitated by this question for the last two or three

years—the hot discussions in Convocation, at Diocesan Boards, in Church Congresses, and all assemblies where the Clergy most do congregate; the pamphlets and the articles in Church journals, the declarations, clerical and lay, the baiting of the Archbishop, and other signs of feverish and extraordinary excitement—might have thought that the matter at issue was one which touched in a vital manner some essential point of religious truth or social morality. And yet what does it amount to? What is it we ask for? We ask that a large body of our fellow-countrymen who are acknowledged to be good citizens of the State—as loyal to the Throne and Constitution, as obedient to the laws, and fulfilling all their civil, social, and political obligations in as exemplary a manner as any class of the community, who already possess an unquestionable and unquestioned legal right of interment in the parochial churchyards—should be permitted to exercise that right by burying their dead with such services or no service as shall be most in accordance with their own principles and preferences. But to evade this small concession to common sense and Christian charity, we find what Sydney Smith used to call “the forty-parson power,” called forth to throw the whole country into agitation and tumult, to prevent that being done which is already done in Scotland, in Ireland, in the British Colonies, in the United States, in France, in Germany, in Austria, in Hungary, in Russia—I believe, in every civilized country in the world excepting Spain, and not excepting Turkey. And thus the Church of England, which its adherents are wont to boast, is the most tolerant Church in the world, is found, in this point at least, to be the most intolerant Church in the world. I have said excepting Spain. It would seem, indeed, that our Government has had frequent communications with the Government of Spain on this very question. The Earl of Kimberley, speaking in the House of Lords in 1876, said—

“When he was at the Foreign Office several unpleasant cases in regard to burials arose between Her Majesty’s Government and that of Spain; we felt aggrieved because certain of our countrymen who were Protestants were denied burial in their own churchyards in Spain with any funeral rites at the time the body was laid in the grave. Surely it was perfectly natural that Nonconformists should feel aggrieved

under similar circumstances?”—[3 *Hansard*, cccxix. 630.]

And so you alone have the questionable honour of being associated in this war with the dead, with that country which has always been the stronghold of bigotry and intolerance. But what is the reply to our claims? Some, indeed, go to the root of the matter by saying that there is no grievance. But is there any instance on record in the history of this country when anyone has come down to this House to demand that some injustice should be remedied, or some wrong redressed, but some one has been ready confidently to deny the existence of the injustice or wrong? I remember quite well, when we were agitating for the abolition of slavery—in which in my young days I had the honour of bearing some humble part—there were people to be found, and to be found in this House of Commons, who denied that there was any grievance; or if there were, that it was a purely sentimental grievance; that the slaves were perfectly contented and happy if only the English agitators would let them alone; that they were well clothed, well fed, well lodged, and cared for, and only subjected occasionally to a little fatherly correction for their own good. And so has it been with regard to all the efforts made by the Nonconformists to remove other disabilities under which they so long laboured. When they were trying to procure the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts—which excluded them from the right to serve their country in any office except on the condition of perjurying their own consciences and forsaking the faith of their fathers—they were told that there was no grievance. “Where is the grievance?” it was said. “Let them conform to the Church and take the oaths, and all offices will be open to them at once.” This was precisely the argument of the right hon. Gentleman opposite to-night. He said—“You leave the Church in order to enjoy your freedom, why should you complain of this inability?” That is really the argument of the persecutor. It might have been applied—and probably was applied—to the Protestant confessors when they were led to the stake. You choose to forsake the Catholic Church and take your own liberty, why should you complain of

being burnt? So, again, when we were striving to gain access to the Universities, we were told there was no grievance. The Dissenters have their own Colleges. They have the London University, established especially for their behoof; there are the Scotch Universities, where they can go and take their degrees; why should they intrude into our Universities, which are the especial preserves of the Established Church? But is there no grievance? Let us suppose the conditions were changed—that the churchyards were in the hands of the Dissenters, and that in thousands of parishes in this country members of the Church of England had no means of being buried except with the ministrations of Dissenting ministers. Does anyone believe that they would tolerate that for a year—that they would not move heaven and earth to get it changed, as they would have a perfect right to do? I am happy to say, however, that there are many members of the Church of England who do frankly admit the grievance. The Archbishop of York said—“Speaking for myself I am obliged to come to the conclusion that a grievance has been proved to exist.” Bishop Wilberforce in 1871 said—“The Dissenters have a real grievance which it was the duty of Parliament to redress.” And what is that grievance? I do not know that I can express it more clearly or tersely than in the language of a Church journal—

“The Nonconformist grievance is tangible enough. Sects which do not use baptism, or which delay it, often can have no service at all; sects which object to forms must submit to the Anglican rite; all sects see their pastors refused access for ministerial purposes to the graves of such of their flocks as are interred in an ordinary parish churchyard. It is clear that this state of things is intolerable to devout people on both sides, and that a remedy needs to be found.”

These are the words of *The Church Review*. But I am bound in candour to admit that that paper does not approve of the proposal of my hon. and learned Friend. But what are the objections to our proposal? We are obliged to notice them, for though they have been often refuted, they are constantly repro-

political and polemical harangues. I feel ashamed to refer to such an argument, and find it hard to believe that it is urged with sincerity. Do hon. Gentlemen really believe that Nonconformists are so devoid of common sense and common feeling that they would take the opportunity while standing at the side of the grave, surrounded by a crowd of mourners, whose eyes are heavy with tears and whose hearts are breaking with grief, to launch forth into controversy with the Church or an attack on the clergyman? But we may be told without going so far as that—we may hear things in Dissenting services which we do not like. My answer is, first, you are not obliged to hear; and, secondly, you are not obliged to like if you do hear it. It is not likely, I suppose, that members of the Church of England would voluntarily attend a Dissenting funeral unless it were for the pleasure of seeing a Dissenter buried, as I once heard an hon. Member say in this House—“As for the burials of Dissenters, I should like to see them all buried!” But I say you are not obliged to like the Dissenting services. They are not designed for your pleasure and edification. I can imagine a Primitive Methodist preacher pouring out his heart in prayer or exhortation at the grave with perhaps no more grammatical accuracy or more elegant rhetoric than mark some of our speeches in this House, which might nevertheless go straight to the hearts of the poor people that are standing around him with streaming eyes and swelling bosoms, though his vehement and unlettered eloquence might make the right hon. Gentleman the Member for London, like Quintilian, “stare and gasp.” But we are told that we may have infidels in the churchyard proclaiming their unbelief. But surely I may appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite that it is not the appearance but the existence of such people that is matter for sorrow and lamentation. I know no persons on the face of the earth more to be compassionated than those who have persuaded themselves into the dreary belief that the grave is the be-all and end-all of human existence, and if they

Imagine—what I am afraid has sometimes happened, and may happen again—the body of a person brought to be buried, who through life has denied, has assailed, has vilified the Christian religion, has held up to scorn its most cherished doctrines, its most sacred hopes. But over that man you insist upon reading the beautiful service of the Church of England, every line of which is saturated with the fulness of Christian faith and hope. Around the grave stand the friends and associates of the deceased, who perhaps have been leagued with him in enmity to Christianity, listening with ill-concealed repugnance and with muttered sneers to the words of the service you compel them to hear. Talk of profanity and desecration! To my feeling such a spectacle—such a ghastly mockery of religious service—would be more of profanity and desecration than the wildest utterances of unbelief spoken over the grave. But the truth is that the whole question is simply one of clerical ascendancy. The other objections are pretexts, and this is the reality. The hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Beresford Hope) openly vowed this while on the deputation to the Archbishop. “It would be,” he said, “a virtual recognition of Dissenting preachers as ministers of the Gospel.” Mr. BERESFORD HOPE: I said as such—that is, officially.] Now I have great respect for the hon. Gentleman. but I am afraid I must tell him that I believe that the humblest Methodist or Baptist preacher in the United Kingdom would not give a brass farthing to be recognized as a minister of the Gospel by him or by the whole Bench of bishops. These men believe—to use a phrase of Lord Macaulay—that they are priests by the imposition of a rightier hand than that of any Bishop, and that they have proofs of their ministry, in the thousands and tens of thousands whom they have reclaimed from ignorance and sin, and trained and disciplined to Christian service, far more

interfere to save the Church from the obstinacy and fanaticism of the Clergy. The Clergy are putting themselves in conflict with forces and influences which will prove too strong for them. They are fighting against the spirit of the age, which is not favourable to exorbitant priestly pretensions. I venture to believe that this feeling is growing among the laity of the Church of England. As a proof of this, I commend to the attention of the House the words of one whose character was more honoured and whose authority carried more weight than almost any man whom I remember having a seat in this Assembly, and whose attachment to the Church of England cannot be doubted; I mean Lord Selborne. He says—

“The feelings of those who have no professional view of the matter—the feelings of the great majority of the laity—when it is brought home to them that there is this violation of the established principle of religious liberty in dealing with interments, will go more and more with those who complain of this grievance.”—[3 *Hansard*, ccxxix. 657.]

Mr. FORSYTH said, that it could not be denied that the advocates of the principle embodied in the Motion of his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Denbighshire stood in a stronger position now owing to the change of front in the House of Lords, and the fact that a majority of that body, including the Archbishop of Canterbury and three Bishops, had agreed to the Earl of Harrowby's Amendment, which was in effect the same as the Motion of his hon. and learned Friend. It, therefore, was incumbent upon those who were opposed to it to consider well and carefully their position. Now, if he (Mr. Forsyth) thought that there was a real and substantial grievance on the part of the Dissenters, he should be disposed to waive his own scruples and vote for the Motion. If, for instance, it was true that the Dissenters generally were unable to possess or procure burial-places of their own, and were compelled to be buried in churchyards with rites of which



the slightest difficulty arising; and the number of villages and rural districts where Dissenters had not yet places of burial or a means of obtaining them was very small indeed. In almost any rural parish in the country they could obtain land for a burying-ground for less than £100; and were the Dissenters so poor that they could not find £100 to relieve themselves from a grievance of this kind? Referring to the Blue Book quoted by his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Osborne Morgan) he found that in Wales, upon which the case of the Dissenters chiefly rested, there were 1,005 parish churchyards and not fewer than 937 chapel yards belonging to Dissenters. This was talked of as a national grievance, but where was the evidence of it? There had only been two Petitions presented in favour of this Motion, and one of those had only three signatures. As a general rule, the Dissenters did not feel any grievance at all; it was not a genuine grievance, but a manufactured one. It had been said that the Church of England was a national Church, and the churchyard was national property; but in these expressions there was a great fallacy. In one sense the Church of England was a national Church. It was the national Church of those who were members of its own communion; but it was a contradiction of terms to say that it was a national Church with regard to the members of other denominations. It could not be said to be the Church of the Socinians, the Jews, and the Society of Friends. And in what sense could it be said that the churchyards of the Church of England were national property? In point of law they were nothing of the kind. They were not national property in the sense in which the British Museum was national property. In point of law they were vested in the incumbent for the time being, during the tenure of his incumbency, subject to certain obligations with regard to the rites of the Church of England. The churchyard of the Church of England was as much the property of the incumbent for the time being as the chapel yard of the Dissenters was the property of the trustees for the time being. But there were other considerations which had to be kept in view. He admitted that we had no right to deny a thing which was right and just in itself because unjust demands might be

made hereafter. On the contrary, the sooner we yielded to just demands the better should we be able to resist unjust demands. But there was a distinction. If he found that the logical consequence of conceding what was asked for must be to involve the granting of something to which he had a decided objection, then he had a right to say—"I will not grant you that, because I have no power logically to deny that which you may ask afterwards." He should like to have this question answered candidly—was it intended, after this Motion was carried, and a Bill was passed embodying its principles, to ask that the Church of England should be opened to Dissenting preachers? Most distinctly, he maintained, it was so, even according to the language which had been held by Nonconformists themselves. Dr. Landels, an eminent Baptist minister, spoke a short time ago as follows:—

"Again, let me say finally, in spite of Government and in spite of Clergy, we will carry our Burials Bill, which is the next thing we have in hand, and that done, we shall be a step nearer the ultimate goal. There will not be much between us and the citadel then. Having taken possession of all the outworks, the fortress itself will soon fall into our hands; for we do not conceal the fact that this is our final aim, and that we cannot rest satisfied until that aim has been realized. Our clerical friends, in arguing against the Burials Bill, tells us, with refreshing simplicity, that if we get into the churchyards we will want to get into the churches next. What charming innocents they must be to put it thus! I think that if by getting into the churches they mean that we shall demand to have national property employed for national purposes, and not reserved for the exclusive use of a sect, why then, of course, we mean to get into the churches. And, what is more, if our right to the churches be as good as our right to the churchyards, we will succeed in gaining what we demand."

And the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) said—

"Well, but I will be honest. I do not say, 'let us get rid of this and the Church will be stronger.' No. I admit fully—let me be honest about it—that if you let the Nonconformist into the churchyard it is only a step towards letting him into the church. It is far better to be honest about the thing."

Was the House prepared to concede that? He did not see why, upon exactly the same kind of principle, the disestablishment of the Church of England should not be carried also. Precisely the same kind of arguments were used

with regard to the disestablishment of a Church as were used with regard to the admission of Dissenters to the churchyard and the church itself. He was not prepared to vote for disestablishment, which he believed would prove a most serious injury to the Church, and not less to the Dissenters themselves. He did not at all sympathize with the objection which some urged, that the Dissenters would abuse the liberty asked for for the purpose of rioting or indecorum. He had the most perfect confidence that they would observe orderly conduct at the grave of the deceased relative. This country owed a great deal to the Dissenters. But for their efforts he did not believe that the Church of England would have exerted herself to obtain the strong hold she had at this moment upon the people of England. He admired their sincerity and zeal which had lighted the lamp of religion in dark places in England, and he wished them God speed; but unless he was satisfied that they were suffering under a real and substantial grievance, that they had not and could not get land to enable them to have the rites of burial according to their own persuasion in their own churchyards, he could not see why the Church of England should not have the exclusive right to her own churchyards, as the Dissenters had the exclusive right to their own chapel yards. For these reasons, at the risk of being thought illiberal by the other side, he should feel bound to resist the Motion of the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire.

**Mr. A. M'ARTHUR:** The hon. and learned Member for Marylebone, who has just sat down, has given us, as might be expected from him, an argumentative, moderate, and, to a considerable extent, liberal speech; but it is not to be expected that we on this side of the House will agree with all he has said. The hon. and learned Member has asked several questions, to which he has requested an answer, and he has made some statements to which I must refer. He asks whether Dissenters are so poor that they cannot pay £100 for a cemetery of their own when one is wanted? There is no want of money; but Dissenters do not feel there is any necessity for them to spend their money in that way. They believe they have a perfect right to inter in the national

burial-grounds. The small number of Petitions alluded to by the hon. and learned Member is easily accounted for by the fact that the public regard the matter as practically settled after the decision of the House of Lords last Session. Were it not for that, Petitions could have been obtained in hundreds, or even in thousands. Reference has been made to the fact that the Bishop of Lincoln had stated in his speech that he had not heard a word of complaint from any Dissenters in his diocese. Sir, I have no desire to say a disrespectful word respecting the right rev. Prelate; but it will not, I hope, be regarded as offensive if I say that he is one of the last Bishops to whom any Nonconformist would appeal on the subject. The hon. and learned Member has read an extract from a speech of a Nonconformist minister, intimating that not only the churchyards but also the churches would be wanted next. It is impossible to prevent individuals from expressing whatever views they please upon the question; but I do not believe the great bulk of the Nonconformists of this country have any such wish or intention. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) said he was surprised—and I think he added amused—at some statements made respecting the Liberal Party. Well, Sir, if it were not too serious a matter to treat with levity, it would be rather amusing to listen to some of the fears expressed and the evils predicted by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and by rev. gentlemen at Diocesan Conferences, and on other public occasions, in the event of this terrible Resolution being carried. In the opinion of some of the opponents of the Motion of my hon. and learned Friend, to grant this boon, or, more properly speaking, to concede the right to Nonconformists to bury their dead in churchyards or parish graveyards, and to have the option of requesting whatever clergyman or minister they wish to conduct the service, would be an act of great injustice, an outrage on all propriety, an injury to the Church, and would be a long step in the direction of disestablishment. Sir, I take a different and directly opposite view of the question. I do not believe it would be an act of injustice; I do not believe it would be an outrage on all propriety, or on any propriety; nor do I believe it would be

favourable to disestablishment, or accelerate that consummation so devoutly wished for by many, and so dreaded and deprecated by others. On the contrary, my conviction is that those who advocate the disestablishment of the Church have their hands greatly strengthened by the determination of hon. Members opposite, and their friends, to fight this battle out to the bitter end, by the continued agitation which is thus rendered necessary, and, above all, by the harsh, unjust, uncharitable, and, I fear I must add, in some cases, un-Christian language frequently used by those who oppose the policy indicated in the Resolution of my hon. and learned Friend. I am aware that hard words have been used by both parties; but when Nonconformists are spoken of contemptuously, when the worst construction is put upon their motives and actions; when it is asserted that what Dissenters are asking for is that the churchyards should be desecrated by rant, rhapsody, and the blasphemy of infidelity—the desecration being the right of Nonconformists to inter with their own services; when it is asserted that if Dissenters have a grievance at all, which some deny, it is only a sentimental one, and that this attack upon the churchyards is characteristically dishonest; I say when such language is used, and such statements are made, it is not very surprising if some of those who are thus calumniated should feel more disposed to answer a fool according to his folly, than to obey the higher precept that when smitten upon the right cheek they should turn the other also. Will the House permit me, in confirmation of what I have said, to give a few examples of the language used, and the sentiments expressed, by some of the opponents of my hon. and learned Friend's Motion—

“Mr. Morgan's ‘Burials Bill’ is a ‘Dissenting Ministers’ Bill;’ its real source is Dissenting pride and ambition; its great object is to impair the influence and prestige of the Clergy by artificially forcing up the social status and pretensions of those who have taken upon themselves to be ministers of Christ without having received that ordination which Christ appointed. The secret fount and origin of this ‘Burials Bill’ is envy of, and ill-will to, the Church of England and her Clergy. . . . Once let this wise restriction be removed, and Dissenters of all kinds will be permitted to use their own services by their own ministers or agents, and the churchyard is thrown open to every desecration, every form of false doctrine, even

to blasphemy—and some false doctrine is blasphemy. It is impossible the Church can submit to this.”

Again—

“Such is the Bill with which we have to do. It contains no restrictions or safeguards whatever. But let me emphasize the fact that it is impossible to invent safeguards of the proper kind. You may have such as will prevent openly riotous and indecorous conduct; such as will prevent any breach of the peace. But you cannot put restrictions upon men's political and religious opinions; nor, in England, padlock the utterance of them. Especially, you could not prevent the covert, subtle, ill-intentioned utterance of bilious and disappointed Dissenting ministers against the Church of England. If Dissenters of all kinds be permitted to officiate in our churchyards, those churchyards may, and will, become arenas for the utterance of all kinds of heretical, seditious, and even blasphemous opinions; of all kinds of false doctrine, unbelief, and heresy—especially of such as are most offensive to the Church and her Clergy; and, therefore, again, this ‘Burials Bill’ must be opposed uncompromisingly, no matter what safeguards may be proposed.”

Now, Sir, I think it is much to be regretted that such language has been used; and I believe the House will agree with me that this is not well calculated to promote kindly feeling, or to pour oil upon the troubled waters. These extracts are from a paper upon the Burials Question, written by a rev. vicar, and published by request. I might read other extracts in which still stronger language is used, but I do not like to detain the House by doing so. I wish, however, just for a minute or two, to refer to a speech delivered a few weeks ago by an eloquent Bishop, who, when addressing his Clergy at a Diocesan Conference, is reported to have said—

“He had never yet heard anything even approaching an argument to show that Dissenters had a real grievance. But he felt that while there was no grievance there was a real grief; and, therefore, while he did protest and would protest against any high-handed attempt on the part of the State to take from the Church of England the custody of our own graveyards, and to intrude into those graveyards, under protection of the law, revolting and desecrating services, he had also wished, and did still earnestly wish, that the Church, distinctly maintaining her rights—her ownership of the graveyards—could by some device of Christian charity and kindness, meet the real grief without surrendering what he believed to be a real right and a real duty.”

Now, Sir, it is quite possible the right rev. Prelate does entertain feelings of Christian charity and kindness towards his Dissenting brethren; but if he means

to describe their services as revolting and desecrating—which I hope he does not—I think it must be admitted he adopts a strange method of manifesting his Christian charity. We have heard a great deal about consecration and consecrated ground. Well, Sir, if by consecration is simply meant setting apart for sacred purposes, I can understand and approve of the term; but if it means—as I believe it does in the estimation of many—that some special virtue is imparted to the ground by the act of consecration, then I have only to say that I regard it as a relic of the dark ages, and as savouring more of Rome than of Protestant England. The decencies and properties of sepulture should be observed, and I am far from being disposed to sneer at anything that may properly be regarded as sacred; but it is fortunate for the world that to be buried in consecrated ground is not essential to future happiness, and there are many who consider it of little importance whether they are buried in such ground or not. Many die at sea, and their remains are committed to the deep; many die in the wilds of Australia, Africa, or America, far away from graveyards. Multitudes have been slaughtered by the inhuman butchery of war; and many have died in so-called Christian lands, where the same spirit of narrow-minded bigotry and intolerance of which we now complain, only in a more intensified degree, rendered it difficult for a Protestant to find a grave either in consecrated or unconsecrated ground, as was the case in Spain a few years ago, and I fear is still to a considerable extent. For my own part, if you will pardon a personal allusion, although not a member of the Church of England, nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than to be worthy of having her funeral service truthfully read over me when my remains are committed to the tomb. But why insist upon having it read over the remains of those who conscientiously object to it? My principal object, however, in troubling the House on this occasion is to refer to Ireland. It has been said that one fact is worth a thousand arguments; and it is a fact that in Scotland and Ireland the privilege now asked for has been enjoyed for many years past, and I am not aware of a single instance in which any violation of propriety has occurred. I agree with

my hon. and learned Friend who has moved this Resolution that it is a very bad compliment to the people of this country to contend that they would not conduct themselves as properly at the grave, and that they are not so civilized as the people of Ireland. I have attended funerals in a cathedral churchyard in Ireland when the service was conducted by Wesleyan, Presbyterian, and other ministers, with the greatest propriety, and there was no objection made by the clergy. The same thing would, I believe, occur here. Formerly all marriages had to be celebrated in the Church of England. This is no longer the case; but a large proportion of the people of this country are still married in the Church; and if the Burials Bill were passed I believe a similar result would follow, and that a great many Nonconformists would be willing to have the Church of England service read who now object to it, because they will not be compelled to use it. Before I sit down let me say I willingly admit, and gratefully acknowledge, that a large number of clergymen, and a still greater number of Church of England laymen, feel that we have a grievance, and recognize the justness of our claim for redress. I believe those who resolutely refuse or oppose all reform are not the best friends of the Church; and I am fully convinced that the sooner this vexed question is satisfactorily settled the better it will be for both the Church and the nation.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY said, that since this question was before the House two years ago events had happened which ought to make them look upon it with all the consideration they could command. The Government had recognized the necessity of dealing with this question by themselves bringing in a Bill, as they did last year; and further than this, the House was bound to take notice of the very unexpected action of the House of Lords in the way in which they dealt with the Resolution of the Earl of Harrowby. He thought what had been done pointed to this conclusion—that the opinion of educated Englishmen was that the question ought to be settled if it could be fairly settled; and that it was dangerous and injurious to the Church of England that it should be kept open as it now was—dangerous to her existence politically, and also injurious to her

spiritually. He believed it was the Liberation Society which had the chief interest in keeping the matter open. He could not but think if a fair solution were proposed they would carry moderate men of the opposite Party with them and the question would be settled. But with reference to this Resolution, he must say he thought they had no choice but to vote against it; because the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire (Mr. Osborne Morgan) and his Friends went on the assumption that Dissenters had the same right to the churchyard as Churchmen, and they claimed to enter the churchyards free from the restrictions imposed by law on Churchmen, and they would thus be put in a better position than members of the Church. Now, as a matter of right, he did not think the hon. and learned Gentleman had a leg to stand upon. This was a question of sentiment which did not take any account of argument or logic; but sentiment, he was convinced, would in the end prevail, particularly when the question was one which had to be argued before an open grave. He thought, therefore, it was wise for Churchmen to endeavour to meet the question, and not to raise the flag of no surrender; for, as the Archbishop of Canterbury had said, no surrender often led to total surrender. It was so in the matter of church rates. Compromises were offered and refused, and in the end they lost everything. This grievance—he did not say it was an infinitesimal one—was of recent growth, and, put before the country as it had been, had excited a bitter feeling against the Church, which they all deplored. With regard to the remedy which had been so often proposed, of creating cemeteries, he did not think the people of this country were prepared to give up their churchyards, with all their old associations, for cemeteries. The expense would also be very considerable. They would much rather add to existing churchyards than form cemeteries in another place. If a settlement was to be arrived at it must be by concession on both sides; and the question was, if Nonconformists were to be admitted, on what terms and under what restrictions should that be done? That had been partly indicated by two Amendments—one by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour), which proposed that churchyards given within the last 50

years should be exempt from the operation of any Act, and the other was the proposition of the hon. Member for East Surrey (Mr. Grantham), which proposed that a certain time should be given in all parishes supposed to be affected—two or three years—in which to provide cemeteries for others than Churchmen, such parishes then to be exempted from the operation of any Act which might be proposed. But there was another point which was not dealt with by any Amendment to which he attached importance. That arose from the contiguity of the church to the churchyard. Nothing had so much aroused the opposition of Churchmen to proposals of this character as the suggestion made in various quarters—to which expression had been given in the quotation from Dr. Landels—that the concession of entrance into the churchyard would be made use of by Dissenters for effecting an entrance into the church. That had been denied by the hon. Member who spoke last; but as it had been prominently put forward, they could not complain if Churchmen placed some value on this restriction. It would be necessary, therefore, that a line of demarcation should be drawn between the church and the churchyard. That might be drawn by placing the charge for the maintenance of the churchyard upon the public. It would not then be possible any longer to argue that entrance into the churchyard was the first step to entrance into the church. With safeguards of that character it would not be necessary to insist on any other, such as a special service, to be laid down by those who used the churchyards. He had faith in his countrymen, and believed they might fairly and safely be trusted to do nothing contrary to decorum and propriety in the churchyard. He was convinced if they did it would recoil on their own heads, and that any indecent performance in a churchyard would do more for the cause of morality than the best sermon that had ever been preached. With regard to the conduct of the Clergy in their opposition to this proposal, he believed they were not actuated by opposition to all reform, or want of consideration for what was due to the feelings of Nonconformists; but what they did feel was that they had a solemn trust placed in their hands, and their great fear was

*Sir John Kennaway*

that by any action of theirs they might be unfaithful to that trust, and might seem to relinquish what they had been appointed to carry out as guardians of the churchyard. It was necessary, however, for hon. Gentlemen in that House to look at the question from a wider point of view than the Clergy were able to do, and not to lose opportunities when they presented themselves. It was fair to argue that the present Parliament afforded a favourable opportunity of settling this question upon some such basis as that he had sketched. If ever a lesson of lost opportunities was brought home to them, he thought it was brought home to them on the first day of this Session, when their eyes turned to the Gallery and could not fail to be arrested by the sight of a man wearing the national costume of Turkey; one who hardly a year ago controlled the destinies of that great and powerful Empire, but was now a sorrowing exile, lamenting the overthrow of his country, brought about by the advice which he felt it his duty to give to his Sovereign to resist the demands made by the Powers of Europe. What would not Midhat Pasha now give if he had the opportunity of accepting the terms which he formerly rejected? This question would press for a settlement. Let them see if they could not effect such an arrangement as he had suggested, which would disappoint the members of the Liberation Society, but would carry with it moderate men whose desire was to have fairness and justice done to all. The fact of a compromise having been offered would place the Church in a better position for having made the offer.

MR. WALTER said, he thought from the tone which the hon. Baronet who had just sat down adopted in a few of the sentences at the commencement of his speech that he would have concluded by saying he intended to vote for the Resolution. Though the hon. Baronet had taken exception to the Motion before the House, he had been unable to gather from his hon. Friend's remarks any definite plan which he recommended as a substitute for the Resolution. He (Mr. Walter) had paid attention to this subject for a good many years, and the more he had considered it the more he came to the conclusion that it lay in a very small compass, and that there was only one practical solution of it. If they would

only admit a few principles which appeared to him to be elementary, he thought they must necessarily lead to that conclusion. He supposed they all admitted that one of the first civil rights that could appertain to any being in a civilized country was the right to be buried. People might doubt whether a man had a right to be born. Nobody could doubt that a man had a right to die. That being granted, it seemed to him that as a natural course he had a right to be buried, and the only question was, where and by whom? The whole question really lay in the answer which was to be given to that question—Where was the man to be buried, and by whom? By the law of this country we knew as an admitted fact that the churchyard, in the absence of any other cemetery, was the national cemetery. So far they were all agreed. He believed his right hon. Friend the Member for London (Mr. Hubbard) would go further, and say a man had a right to be buried in a churchyard, and had a right to a private burial. He recollected some years ago when this question first began, a good deal was made of the argument that the Presbyterians in general contended for private funerals; that their whole principles were opposed to any demonstration at the grave, and that their principle was private funerals. It was thought there should be a compromise. It was doubted at the time whether there was any right to be buried in a churchyard; but, at all events, if there was a right to be buried at all, it must be with a silent funeral. He should like to remind hon. Members what a very great authority in the Church of England—a name respected by all—had to say on this subject—

“The greatest thing above all others about the duty of Christian burial is an outward testification of the hope which we have touching the resurrection of the dead. For which purpose let any man of reasonable judgment examine whether it be more convenient for a company of men, as it were in a dumb show, to bring a corpse to the place of burial, there to leave it covered with earth, and so end; or else to have the exequies duly performed with solemn recital of such lectures, psalms, and prayers as are purposely framed for the stirring up of men's minds into a careful consideration of their estate both here and hereafter.”

These were the words of Hooker, and he supposed no higher authority in the Church of England could be cited in favour of burials accompanied with

funeral rites. Granting, then, that a man had a right to be buried in the only available place—the churchyard—ought not his friends to have some right of choice as to the religious rights with which his funeral should be accompanied? Who was to deprive them of that right? The onus was on those who objected to furnish some reason why they should not have it; and he had heard none save the one that outrageous doctrines might be preached and outrageous ceremonies performed at the grave of some infidel. That argument had been urged *ad invidiam* and almost *ad nauseam*. He was sure no man in that House believed that any large body of Dissenters in this country would be guilty of performing outrageous ceremonies at a funeral. He should like to hear an answer to the proposition that it was a natural right or a charitable act of grace that the friends of a deceased person should have some right of determining what ceremonies should accompany his burial. He confessed that he had not the slightest objection, if he believed the privilege would very seldom be used, to a service being conducted in a churchyard over the body of a person who was not a member of the Church of England. Nay, he would go further. He would suppose the case of a couple of Chinese labourers, whom we might see some of these days. Well, one of them died. Was he to be buried in the churchyard? He could not be buried with Christian rites; but was he (Mr. Walter) to deny his friend the right to the utterance of some words which would convey comfort to his soul over the body of that man? People talked about desecration. He was surprised they did not better measure their words. The Bishop of Lincoln, if he was rightly reported, had said, it would be derogatory to God's truth if ground consecrated to His service should be desecrated by false doctrines, &c. Now he (Mr. Walter) wanted to know by what process a piece of ground set apart for burial could be said to be desecrated by language used at a funeral. They might desecrate air; but how ground could be desecrated he could not understand. He should like to hear that explained. Then the Bishop of Peterborough drew a distinction between a concession made by the Church out of Christian charity and a concession made by means of an Act of Parliament. He

Mr. Walter

wanted to know what that meant. The whole of the difficulties surrounding this question arose from the fact that the Clergy could never seem to get it out of their heads that the Church was not the State. Every Constitutional lawyer knew that Church and State were merely two aspects of one and the same body. It was on that ground that Edmund Burke said it was a delusion to talk even of an alliance between Church and State—the Church being the State in its religious aspect, and the State being the Church in its temporal aspect. That he took to be the great Constitutional view of this point which was held by every high authority on the subject. The Primate, he was happy to say, seemed to have spoken with a greater sense of the responsibility of his position, and he appeared to be in favour of a general revision of the Burial Laws; but he fell back upon the proposal—involving a doctrine which lay at the root of this controversy—that some concession should be made to the demands of the Dissenters as a matter of privilege, and not of right. He was one of those who thought that if this question had been properly dealt with at the beginning, and if the Clergy had been willing to make some concession—if it had not been for the acts of some among them who were more remarkable for zeal than for discretion, that which was now asked for by the Dissenters as a right might have been granted, and would have been accepted, as a boon. He thought that the Dissenters would now look upon the redress of this grievance, not as a concession on the part of the Church of England, but as a matter of natural right, and he looked upon the matter from no other point of view himself. He took it to be the fact that the state of society at which we had arrived had simply outgrown the provision which the State had made for burial; and that, therefore, we must make some further provision in order to meet the present condition of things. And he must confess that regarding, as he did, the right of interment as a civil right, and the right of having that interment accompanied by a religious service as a civil right, he could not see any other way out of the difficulty in which we were placed than by recognizing, for the time being, at all events, the churchyards as being cemeteries common to all until other ceme-

teries were provided. As an illustration of the hardship upon Dissenters of what he might be might call the clerical view of this subject, he might mention that a few days ago he had received a letter from a clergyman of the Church of England, telling him that his great-grandfather was a Quaker, and that when his father, who was a member of the Church of England, died, he was desirous of being buried in the Quaker burial-ground with his ancestors, but that permission to be buried with them was refused unless he consented that the Quaker rites should be performed over the body. His friend had argued from that that when permission to bury his father in a Quaker burial-ground was refused unless he consented to the Quaker service being performed over the body, it was hard that he should himself be compelled to permit Dissenters to be buried in his churchyard, and to have their own service performed over them. His friend, however, appeared to forget that the Quaker burial-ground belonged to a private sect; whereas the churchyards were the property of the nation. The only question in this matter was as to the machinery for throwing open the churchyards as common cemeteries until they were filled, or until other cemeteries were provided in their place. The best course to pursue, in his opinion, would be simply to pass an Act of Parliament declaring that for the time being the churchyards should be open for the burial of all persons, subject, of course, to the necessary supervision and regulations. There was one other point connected with this controversy which he thought should not be lost sight of. Without wishing to commit himself to any definite opinion in reference to it, he thought the proposal that the Clergy should be relieved from the compulsory duty of performing the Church of England Burial Service over infidels or notoriously immoral persons, if accepted, would in some degree reconcile the Clergy themselves to the change demanded. That was a question worth while considering, and it was a pity that the Clergy themselves had not directed their attention to it. This was a point to which he desired to call the attention of the House, in order that, whenever a measure on this subject was brought in, the matter might meet with the attention of the Government.

Mr. BALFOUR, who had the following Notice on the Paper—as an Amendment to Mr. Osborne Morgan's Resolution—to move, to leave out all the words after the word “closed,” in order to insert the words—

“And it is therefore expedient that such interments should be permitted to take place without the burial service of the Church of England, and with such other Christian and orderly religious service as the friends or relatives of the deceased may think fit, in parish churchyards of older date than fifty years, until such time as other burial ground shall have been provided for the parish, and except in those cases when such other burial ground has been provided already,”

said, that, as he understood the argument of the hon. Member who had just sat down, his object was to show that no other solution of this question could be satisfactory, except that embodied in the Resolution of the hon. and learned Member. The Amendment which he (Mr. Balfour) had placed upon the Paper appeared to him to satisfactorily meet the requirements of the case. As the hon. Member who had last spoken had never alluded to his Amendment, and had not attempted to show that it did not offer a satisfactory solution of the difficulty, he presumed that he had not satisfactorily considered its effect. The hon. and learned Gentleman who had moved the Resolution had made several strictures upon his Amendment; but they related rather to its details than to its principles, and therefore he should reserve any observations in reply to them until his Amendment came before the House as a substantive Motion. He had heard a great many speeches, and he had read a great many more upon this question, and he supposed that all hon. Members in that House were familiar with every argument that could be brought forward on either side of this question. There were portions of the speeches on each side that were equally unanswerable. The main strength of the case of hon. Members opposite was this—they said that when a man was buried it was fair and it was right that he should be buried with such religious service as he himself in his lifetime would have preferred, and which his friends desired should be used. If that demand were granted, this agitation would at once cease, and he fully approved its being granted. He readily admitted that the Nonconformists were



at present labouring under a grievance; but the question was whether the removal of that grievance in the way suggested by the hon. and learned Member's Resolution would not create an equal grievance on the part of the Church of England. Hon. Gentlemen opposite must admit that it would be a great hardship upon the Church of England if the churchyards, which had been consecrated from time immemorial, and in which no burial service except her own had ever been used since she became a Church, were to be thrown open to all. The hon. and learned Member who introduced the Motion had argued that legally the churchyards were not the property of the Church, but were only held in trust by the clergyman for the use of the parish. He could not dispute with him on a question of turmicology. But he supposed that when hon. Members opposite spoke of the disendowment of the Church, they attached some meaning to the terms they used, and that it involved the admission that she possessed property; and he contended that she had the same property in the churchyards as she had in the churches, and to turn the former to secular uses would be a great hardship upon her. But she was further asked to give up this particular property on grounds which made her title to her other property altogether illusory. He did not see how any Churchman could accept the proposal of his hon. and learned Friend in its present form, because of the position in which it would place them when the question of disestablishment came before Parliament for discussion and decision. On the one hand, therefore, they had the grievance—a real grievance, he admitted—of the Nonconformists who were buried with services which in some cases they did not approve; and on the other, they had the grievance of the Churchmen, who objected to ministers of Nonconformist denominations, or persons who were not ministers of religion at all, being admitted into the churchyards in order to perform any sort of service or ceremony over the graves of their dead fellows or friends. There was also involved the question of Church property, which could not in any sense of the phrase be described as a sentimental grievance. The solution he proposed was that the Church should admit to the full the whole sentimental grievance of the Nonconformists, but

should not yield at all on the principle of ecclesiastical property. If his proposal were adopted, it would admit to the full the right claimed by Dissenters to bury their dead with any religious service they might prefer. His reason for asking Churchmen to submit to what, he admitted, would be a grievance, was that it would be a prudent and generous course to take—generosity and prudence in a case like this being synonymous terms. It must be allowed that on the face of it the present state of the law appeared to exist chiefly for the benefit of the Clergy—a great and most dangerous evil. He thought that in recent years there had been a division between the Clergy and the Laity, and that it was upon the increase. It was not a matter for congratulation, as hon. Gentlemen opposite by their cheers seemed to think; but, on the contrary, it was something to be deplored. The fact was chiefly owing to the rash and noisy section who were supposed to represent the High Church party in the Church, and they were responsible to a very great extent for the disunion which existed. The maintenance of the present law tended to increase that disunion. For that reason every man who wished well to the Church, whether he belonged to it or not, would desire to see the cause removed. Further, he could not see how it could be denied that the existing law savoured of intolerance. He did not admit that it actually was intolerant, because by an intolerant law he understood one which offered to men an inducement either to change or to conceal their opinions, and the existing law did neither of these things. The refusal of the right to a man, or a particular set of men, to use what form of religious service they chose on the occasion of burials was the chief strength of the agitation which was led by his hon. and learned Friend who had moved the Resolution. This suspicion of intolerance was a burden which no institution could bear in a struggle for existence; and it must be borne in mind that the Motion was supported by two classes of persons—those who desired simply to injure the Church and those others who were acting solely with a view to benefit the Nonconformists. The battlefield of the question had been so skilfully chosen that both of these parties were united, and in this fact lay the strength of the position taken up by

*Mr. Balfour*

his hon. and learned Friend. Defeat was, to his mind, almost certain in the long run. He did not believe one of the 15,000 clergymen who signed the Memorial thought otherwise than that in this Parliament or the next the question would be settled in a way to which he would strongly object. He therefore asked the House to consider whether his proposal did not afford a way out of the difficulty which, while it might involve a sacrifice on the part of the Clergy, would not amount to a sacrifice of principle, and would probably afford a permanent and satisfactory solution to the question without calling upon the Clergy to surrender any of their cherished principles.

SIR ROBERT ANSTRUTHER thought the House had been fortunate in hearing the remarks of the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down. Before he spoke they believed he would take a wise, comprehensive, and statesmanlike view of the question he handled; and he congratulated the House on having received from the hon. Gentleman advice which, indeed, it would be well for them and well for their Church, if it would be wise, to follow. In commenting upon the remarks of his hon. Friend he was obliged, first of all, to say that in his speech he conceded every principle for which his hon. and learned Friend (Mr. Osborne Morgan) contended. It was a very remarkable fact that in every speech he had heard from the other side of the House, there was conceded the main root of every principle for which his hon. and learned Friend contended in his able speech. ["No!"] He did not know which speech his hon. Friend who said "No" referred to. He had not heard in a speech, nor, indeed, in any of the Amendments—and there were three of them—in which the principle was not conceded. It was admitted by one hon. Gentleman (Sir John Kennaway) that circumstances had seriously changed, and that since this question was debated two years ago events had happened which it behoved the House to seriously consider. Like a wise man, he said, the circumstances being changed his views were altered; but he unfortunately still intended to go into the Lobby against the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Osborne Morgan). He would remind the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour) that if he wished his views, as embodied in

an Amendment, to be passed, he must first support the Resolution of the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire, for if the Resolution was lost, an Amendment could not be put. But let it be carried, and then the Amendment of the hon. Member for Hertford could be put as an Amendment on a substantive Motion. It was conceded that the present state of things could not remain as they now were. Some of the remarks of his hon. Friend were almost plaintive. His hon. Friend had admitted that the end was very near. He had admitted that defeat was almost certain, and he had spoken as a man who had wellnigh lost all hopes of obtaining success in an unequal contest. If the end was near, he (Sir Robert Anstruther), for the same reason given by his hon. Friend, rejoiced, from his love and respect for the Church of England, that the end was near. He rejoiced to think that what had been a serious stumbling-block to the Church was about to be removed—if it was to be removed—for if once it were removed, he knew that the Church would go about her holy duties with increased strength and vitality. One or two of the stock objections had been brought forward in the present discussion, and it was impossible to pass them over. It was feared that some evil consequences would ensue from freedom being allowed in the churchyard; but how often had it been demonstrated in the House that the practical experience of the last 300 years, confirmed by what hon. Gentlemen had said that night, showed the safety with which this freedom might be granted. In the last debate on this question he took upon himself to bring before the House the case of Scotland, and showed them, what no one had since attempted to controvert—that not one single instance of misconduct of the slightest kind had ever happened in the churchyards of Scotland—not under a system of restrictions, nor under the system indicated by the words "Christian and orderly service," in the Earl of Harrowby's Amendment last year. Let the House mark that fact. For his own part, he had no objection at all, neither had his hon. and learned Friend any objection, to see those words introduced; for he believed they would meet with a great support from the other-side of the House. But he wished them to observe that in the absence of any such restric-

tion, with perfect uncontrolled freedom of service in the churchyards of Scotland, no man could say that the very slightest misconduct or want of order had ever taken place in any of those churchyards. As to the freedom which was demanded being a source of weakness to the Church, far from that being the case, the feelings of the Scottish Clergy were in no way offended or hurt by clergymen of other denominations coming into their churchyards to officiate over the graves of the dead. If it was a grievance—and his hon. Friend had admitted that it was a sentimental grievance—it must be one of the most infinitesimal kind conceivable. He had never heard it argued that it was for a profession such as that of the Clergy to have such feelings. Without saying anything either disrespectful or hard, he would venture to state—the sooner they learned to get rid of that sort of feeling the better. They would find in the course of a short time that these old-fashioned notions would pass away, and they would see an orderly Christian service conducted in any of their churchyards—if they liked to call them so, though he maintained that they were the nation's churchyards—they would find that the service could be conducted without any feeling of envy or bitterness whatever. With regard to the charge of assault upon the outwork of the citadel which had been alluded to by his hon. Friend, he did not think his hon. Friend shared the feeling, although it had been expressed in more than one quarter of the House that night; but he now referred to it because it was very generally shared. He agreed with his hon. Friend in every word he had said as to respect to the Church of England. He was himself deeply attached to the Church Establishment principle in this country, whether, it was North of the Tweed or South of the Tweed; but he was firmly convinced that no more fatal mistake could be made in maintaining the garrison of that citadel than attempting to defend the outworks which were mastered by the guns of the enemy. The moment these outworks were assailed and abandoned the defenders must retire into the citadel, after suffering serious loss in the foolish effort to support a hopeless position. That was the position in which hon. Members were placed with regard to this question on the other side of the

House, and he would say respectfully a word to them, and it was this—abandon at once the position which they knew and which their best friends admitted was no longer tenable. It had been said let there be prudence; but he would rather say, without intending to be harsh to his hon. Friend, let this demand be granted from a sense not of prudence but of justice. If they would be just they would be safe, knowing that the claims advanced by the Nonconformists and other religious bodies in England were sound and just claims which had been conceded already by the House of Lords, conceded by the Archbishops, conceded by some of our best and wisest statesmen. He said to the opponents of this movement—No longer attempt to maintain a position which they knew they could not long stand in, but be wise in time; and for the sake of this just and reasonable demand, for the sake of those interests which they were right in endeavouring to uphold, concede that which was demanded, support this Resolution, and throw upon the Government the responsibility which, he hoped, they would not be unwilling to accept—the responsibility of finding at once a wide, well-founded, and statesmanlike solution of this great question.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE said, his hon. Friend the Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter) had begun his speech by asking a question, and answering it for himself by saying that he could find no answer to it. He would endeavour to help his hon. Friend to the answer. The subject-matter of it was the assertion of an old-fashioned theory not of a union so much as of an identification between Church and State; which two expressions, his hon. Friend said, really only described two phases, two phenomena, two aspects of one and the same thing. He granted that there was a time when the condition of the law could be quoted in favour of this theory, and, accordingly, when such a claim as that on the part of Nonconformists, and on the part of the school of Churchmen which his hon. Friend represented, had something to say for itself. He did not admit the truth either of the theory or the consequent claim, but he did admit the plausibility. In order, however, to test its present value, he would look back, not to antiquity, but to the Session of 1868; and

*Sir Robert Anstruther*

what did he find? He made hon. Members opposite a present of the existence of a great deal of grievance up to that date, arising out of the compulsion of the rate for church and churchyard. But with the legislation of that year the grievance finally disappeared. Personally, he accepted, as a right settlement, as other Churchmen had done, the abolition of compulsory church rates in 1868. He had, previous to that date, himself incurred some obloquy for counselling the measure. So, he now asked, how could Nonconformists come forward with long faces to plead a grievance, user, and right in that very burial-ground of which they had divested themselves of any share by declining all responsibility for the maintenance of the churchyards.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN begged pardon. In his original Bill he introduced a clause placing the expense of keeping up the churchyards on the rates, and the hon. Member for Cambridge opposed it.

MR. BERESFORD HOPE was sorry that his hon. and learned Friend had given way to such an ebullition of youthful vivacity. He was coming, when he was interrupted, to that very point. Did the hon. and learned Member suppose that Churchmen could then have accepted, or could now accept, the dole offered by him of a little money in order to barter their rights and position in the churchyards which the Act of 1868 had established? Did he suppose that he could have persuaded Parliament to re-impose the burden? The chance tender by one hon. Member of a clause of that kind could not be compared to the deliberate action of the Dissenters, an action not spasmodic, but following a long agitation throughout the length and breadth of the land. That agitation had the same features as the present agitation—annual Motions, excited meetings, plethoric Petitions, letters in the newspapers, and leading articles to suit. The allegation on which it rested was a grievance, not of sentiment, but of pocket; and the Nonconformists then divested themselves of their grievance. More than that, they threw upon Churchmen the obligation—one which had been loyally and voluntarily discharged—of maintaining the churches and churchyards; and, having done so, how could they now come forward, and querulously

plead the continuous existence of a grievance as found the state of things which they had themselves created, and use it to claim a right in those very churchyards? After years of agitation, they boasted that they had won their birthright. They came forward as contented men; they had crossed the Red Sea, and they were in the Promised Land, where there were no church rates to be paid to keep up the "steeple-houses." Now, however, they demanded that they should have all those privileges which they had equitably relinquished 10 years ago, and leave to us the burdens which they then had saddled on us. What was called the policy of "no surrender" was thus forced upon Churchmen by every consideration of dignity, self-respect, and prudence. No doubt his hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour) thought that the way of prudence lay in a divergent direction. People had a strange idea now that cowardice and prudence were convertible terms; but very often the most heroic act was the most prudent. Well, they had been told—"Be prudent; give up in time; you are sure to be beaten." As to this, he simply answered that he would much rather be beaten openly in a division, and go out like a man with self-respect and consistency, than lose both dignity and the strength of a good cause by accepting an unworthy compromise. Hon. Gentlemen opposite were wise in their generation. They knew how strong the Church of England was, and how much stronger she would be if welded together under a sense of injury; and so they wanted to bamboozle her out of the accruing advantage of a common sense of wrong, which would be more than a compensation for the material advantage of which she would be deprived either by the plan of the hon. and learned Member or by one of the compromises which had been proposed in lieu of it. His hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour) had been eloquent on what he deemed a growing division between Clergy and Laity. It was well to speak plainly. He (Mr. Beresford Hope) fully and sorrowfully admitted that there were deep divisions between various sections in the Church, and no man lamented them more than he did. His hon. Friend made the dividing line to be one with the Clergy on one side and the Laity on the other. He (Mr. Beresford Hope) absolutely denied that assertion.

It was a division not between Clergy and Laity, but between parties, each of them composed of Clergy and Laity, forward ministers and attached flocks, working on each other to prop up their sectional zeal, and encouraged by mistrust of other parties. He repeated, with his strongest emphasis, that each party was composed of Clergy and Laity, and that the most extravagant and foolish minister, be he High Church, or Low Church, or Broad Church, had his enthusiastic ring of followers, probably more extreme and intolerant than himself. As to the idea that there was less confidence in the Clergy now than formerly, he merely looked back to the days of his youth, and he confidently averred that so far from the Clergy being less influential now in their character of ministers of the Gospel—for that was in question—than they were then, they had now more influence and more respect shown to them in such capacity than was the case down even to the last years of what was called the Georgian era. At that time there might not have been active dislike to clergyman A B, and why not? Because A B was not earnest enough to get himself disliked. On the other hand, C D was very popular as a jolly fellow, and E F shunned as a curmudgeon. Now, clergymen were prominent as such, and not merely as members of society; and no doubt, as they had respectively their enthusiastic followers, they also had their strong and vehement opponents. He maintained, however, that, taking the average, there was a respect shown to the Clergy as ministers of religion all round by the members of all parties much larger than any consideration paid to their predecessors in the days to which he had referred. A clergyman must, indeed, be very useless now not to have his lay followers, on whose championship he could rely. The 15,000 Clergy, out of 20,000, who had signed the Memorial, comprised practically the whole Clergy of the Church—excluding men who never signed anything, nominal Clergy, invalids, and Clergy without specific parochial cures; and if they analysed the signatures of the 30,000 Laity, instead of merely counting them, they would find that they were eminently representative, and including tradesmen, farmers, country gentlemen, distinguished artists, members of the Medical Profession, lawyers and magistrates. A larger, but

not so influential a one, might have been produced. The hon. Baronet opposite (Sir Robert Anstruther) had suggested that the limitation "Christian and orderly" might be imported into the Resolution. For his part, he did not believe that the Resolution could be improved in words for its own most unlucky object; and much as he opposed it in its present form, he did not think the words suggested by the hon. Baronet would make it better. Rather, he would say, they added a just objection. The reason was, that he thought the words were a mockery, a delusion, and a snare. They were impossible of definition or of operation. Was the unfortunate gentleman who was to officiate to have the Rector on his right hand to see that the service was Christian, and the policeman on his left to see that it was orderly? This suggestion of Lord Harrowby's did not meet the cases of those Nonconformists who were non-Christians—the Jews, for instance—whose objection must be not only to the authorized service, but to any "Christian" service at all. They were then to be mocked by the proposal which was intended to sacrifice them—because they were fewer and more peaceable—in favour of those Nonconformists who were both more numerous and more turbulent, and they would feel more aggrieved than before. In the name of justice, policy, and fair play, he must give his strongest opposition to the Resolution.

Mr. STEVENSON said, that at the Reformation in Scotland, 300 years ago, they had the great advantage of getting rid of the restriction now under notice in company with a great many questions which had given trouble in England, where the Reformation was of a less complete character. They had from time to time in that House been clearing away what he might call these relics of the Middle Ages; they had legalized marriages, although not celebrated by a priesthood, which claimed the Apostolical succession; they had only recently relieved men who had taken orders from the so-called indelibility of orders; and in this case a stop ought to be put to the sacerdotal pretensions of the Clergy. He could not help connecting the vote in the House of Lords last Session on the Burials Bill with the condemnation which their Lordships had passed on the abuses of the Confessional,

which was the worst fruit of sacerdotal pretensions. Seeing that the establishment of cemeteries was so persistently pointed to as a remedy for this admitted grievance, he would ask whether they were to be cemeteries such as were now by law provided? If so, he objected in them to the line of demarcation between consecrated and unconsecrated ground, and thought in future years it would be looked back upon as an extraordinary illustration of the state of religious liberty of the 19th century, that we had our cemeteries divided into two portions. For his own part, he should not be satisfied until the pastors of Nonconformist Churches had equal right with the Clergy of the Church of England to perform their burial services even in the consecrated portions of our public cemeteries. Silent burial was offered as a concession, but this did not concede the principle he contended for; because a catechism, which was issued by a clergyman of the very highest order in regard to those sacerdotal pretensions of which he had spoken, contained questions and answers implying that it was presumptuous of those who were called Dissenters to address the Throne of Grace, and thereby usurp the ministerial office; and it was to pretensions such as these that sanction was given by the present state of the law in regard to churchyards. He contended that all parties had an equal right to bury in the churchyards, and to have read over the bodies of their friends the services of their respective Churches, and he thought it unworthy of a Protestant country that she should so long leave a reform of that kind unaccomplished.

**MR. NEWDEGATE:** If the House will allow me, I should like to attempt a plain statement of the position of the Laity of the Church of England on this question. The hon. Member for South Shields (Mr. Stevenson) need fear no sacerdotalism on my part. The position appears to me to be this—For years the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire (Mr. Osborne Morgan) has, with the greatest possible ingenuity, attempted to assail the Church's right of property in the churchyards. He has stated with perfect truth that, as an unofficial Member of the House, he could not hope to carry a Bill to effect his purpose, as in a former Session he attempted. What is to be thought of

the difficulty of the question when, the hon. and learned Member having given up all hope of carrying such a measure, Her Majesty's Ministers last Session introduced a Bill into the House of Lords, and they also failed to carry through their measure? They seem this Session to have abandoned the attempt. The question is, no doubt, one of some difficulty. The claim, that their ministers shall be permitted to officiate in the churchyards, is advanced by several sections of Nonconformists, for whom I entertain the most sincere respect, and in whose intentions I have the most profound confidence; but the object they have in view cannot be attained without importing a vast mass of other persons in whom we have not the same confidence. The question is one of principle; and when the hon. Member for Fife (Sir Robert Anstruther) and other Scotch Members hold up the example of Scotland, where no burial service is habitually performed, I cannot forget that, while the property in the graveyards of Scotland is not secured to the Church, as is that in England, the Established Church of Scotland has been once rent asunder, and at this moment stands in danger of disestablishment—a position in which I should deeply regret to see the Church of England placed. Then, too, we have been referred to the example of Ireland, where a similar measure to that proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Denbigh for England, has for years been in operation. But we have before us this suggestive and striking fact, that the passing of that measure for Ireland was the forerunner of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Protestant Church in Ireland. Can the hon. and learned Member for Denbigh claim, with any show of reason, from those who are attached to the Established Church in England, that they should not look upon his proposal with deep suspicion, as an invasion of a valuable principle—a principle that Churchmen highly value—the principle of an Established Church? To illustrate how the matter stands, I will state the case of the Church of England as a denomination. As a denomination it is the largest in England; and what we of the Laity claim is, that we should retain our property in the churchyards, upon the same security on which the property of

every other denomination is retained to them. Then, take the case of the Dissenters. Their cemeteries are secured to them on the same principle as our parish churchyards are secured to us; so likewise their chapels are secured to them, just as the churchyards are secured on the same title as the church. There is a case in point. Lady Hewley left a large property to a Presbyterian church and congregation, and it happened, in the course of time, that the larger or more influential part of the congregation became Unitarians; but the Courts decided that that property could not be held, except in accordance with the religious doctrine and discipline of the denomination—namely, the Presbyterian—to whom the property was originally devised. I have just been turning to an abstract of that case, and I find that the law stands thus—In order to identify property for spiritual purposes—and property must be identified in order to identify the ownership of such property—the use of the property must be connected with a particular form of religion or a particular form of discipline, or both. And what is the common law title to the churchyards? Just the same. The old common law right of the Church, as a religious community, can be identified only through the services of the Church; the same proof of title under which every other denomination holds its denominational property applies to the churchyards. Yet the hon. and learned Member for Denbigh and his Friends come to Churchmen and say—“Abandon this, which is the essential and final proof of your title to the churchyards, by admitting other services to be conducted within those churchyards.” They pretend that the property in the churchyards would be as safe as before the common law title was thus invalidated. Thus, the right and title to the fabric of the churches is, by common law, the same as the right or title, or proof of title, of each denomination to its chapels. Go to any denomination of Dissenters and ask them to acknowledge the right of others to the performance of other services than their own in their chapels or cemeteries, and they would rise against you in bevvy, and would say at once, or their legal advisers would say—“We should sacrifice our title at common law, as defined by the decisions

of the Court of Chancery.” The Hewley case was nine years in litigation. It was commenced in the year 1833, and finally decided in the House of Lords in 1842; that decision settled the law as to the proof of title, and what Churchmen are now asked to do is to give up their common law title to that which is their property. We naturally resist you—resist you, at all events, until some Government introduces a measure which will give us a new title to this property, and ensure that we shall not be deprived of it. This, then, is the ground on which we defend our rights in the churchyards, and not in any selfish sense. Our danger arises from the fact that we are members of an Established Church, intended for the use of all who will accept her services, and which is for this purpose most tolerant. Our danger, in fact, lies in this very tolerance of our Church; for it is the duty of her ministers to perform the burial service over the body of a parishioner, whether Churchman or Nonconformist, when brought into a parish churchyard for interment, and to express “the humble hope” which our religion enjoins, that through the mercy of God the soul of the departed will share in “the resurrection unto eternal life.” Than the Burial Service of the Church of England you could have nothing more tolerant, nothing more humane, nothing more charitable. But what do you now ask? You ask, on behalf, not of one or two denominations, but for all denominations, and for all whose sense of religion is undefined, that we should admit into the churchyards every and any person whom somebody may select to perform some unknown services; who, in pronouncing, perhaps, some undue and unwarrantable eulogiums on their departed friends, would cast reflections upon all those over whose remains the Church of England only ventures to express a confident but humble hope that they are saved. This is where you touch our feelings. We wish, as a denomination, to retain the same security for our property that others have for theirs, and not to be damaged by the fact that we belong to a national Church, through the toleration of which all your relatives, as Dissenters, if you do not object, may hear the voice of prayer and hope over your dead. I desire to put the case fairly, because, of all the Members in this House, perhaps I should be

the most ungrateful if I did not acknowledge my debt for the support and kindness of Protestant Dissenters on many occasions. I believe this to be a sentimental grievance on their part; but if we agreed to this concession, it would not be to them alone. We should open the door to persons of a very different character. We should open it to the full-blown sacerdotalism of the Church of Rome, the most intolerant of all denominations, at once the most exclusive and the most aggressive. I ask, then, as a layman of the Church of England, whether I should not pause before taking such a step as is now proposed, until, at all events, some competent legal authority has framed a measure that shall give me some security that I shall not be deprived of my right in the churchyard during my lifetime; for within the last few years I have given land to increase the areas of two churchyards, and I ask, that I should not be deprived during my lifetime of my security in the appropriation of the property that I have given to the church in which I worship, and for the exclusive appropriation of which, and the sacred service to which it is by law devoted, I have the same feeling that actuates every member of a Dissenting sect towards his chapel; and we know that the Nonconformists generally would vigorously resist any attempt to throw open their chapels or graveyards in the manner in which it is now proposed to throw open the churchyards. Such, Sir, is the case of the Laity of the Church of England plainly stated. And here let me assure hon. Members on this side of the House, and especially some of the junior Members, that they will gain nothing by running away from this position. When the First Napoleon found his armies involved in difficulty, he used to send the Young Guard to the front, and the French Young Guard dashingly responded to his call. I am sorry to hear the Young Guard on this side of the House debating about compromises in the face of this attack; it seems as if the English Young Guard were about, instead of going to the front, to lead the rout. Depend upon it, there is no safety for the Church of England but by standing upon her ancient and honoured title—until, at all events, acting under competent legal advice, some Government, as I have already said, is able to devise a measure which will secure

not only the churchyards, but the fabrics of the Church, against the danger of invasion which the adoption of such a proposal as that before us would entail.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Mr. Speaker, I shall occupy the attention of the House for only a very short time, as I have said before nearly all I have to say, and what was on my mind with regard to this question. I am very glad to find that in this House, whatever may take place outside it, a question of this kind can be discussed with great calmness, and with a general sense that we are not, as some people seem to imagine out-of-doors, discussing a subject of tremendous national importance. Outside, the discussion of it has caused much heat and much temper; but I do not know exactly why the Clergy should be so very much annoyed and disturb themselves so much, except that generally they act in a position in which nobody is able to contradict them. Now I have read a good many things that the Clergy have said, and if any hon. Gentleman on this side of the House had chosen to make a collection of them, he might have amused the House for half-an-hour more than it is generally amused by the speeches which are delivered within these walls. They tell us—I judge by their speeches at the various Church meetings and by letters that have appeared in the newspapers written by clergymen—they tell us that this proposition is not only an attack on the Church, but they describe it in terms that are really uncivil. They say it is very unjust, and a very insolent attack, and they stand up as if they were about to defend one of the dearest privileges of their lives. They say that the claim is dishonest, and that even the persons who promote it have other intentions; and that, in point of fact, they do not care very much for this, only it is a step to something a good deal more, and, as they think, a great deal worse. They say, in fact, that it is intended by this step to come a little nearer to the overthrow of the great partly political, partly ecclesiastical and religious Institution, with which they are mainly concerned. I have great sympathy with persons who are in fear and danger, even though the fear or danger be purely imaginary. It seems to me that almost everybody connected with the Established Church is now in a state of fear. There is no institution, so far as I know,



in this country, that for so long a period has been in so great fear, and in such a condition of imminent danger, as the Church Establishment of England and Wales. The Nonconformist chapels are never in danger. Nonconformists never have any false panics. They go on their way, and do all the good they can. They do not rend the air with complaints of the dangers that beset them, and which to Churchmen, with regard to the Church, seem so dreadful and so appalling. I recollect one clergyman in the West of England—I forget his name, but I read his speech—said, if this Resolution passed, or a Bill founded on this Resolution, that “life itself to him would no longer be worth having.” One cannot withhold one’s sympathy from a man who is in that state of terror about what is, after all, such a trifling matter as that which is now before the House. What is the case? It is this—there are thousands of parishes in England and Wales in which there is only one graveyard, and that graveyard, according to law, belongs to the parish. According to law, it is much more the graveyard of the parish than the graveyard of the Church, and although a man may have been to church every Sunday for the last 40 years, he has no more right to that churchyard when he is living, or to be buried in it when he is dead, than a parishioner of the parish who has not been inside the church during the whole of that period. That is the state of the law, which nobody, I presume, will contradict. But it happens, unfortunately, that these parochial graveyards are in the possession practically of only one Church. That is a misfortune, because in the parish there are many Churches—that is, there are persons among the population belonging to many different Churches. The graveyard is in the possession of one Church, and the population is a population distributed among many Churches. The question, then, we have to solve is between the preference right, if it be one, of the Established Church, and the parochial and immemorial and absolutely undeniable right of the parishioners of the parish. Now, what the Church is able to do, having practically the command of these graveyards, is to force all its services upon everybody who comes there to inter the remains of any person who is dead, and not only to enforce

certain services, but to enforce that the services shall be performed or conducted by one, and only one, minister. The claim of the parishioners is that as they have a right of interment in the churchyard, therefore, in a country where there is that kind of freedom that we boast of, every man coming there, although he is not a Churchman, yet being a parishioner, has undoubtedly a claim and a right that his funeral shall be conducted according to the service which he, when living, would have approved, and which his friends approve, now that he is dead, and by a minister that would have been more satisfactory to him, and is more satisfactory to his friends. That is the simple claim that is made. Now, the law gives to every parishioner the right to enter, and the right to bury; but the Church practically imposes a test, and the law permits it to be imposed. Now, why should there be a test of this kind—one minister and one service only—that is the test? We have abolished almost every other kind of test. We had a test a very short time ago against coming into this House, and a member of my sect could not have appeared at that box, and have been admitted into the House, unless he took an oath. There were many in this House that defended the practice—the taking of oaths and the taking of the particular oath. But the test was abolished, and members of the sect of which I am a member, and many others, of course, who were not then admitted, have since been admitted to this House, the test having been removed. Then there were tests with regard to the holding of office; and persons, I believe, could not hold office in the Army unless they could show that they belonged to the Church of England. But these tests have been gradually abolished, and, having been abolished, who is the worse for it? Why, then, should this test be continued? The Church had a preference in those days, but the Church has no preference now; there is greater freedom in the country, and she has in no way suffered by the change that has taken place. Among the speeches which were delivered to-night was one I listened to with much pleasure, and which appeared to me to go most directly and in the fewest words towards the settlement of this question—it was the speech of the

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hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter). I heard him explain the same view to the House two or three years ago. He touched the right principle on this question, and asked the House to agree to the principle as one that would settle the question with the least disturbance to anybody, and would give the greatest satisfaction to those on whose behalf this claim is made. I think the suggestion he threw out to be a really practical one, which the Church would do well to adopt. Now, we are accustomed to call the burial-ground of the parish the churchyard; but it is a mere geographical term. The churchyard is a graveyard, and it must be remembered that graveyards were not always in former times near the church, as they are at present. There were graveyards wherever it was convenient to establish them, as cemeteries are placed where convenient for the population. It was found convenient, also, in former times, that the graveyards should be near the church, and the more the people became superstitious, the more they would wish the graveyard to be near the church. So we are accustomed now to speak of the graveyard as a churchyard, and not as a graveyard; but we know now that there are in this country—as I suppose hon. Gentlemen know—a good many burial-grounds in connection with the Established Church which are not adjoining the church; and which are, therefore, in the condition of being Church cemeteries apart from the building of the church. Now, suppose we were to consider—and this was the view of the hon. Member for Berkshire—that all these churchyards are graveyards, as cemeteries are—at present the graveyards are almost entirely confined to members of the Established Church by this test which I have complained of—graveyards which belong really to the parish, and which all parishioners ought to be permitted to come and make use of, and that the freedom which we have extended to all sects and classes in so many ways, should not be withheld from them in this matter of burial. Now, if the present graveyards are, as I suppose they all are, consecrated, it would make no difference with regard to Nonconformists. They probably do not believe that consecration is of any value. If it had the effect of preventing any interference with the graveyards and

with the graves, of course to that extent it would be of some advantage; but as a religious ceremony, or as having any effect upon the ground, or upon the dead, or upon the living, the Nonconformists have no regard for that rite, and believe it to be—as many hon. Gentlemen believe it, and, no doubt, many Churchmen believe it to be—wholly a superstition. But Nonconformists, I believe, have no objection that I know of to be buried in consecrated ground. They are quite certain they will not be made any the worse, if they are none the better for it; and, therefore, if these graveyards were by Act of Parliament made cemeteries of parishes, and if all persons in the parish—as they can now where there are public cemeteries—could come and bury their dead with the same rites, and the same ceremonies, and in the same manner as is now practised in the public cemeteries, why, then, the whole of this question would be settled. But then we come to a point which has been mentioned by several hon. and right hon. Gentlemen to-night—that is, the sort of grievance which the Clergy would have to suffer. Several hon. Members on that side of the House say that we who advocate this measure are not sufficiently considerate of the feelings of the Clergy. Well, I believe, in contests of this nature, feelings are often a little disregarded; and if, in consequence of the political character of the Church, these Church questions come into the political arena, it is almost certain they will be discussed very much with the same kind of freedom with which other political questions are discussed. But I can quite understand that the Clergy must feel in many cases averse to the proposition now before the House—[Mr. J. G. HUBBARD: And the Laity.] Well, as to the Laity, we have not much proof of that. The Laity, in no great numbers, have represented their views in accordance with that of the Clergy; but a very large number of the Clergy have protested strongly against it. In regard to the Laity, I think one might say that the view taken by a considerable majority in the other House of Parliament may be said to go a long way to prove the fact that the Laity of the Church are not strongly against the change which is proposed; and it is a very great satisfaction, no doubt, to all

those who wish a reasonable and early settlement of this question that the highest dignitaries of the Church in the other House of Parliament have supported a proposition like that now before the House. Still, I admit the Clergy have that feeling; I believe it impossible that many of them should not have it; they live in a condition of ecclesiastical and almost of social supremacy. In many parishes the churchyard is very near the house or houses in which they live. They have considered it their freehold, which by law it is in a limited manner only, and they have been supreme in regard to everything concerned with that plot of ground; and they have been taught—not taught intentionally, but taught by the circumstances of their position—to look down upon the Nonconformist ministers and members of the various free Churches by whom they are surrounded. I think, therefore, it is quite likely that the Clergy may look upon this measure—even those who are just enough to feel that it is just—still I think it is likely that the great bulk of them would feel that it is a matter which they would much rather not have had stirred; but, having been stirred, and this great feeling and this movement having been created, I think many, and the most just of the Clergy, would be happy to have the question settled and taken out of the region of public discussion. There is one grievance the Clergy complain of very much. It has been complained of in the House of Lords and at many of the Church meetings. I have had it represented to me in several letters from clergymen, particularly after the debates in Parliament on this question. They say—"If you are going to open our graveyards to Nonconformists—that is, to the parishioners to whom they belong—what would happen would be this—that we should have to bury everybody that the other people did not choose or were not asked to bury. We should have to bury all they refused to bury—the reprobate characters, the murderers, drunkards, and men of gross notorious immorality, men whose characters have been an utter discredit to a Christian country." Those men the Church Clergy would still have to bury, and have to bury them with a service which is so worded that now, I suppose, there

is scarcely a clergyman in the country who does not feel it would be a great relief to him if in some way it could be changed. ["No, no!"] I hope hon. Gentlemen who say "No" do not think I am stating it too broadly. It is impossible for anyone who reads the public papers not to know that such is the feeling of a great many of the Clergy. If any hon. Gentleman opposite has ever taken the trouble to read the Burial Service—I mean with a view of ascertaining what it means—he will see that the language of it is such as must, on many occasions, shock very much the sense of propriety of those who stand around the grave, as well as the sense of propriety of the person who has to read it over the grave. Well, I admit the Clergy have that grievance, and I think it is one that ought to be remedied; but I think the remedy proposed in the House of Lords last year was not one it was possible to entertain, because it would make the clergyman pronounce an opinion at certain funerals as to the character of the person whose burial was then in progress. That, I think, would be an intolerable state of things to the clergymen and to the parish, and what I should recommend—it is not before the House now, but as this is a grievance often represented to us, and as we are charged with caring for the grievances of Nonconformists and neglecting those of Churchmen, I may be pardoned for making the suggestion—what we require is that the Clergy should confess that, magnificent and solemn as is the Church of England Service, yet it is conceivable that that which was written and proclaimed 300 years ago may not be absolutely suitable to the opinions of our times. And, therefore, they should propose that certain changes should be made—changes which no persons, I suspect, would object to, and that everyone would applaud 12 months after they were made—changes that would entirely relieve the Clergy from the difficulty which they feel, and which I admit to be real, and at the same time would leave the Service quite as powerful for exhortation, instruction, and comfort to the friends of the persons who are being buried. I recommend that the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. J. G. Hubbard), whom I take to be the greatest and most zealous Churchman in this House, whose speech

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I listened to with great pleasure, though I disagreed with nearly every part of it. I recommend to him, with his great influence with the Clergy, to propose to make that change. I make him the offer of it, and it will relieve them from the grievance so greatly and widely felt; but I hope they will not object to our doing what we can to relieve the grievance of our Nonconformist brethren. Hon. Gentlemen opposite, and especially the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hubbard) were very much afraid of what would happen to the Church, and he pronounced in anticipation what I might almost say was its epitaph; but I believe that before the close of his speech he came to the conclusion that nothing ever could touch the Church, because it was so firmly set in the affections of the people. Now, I ask him and hon. Gentlemen who sit near him, can he or any of them tell any single thing which has yet been done at the request of the Nonconformist Party in this country which has really injured or weakened the Established Church? I believe there is not one thing which has weakened it even politically; but I am certain that not one has injured it religiously and in regard to the highest purposes for which it exists. All tests have been abolished, but the Church is no weaker; Church rates have been abolished, but the Church is still no weaker; run over all the measures in this House with regard to education, but the Church is still no weaker. I believe that in all these matters the more generous, and liberal, and fair, and just is the Church of England established by law—I object wholly to Establishments of this kind by law, but the institution is here, and therefore we may judge of it and speak of it—I say the more it exhibits those great qualities, the more it shows that it is not a Church merely of monopoly and restriction, but in favour of all that beauty and breadth and freedom which belongs to the Christian religion—the more I am perfectly certain it will prolong its existence as an Establishment and the more useful it will be to the country. That which will weaken the Church, and unless removed will ultimately one day destroy it, is the narrow-minded animus which some men display, the superstitions which some men seem to crave for, as if they wished to bind them more closely round their Church, and the divisions—

the growing, the melancholy divisions—which now prevail in the Church; and which, I am afraid, whilst you are fighting for small things like this, which are of no consequence whatever to its existence or usefulness, are sapping its strength, and are doing more to overthrow it as a political institution than ten times ten times all the efforts of the Nonconformists can possibly work against you. I believe that some hon. Member—I think it was the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. Balfour), in a speech which everyone listened to with great pleasure—said to-night that all the arguments had been used over and over again. But there remains this one—Half the population of England and Wales are Nonconformist. Half the persons who on Sunday mornings will be found in the places of worship in England and Wales are not in connection with the Established Church. That half is of opinion that a great injustice is upheld by Parliament so long as this measure is refused; they discuss this question in the country; they come here, and they ask that this justice shall be rendered. You yourselves are divided upon it. The Government, I suspect, would rather willingly if you would allow them, go with us on this matter. The House of Lords, more than half of whom voted in the large division, representing in the main—as that House does represent in the main—that side of the House rather than this—that majority took the view which we take. Are you not able to see, therefore, that the question on our side is as good as won, and that the battle on your side is pretty nearly as good as lost. If you will come forward generously and freely to do this act of justice to the half of the nation who believe that they are injured, depend upon it the Church you love so much would not suffer, and the religion which on both sides of the House I hope we care for would be strengthened and advanced in the minds of the great majority of all sects and classes of the population of this country.

MR. GRANTHAM, who had the following Notice on the Paper:—As an Amendment to Mr. Osborne Morgan's Resolution, to move—

“That, in the opinion of this House, it is desirable that in every parish or union in England and Wales provision should be made whereby interments may take place without the burial

service of the Church of England, and with such other religious or orderly service as the friends or relatives of the deceased may think fit, to be conducted by such person or persons as may be chosen by them; and to enable such interments to take place, it is desirable in those parishes in which there is sufficient accommodation in the existing churchyards for the requirements of the said parishes, and there is no other public burial-ground providing sufficient accommodation in use in the said parishes, or which shall be provided in the said parishes, within such time as shall be thought fit by this House that provision should be made whereby interments may take place without the burial service of the Church of England, and with such other religious or orderly service as the friends or relatives of the deceased may think fit, to be conducted by such person or persons as may be chosen by them."

said, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. John Bright) had asked how it was that Churchmen were always calling out that the Church was in danger, while no one ever heard Dissenters uttering similar complaints? The reason was, that while there were societies for disendowing and disestablishing the Church of England, there were no similar societies for attacking Dissenters' chapels. He (Mr. Grantham) on that occasion was sorry to say that, for the first time, he differed from most of his Friends around him, who felt bound to adopt the principle of "No surrender," for, to his mind, that was not a wise conclusion or onelikelly to lead to a satisfactory settlement of the question. It must be settled some day, and soon, and therefore it would be better for the Clergy and Laity to determine, first, if a grievance existed; and if it did, then freely to settle it. He thought the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Denbighshire (Mr. Osborne Morgan) had proved his case as to the existence of a real grievance. Where a man's position was affected, and his liberties of burial were larger or smaller according to the district in which he lived or died, he must think that that man had a grievance which they, as Churchmen, were bound in duty to alter. With regard to Wales especially, he thought the grievance was a very extensive one, and he was only surprised that an attempt was not made years ago to settle the grievance, so far as Wales was concerned, in the same way that it was settled in Ireland, where Roman Catholics were in a majority; while in England it was much less extensive—only affecting, indeed, those rural parishes in which there were no cemeteries—and where in most cases the Dissenters pre-

ferred to be buried by the parish clergyman. With regard to the merits of the question, all that had been proved was that every parishioner had a Common Law right to be buried in the churchyard subject to the service of the Church of England being performed over him. It was asked to be assumed that Dissenters as parishioners had the same right to have their own service read over them; but there he joined issue with the supporters of the Resolution. The churchyard, it was admitted, was vested in the clergyman, and all the probabilities of the case were against the argument of the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), and in favour of the view that it was vested in him for Church purposes. He thought, however, that a settlement might be discovered which should not harrow the feelings of the Clergy and of a great many of the Laity, and which, while not acceding to the demand as a right, would willingly give it as a favour. In the country districts the Dissenters were by no means so strongly and unanimously in favour of this proposal as those who resided in town and populous districts, and who, therefore, did not need the privilege. In most of the country districts where the Clergy did their duty it would be found that the parishioners, Churchmen and Dissenters, one and all, invariably preferred to look to the clergyman of the parish in their hour of trial, and to perform the last offices over their departed friends. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham had said he did not believe in consecration; but, so long as the Clergy and the Laity of the Church did, there was surely reason for treating their feelings with respect. Hon. Gentlemen opposite should remember this when they claimed to have such conscientious feelings on the subject themselves. Let them, then, see if there was no plan by which the conscientious feelings of Dissenters could be studied—if there was not some plan by which graveyards could be established in every moderate area throughout the country, in which Nonconformists and their friends could be buried. Let it be treated as a parochial matter, and not as a national one. The churchyards were the property of the parish, and not of the nation. He would suggest that an opportunity should be given to the Clergy and Laity of every parish where

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there was no cemetery to provide—by gift or subscription, free and open—a burial-ground for all persuasions. Then give a period of one or two years, as the House might decide, in which period Churchmen should decide whether they would provide public burial-grounds for every parish, or a union of parishes, where there were no cemeteries. If any declined to make this provision, then he thought arrangements must be made by which the churchyards in such cases should be treated as cemeteries, in which Dissenters ought to be allowed equal rights with Churchmen.

MR. J. G. TALBOT said, he was glad to notice the moderate tone which had prevailed throughout the debate—a more moderate tone than had prevailed in previous years. Churchmen had, however, been challenged from the other side of the House, and it had been said that they had brought forward no proposition of their own. In answer to that assertion, he would point to a Bill which he introduced two years ago, which was at once opposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Osborne Morgan), and like many other measures instituted by private Members, was sacrificed for want of time to discuss it. He would also point to the Government Bill of last year, which certainly was treated with some amount of contumely from the other side. They had been told not to use acrimonious language, with which he quite agreed; but there ought to be a give-and-take in this matter, and he thought hard things had been said, especially of the Clergy. He would read a few words from a speech of the noble Lord the Leader of the Opposition, who always spoke in that House with moderation and conciliation towards his opponents. At a meeting in Edinburgh in November last the noble Lord, in the course of his speech, said—

“I need not detain you by speaking of the miserable failure of the attempt of the Conservative Party to parry the attack which has been made by English Liberals upon that most odious privilege claimed by the clergy of the Established Church in England in respect to burial-grounds.”

He did not stop to challenge the statement as to “the miserable attempt,” but he thought it was rather hard language, and hardly fair to speak of what was merely an attempt to maintain a right which the Clergy of the Church of

England were bound to maintain, as an “odious privilege.” He thought hon. Members who talked so much of strong language would do well to exercise a little more moderation on their own side. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had spoken of clergymen maintaining these rights as something personal to themselves. That was not the case. The Clergy maintained these rights, not for themselves, but as trustees; and it was an invidious thing to speak of them as if they were maintaining rights personal to themselves. There was only one other subject to which he would refer. A Return which he had moved for last summer had only just been presented; that Return was far from complete, but it yielded some remarkable results. It showed that in 13 dioceses in England and Wales of the additions made to churchyards since 1863, there had been purchased by the parish 178, by voluntary subscription 83, while no fewer than 510 had been made by free gift. During the 30 years before, according to a Return moved for by Lord Salisbury when he was in the House, the number purchased by the parish was 745, by voluntary subscription 239, while the free gifts were 1,593—making a total, though only incomplete, of 923 purchased by the parish, 322 by voluntary subscription, and 2,103 proceeding from free gift. That showed that during the time to which the Return referred considerable additions had been made to the churchyards, and the main sources from which they had been derived were voluntary contributions and free gifts. These were not “national property,” in the sense hon. Gentlemen opposite used the words. He could not understand how any property could be national which had not been acquired by the nation, or given or bequeathed to the nation. But these additions to the churchyard had been given as gifts to the Church itself, as was the land which had been given for the building of new or the enlargement of old churches, and the Church had as much right to say that none but the Church services should be performed thereon. If Nonconformists could not be satisfied with the rites of the Church, he thought they should do as all other people—they should pay for what they wanted out of their own

pockets. He, however, did not believe that one Dissenter in 100 really objected to the services of the Church of England in the burial of the dead, and he trusted the House would not agree to this Resolution.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, I have no intention to trespass much upon the attention of the House with any elaborate argument on the present occasion. I simply rise because I feel it would not be respectful to the House if this discussion were to conclude without some observations from a Member of the Government. At the same time, I feel that the debate has been so ably conducted, and that the arguments repeatedly put forward have been so forcibly urged to-night by various speakers, especially by my right hon. Friend the Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard), that it would be presumption in me to take up time in trying to add force to what has been so well stated. However, it is my duty to say on behalf of the Government that we see nothing, either in the circumstances adverted to by the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire (Mr. Osborne Morgan), or in the arguments which he has adduced to-night in his very able and temperate speech, that should in any way change the views we have taken of this question. We feel that the subject is one of great interest, and that it deserves to be discussed, as it has been discussed to-night and on other occasions, in a spirit of temperate and moderate argument. There is no occasion for heat or strife in the matter, for the question is one which ought to be discussed with a careful regard for the feelings of those who are interested in the subject on both sides. We have had a great deal said to us as to the necessity of having regard to the feelings of Nonconformists who are interested in the matter. I am always anxious on all occasions, and certainly in a matter of this kind, to exercise the most scrupulous regard for the feelings of a body of men for whom I have a sincere respect. But, at the same time, I would venture to suggest that a small share of the same spirit of consideration should be manifested to another body of men whose claims upon our consideration are certainly not the less entitled to our respect; and who, I think, in this debate, moderate and temperate

as it has been, have been rather hardly treated—I mean the Clergy of the Church of England. I will not attempt to enter into the controversy which has been initiated by the hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire, and which has been pursued by others, especially by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for East Surrey (Mr. Grant-ham), as to the legal rights of this question. I am not prepared to go into the discussion as to what may be the precise bearing of the Common Law and the Ecclesiastical Law in respect of this question. But whether you are to take the one or the other view of the origin of the position of the Church with relation to the churchyards, we must at least take it for certain that for many centuries, for all the time, in fact, that we can count back, if not almost from time immemorial, the position distinctly has been that the Church has been charged with the duty of conducting services which are performed in the churchyard, and unquestionably the churchyard is the freehold of the Clergy and the churchwardens. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Denbighshire told us that it was not until the Public Worship Regulation Act was passed two or three years ago, that the right and the hold of the Clergy was really fastened tightly on the churchyards; that it was not until this Act was passed that he was subject even by Ecclesiastical Law to the compulsion which now prevails against him. But it is certainly not since that time that the question has been raised, because the agitation of which this debate forms a part, and which has been going on for some time, dates long before the inception or the idea of the Public Worship Regulation Act. Therefore it is not the fact that new circumstances have arisen which render it necessary for us to enter into a new phase of the question. We have the old question before us, and I am afraid that the more we come to examine it we shall find that the principles on which we differ are principles on which it is not easy for us to come to any common understanding or agreement. You say the churchyard is the freehold of the incumbent and the churchwardens; but you say it is their freehold only for the sake of preserving it, and subject to a trust. Of course it is subject to a trust, and that is the very

*Mr. J. G. Talbot*

point that presses so much on those 14,000 or 15,000 of the Clergy who signed the memorial which has been referred to to-night. They feel that they are charged with a trust which they dare not neglect. In this respect you cannot speak of them as if they were exercising some selfish or arbitrary privilege of their own. To say that they are insisting—to use the expression of the noble Marquess—on “an odious privilege” is not only to use language which is quite unfair and unwarrantable, but also to ignore the real grounds on which they raise their objection. It is not that this or that individual clergyman insists on the exclusive privilege of burying all his parishioners in the churchyard; it is that he feels himself bound, in the position in which he is placed, to maintain the rights and property of the Church, and to see that they do not suffer in his hands. And the Clergy feel that they are subject to a very unfair pressure when they are called upon to take steps which are in violation of their duty and their ordination vows. If that be the case, let us consider for a moment what are the arguments that are brought against them. We are told that their position differs altogether from that of other trustees—from the trustees of private cemeteries belonging to Nonconformists. Why is a similar demand not made upon the private trustees of cemeteries belonging to Nonconformists? The hon. and learned Member for Denbighshire says the difference is this—they are private, the others are public, institutions; the one class of trustees are exercising a private trust, the others a public trust. When we proceed in the argument, we see that hon. Gentlemen opposite mean to contend that because churchyards are in the nature of public institutions, therefore they are national in a sense which throws them open to every member of the nation, every parishioner, irrespective of their religious opinions. The hon. Member for Berkshire (Mr. Walter) went even further; for a little while ago he contended that it was not a question of Churchmen or Nonconformists, or even of one description of Christianity or another—but that in the case of two Chinamen in a parish, and one dying, the survivor would have the right to go into the churchyard and bury his fellow-Chinaman with any service he might

think fit. The hon. Member put it on that broad and extreme issue. He said we are not putting this as a question of sentiment; we are putting it as a matter of right—that every parishioner, whether Churchman or Dissenter, Christian or Chinaman, has an equal claim to be buried, and to have any burial service read over him in the churchyard which his relatives may prefer. Now, that is a very large demand to make, and I believe there are a large number of persons who, though they would be very glad to see some compromise in this matter, are not prepared to trust to the hope that a seemly and orderly service would in all cases be maintained. I am bound to say, if the argument of the hon. Gentleman is sound, I cannot see, if the question is to be treated as a matter of right, where the line is to be drawn—to say here is a class of persons who have a right to any particular service, and there is another who have none. The position is simply this—every parishioner has a right to be interred in the churchyard—there is not the slightest doubt about that, subject to the condition that the service to be read over him is that prescribed to be used in the churchyard. And so with regard to the church, every parishioner has a right to go into the church; but when he goes into the church he has only a right to enjoy the service prescribed to be read in the church, and he has no right to insist on another. The argument of right is a dangerous one to use; but it is used on the other side—I am not using it. The Liberation Society have used it pretty broadly. I need not make quotations from speeches or pamphlets to show that it is the avowed intention of the members of the Liberation Society to use the arguments which are now to gain the free use of the burial grounds for any service in order to obtain on the same grounds the use of the church. All I can say is, if we consent to the argument put forward for the churchyards, we cut from our feet all the grounds on which we could resist the argument with regard to the churches. Gentlemen ought to take notice of the particular form in which this question is submitted. It is not submitted in the form of a Bill. A person might have various reasons for supporting a Bill, and might say there are changes which might be made in Committee which will render this Bill



one not altogether unpalatable, and that we might make a concession here and another there for the sake of peace. But that is not the position in which the House is placed at the present moment. The House is not asked to pass a Bill, but to affirm a principle. If hon. Gentlemen will affirm that principle they will find it will be used against them. They will not have an opportunity of altering and changing it, as they would a Bill in Committee. The hon. and learned Gentleman's Resolution is that—

“The time has arrived when the long-pending controversy as to interments in parish churchyards ought to be closed, by permitting such interments either without any burial service or with the services preferred by the relatives or friends of the deceased, and conducted by persons chosen by them.”

That is a very particular laying down of the principle which is to be adopted. I was sometimes puzzled by the manner in which the hon. and learned Gentleman conducted himself with reference to Amendments and suggestions made to him. A suggestion was made that there should be such a restriction as “Christian and orderly service.” He intimates that he is prepared to consider, and perhaps to accept, such proposals. Other suggestions are made, and he seems to hold out his hand to them or to offer a compromise. But in all that he is departing from the principle which he is himself laying down; and I do not see how it is possible, if he asks us to affirm that principle, to make the changes which have been suggested. We have never said that there is no grievance—that there are no inconveniences or difficulties in this matter. On the contrary, we have admitted that there are inconveniences and that there are difficulties, and it would be a matter of very great satisfaction to us if we saw our way to a measure likely to be of use for the remedying of those grievances. But it must be a remedy, in our opinion, that must be looked for, not in the direction proposed by the hon. and learned Gentleman, but in the opposite direction. We assume that it is perfectly right and reasonable that provision should be made to enable interments of Nonconformists to take place with such religious services as are suitable to the wishes and opinions of the deceased and of the friends of the deceased; but we say that that provision is not to be made by taking the church-

yard forcibly and introducing into it other services than those of the Church to which it belongs. We say that, if a remedy is to be found, it must be found in the same way as a remedy was found in the case of marriage when it was a grievance that Dissenters should be called upon to be married in the Church. An Act was passed by which Dissenters were exempted from that necessity. So, with regard to burials, a similar provision could be made that would enable interments to take place, and in a manner that would be in harmony with the feelings of those who are to be interred and of their relatives. But I contend that we ought entirely to resist a proposal being made that a solution of this question is to be found in the direction of the hon. and learned Gentleman's Resolution. We made an attempt to solve the question in another direction by making provision, in a Bill last Session, for cemeteries. I do not say it was the best that could be found. If that Bill had come down to this House, we should have been perfectly willing to accept Amendments; but upon this point we take our stand—that a remedy is to be found, not in compelling the Clergy of the Church of England to abandon the churches they hold and throw open the churchyards, but rather in making provision of another kind. I will not trouble the House with any more observations. The question is one on which I should be very sorry to use any language that could impart bitterness. I think the question has been well debated to-night. It has been debated in a calm and temperate spirit. I hope that is the spirit which is to animate us in discussions with each other, and may induce a little more consideration for the feeling of the large body of the Clergy outside. I hope that in the proceedings we may hereafter take we may proceed in that spirit of charity which is, perhaps, more or less in danger of being set aside in favour of what I think a rather false sentiment. I am far from denying the importance of having regard to what are called sentimental grievances; but I think we are too apt to say that a sentiment which is satisfactory to ourselves, is good, and that a sentiment which makes against us, is bad. I trust we may not be regarded as wanting in our sense of what is due in charity or in point of considera-

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

tion for the feelings of others, when we say it is impossible for us to give our assent to the proposition of the hon. and learned Gentleman.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON : Sir, I hope that I shall find it necessary to delay the House for a very few minutes only, while I make one or two observations on the remarks which have fallen from the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down. The right hon. Gentleman, while admitting that due respect ought to be paid to the feelings of our Nonconformist brethren, claimed that equal respect should be paid to the feelings of the Clergy in this matter. I think that that is the view of the hon. Members generally who have taken part in this debate, and I am sure that in the speeches which have been made on this side of the House there has been no disposition to disregard those feelings. The hon. Member for West Kent (Mr. J. G. Talbot) and the right hon. Gentleman have made use of expressions as if I was disposed to speak on this subject in an unbecoming manner; and I am reported to have spoken of the retention of this exclusive privilege of burial in the parish churchyards as an odious privilege. That adjective may possibly not have been well chosen; but I entirely repudiate the idea that in using it I intended to impute any improper act upon the part of the Clergy. It is perfectly possible that a privilege may be odious in itself, while no blame can be attachable to the person putting it in force, as he may be only strictly within his rights and within the law. I may, however, say, as has been already pointed out by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), that by nearly half of our fellow-countrymen this privilege is regarded as an odious one. I am not surprised that a tone of great moderation has characterized most of the speeches delivered by hon. Members sitting on the other side of the House, because no less was to be expected after looking at the nature of the Amendments upon my hon. and learned Friend's Resolution which have been placed on the Notice Paper. Of the three Amendments which appear upon the Notice Paper two are in the direction of a compromise. I should be very happy if I thought that there was any prospect of a compromise on this question being arrived at. The right hon. Gentleman has

just made some criticisms upon the terms of the Motion of my hon. and learned Friend, and he has pointed out that by that Motion we are asked to assent to a principle, and not to a Bill, which could be altered in Committee. But I have no doubt that, if the right hon. Gentleman will take measures to secure that the Amendment of my hon. and learned Friend shall be brought forward as a substantive Motion, they will not find my hon. and learned Friend unwilling to co-operate with them in the settlement of this question. I may, at all events, claim the votes of the hon. Members who have placed those Amendments upon the Paper, inasmuch as they desire to amend and not to reject this Resolution. But I have no great hopes that any compromise on this subject will be arrived at, and for this reason. Compromise has been already attempted, and has been taken in hand by a body of Gentlemen who represented pretty accurately the feeling of hon. Members opposite, and the Government brought in a Bill last year which was intended to be a compromise, but which we know did not succeed. I therefore doubt very much whether any Gentleman or any body of Gentlemen who may take the matter in hand will be able to bring it to a more successful issue in the way of compromising it than did Her Majesty's Government. We have not heard as much as I expected about the Government Bill of last year; but it appears to me that the introduction of that measure has utterly and completely changed the whole aspect of this question. It seems almost a waste of time for us to go on arguing this matter over and over again in the old lines, because the whole of those old arguments have been swept away by the action of the Government in introducing the measure of last year with the consent of the Conservative Party. The right hon. Gentleman asked just now, if they agreed to this Resolution, where they were to stop? I should like to ask him, in reply, whether he thinks that it is possible for us to stop where we are now? It was evident that the Government did not think so last year when they introduced their Bill in order to get out of the difficulty. I should even like to know if it is a position in which the Government think we can remain much longer? The Government Bill of last year was intended to

be a compromise, but it failed? How did it fail? By whom was it rejected? It was not rejected by the factious body of Liberals which is said to exist in this House, nor was it rejected by the so-called intolerant political Dissenters of whom we hear so much. No; the compromise came to an untimely end, owing to a majority in the House of Lords—a majority reinforced largely from the Episcopal Bench—and it was by that means the proposal for a compromise received its fatal blow. I do not know whether that majority in the House of Lords represents the Conservative feeling of the country as that feeling found expression at the last General Election; but I certainly think it reasonable to suppose that the House of Lords, as a body, represents in a very high degree the real Conservative feeling of the country, which, while not liking change in the abstract—on the contrary, disliking it—is not opposed to changes which it sees to be inevitable, and is indisposed to offer a rash resistance which would in the end bring about still wider changes. It is by such a body as this that the compromise proposed by the Government last year was rejected, and that is a consideration which ought to furnish matter for reflection to the Government and hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House. What was it that the majority of the House of Lords said last year? They not only said that they rejected the proposed compromise; but they went further, and indicated the only mode in which, in their opinion, a settlement of the question could be brought about. That mode, if not identical with, was, at all events, very similar in principle to, that which is proposed to-night by my hon. and learned Friend. This may be the last opportunity which the House will have in the present Parliament of considering and settling this question; and for some reasons I am not unwilling if it be, politically speaking, the desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite that the settlement should be adjourned over another Election. I should be glad in the interest of peace and quiet, and in the interest of a cessation of religious strife, that the question should be settled quickly; but, in the interest of the political Party with which I am connected, I do not know that it is matter of very great desire it should be so settled.

*The Marquess of Hartington*

At all events, it must be recollected, when this question comes again to be discussed before the country, that it is no longer a question between Nonconformists and Churchmen, or between Liberals and Conservatives—the decision of the House of Lords last year settled that question, if it settled nothing else. It is now a question between the moderate, fair, and calm Conservatism which is represented in the House of Lords, and that other kind of Conservatism which it is not necessary to describe, but which finds its representation in some parts of this House. As I have said, I have no desire to shrink from having this issue once more placed before the country. I do not think it will be to our disadvantage that it should be so placed. All that I desire is—and I think the debate of this evening will greatly conduce to that end—that when the issue is raised and fairly placed before the country, it will be stated in such a manner as that it can be fully understood by the people before whom it will be laid, and by whom it will have to be decided.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 242; Noes 227: Majority 15.

#### AYES.

|                           |                         |
|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| Adderley, rt. hon. Sir C. | Brooks, W. C.           |
| Allen, Major              | Bruen, H.               |
| Allsopp, C.               | Brymer, W. E.           |
| Arkwright, A. P.          | Bulwer, J. R.           |
| Arkwright, F.             | Burghley, Lord          |
| Ashton, R.                | Burrell, Sir W. W.      |
| Astley, Sir J. D.         | Butler-Johnstone, H. A. |
| Bage, Sir W.              | Buxton, Sir R. J.       |
| Bailey, Sir J. R.         | Cartwright, F.          |
| Balfour, A. J.            | Cave, rt. hon. S.       |
| Baring, T. C.             | Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G. |
| Barne, F. St. J. N.       | Chaplin, H.             |
| Barrington, Viscount      | Charley, W. T.          |
| Barttelot, Sir W. B.      | Christie, W. L.         |
| Bates, E.                 | Olive, Col. hon. G. W.  |
| Bateson, Sir T.           | Close, M. C.            |
| Bathurst, A. A.           | Clowes, S. W.           |
| Beach, rt. hn. Sir M. H.  | Cobbold, T. C.          |
| Beach, W. W. B.           | Cole, Col. hon. H. A.   |
| Benett-Stanford, V. F.    | Coope, O. E.            |
| Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.   | Cordes, T.              |
| Bentinck, G. W. P.        | Crichton, Viscount      |
| Beresford, G. dela Poer   | Croes, rt. hon. R. A.   |
| Beresford, Colonel M.     | Cubitt, G.              |
| Birley, H.                | Davenport, W. B.        |
| Blackburne, Col. J. I.    | Deedes, W.              |
| Boord, T. W.              | Denison, C. B.          |
| Bourke, hon. R.           | Denison, W. B.          |
| Bourne, Colonel           | Denison, W. E.          |
| Bright, R.                | Dickson, Major A. G.    |
| Brise, Colonel R.         | Digby, Col. hon. E.     |
| Broadley, W. H. H.        | Duff, J.                |

Dyott, Colonel R.  
 Eaton, H. W.  
 Edmonstone, Admiral Sir W.  
 Egerton, hon. A. F.  
 Egerton, hon. W.  
 Elphinstone, Sir J. D. H.  
 Emlyn, Viscount  
 Eslington, Lord  
 Estcourt, G. S.  
 Fellowes, E.  
 Finch, G. H.  
 Floyer, J.  
 Folkestone, Viscount  
 Forester, C. T. W.  
 Forsyth, W.  
 Fraser, Sir W. A.  
 Fremantle, hon. T. F.  
 Galway, Viscount  
 Gardner, J. T. Agg-  
 Gardner, R. Richard-  
 son-  
 Garnier, J. C.  
 Gibson, rt. hon. E.  
 Giffard, Sir H. S.  
 Goddard, A. L.  
 Goldney, G.  
 Gordon, W.  
 Grantham, W.  
 Greene, E.  
 Gregory, G. B.  
 Hall, A. W.  
 Halsey, T. F.  
 Hamilton, Lord C. J.  
 Hamilton, Lord G.  
 Hamond, C. F.  
 Hanbury, R. W.  
 Harcourt, E. W.  
 Hardcastle, E.  
 Hardy, rt. hon. G.  
 Hardy, S.  
 Hay, rt. hn. Sir J. C. D.  
 Herbert, hon. S.  
 Hermon, E.  
 Heygate, W. U.  
 Hick, J.  
 Hildyard, T. B. T.  
 Hill, A. S.  
 Holford, J. P. G.  
 Holker, Sir J.  
 Holland, Sir H. T.  
 Holmesdale, Viscount  
 Holt, J. M.  
 Home, Captain  
 Hood, Capt. hn. A. W.  
 A. N.  
 Hope, A. J. B. B.  
 Hubbard, E.  
 Hubbard, rt. hon. J.  
 Isaac, S.  
 Jenkinson, Sir G. S.  
 Johnson, J. G.  
 Johnstone, Sir F.  
 Jolliffe, hon. S.  
 Kavanagh, A. MacM.  
 Kennard, Colonel  
 Kennaway, Sir J. H.  
 Knight, F. W.  
 Knightley, Sir R.  
 Knowles, T.  
 Lawrence, Sir T.  
 Learmonth, A.  
 Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.

Lee, Major V.  
 Legard, Sir C.  
 Legh, W. J.  
 Leighton, Sir B.  
 Leighton, S.  
 Leslie, Sir J.  
 Lindsay, Col. R. L.  
 Lindsay, Lord  
 Lloyd, S.  
 Lloyd, T. E.  
 Lopes, Sir M.  
 Lowther, hon. W.  
 Mc'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.  
 Majendie, L. A.  
 Makins, Colonel  
 Malcolm, J. W.  
 Mandeville, Viscount  
 Manners, rt. hn. Lord J.  
 March, Earl of  
 Marten, A. G.  
 Mellor, T. W.  
 Merewether, C. G.  
 Mills, A.  
 Mills, Sir C. H.  
 Monckton, F.  
 Morgan, hon. F.  
 Mowbray, rt. hon. J. R.  
 Naghten, Lt.-Col.  
 Newdegate, C. N.  
 Newport, Viscount  
 Noel, rt. hon. G. J.  
 North, Colonel  
 Northcote, rt. hon. Sir  
 S. H.  
 O'Donnell, F. H.  
 Onalow, D.  
 Paget, R. H.  
 Palk, Sir L.  
 Parker, Lt.-Col. W.  
 Peek, Sir H.  
 Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.  
 Pell, A.  
 Pemberton, E. L.  
 Pennant, hon. G.  
 Peplow, Major  
 Percy, Earl  
 Phipps, P.  
 Plunkett, hon. R.  
 Praed, H. B.  
 Price, Captain  
 Raikes, H. C.  
 Read, C. S.  
 Rendlesham, Lord  
 Repton, G. W.  
 Rodwell, B. B. H.  
 Round, J.  
 Russell, Sir C.  
 Ryder, G. R.  
 Sackville, S. G. S.  
 Salt, T.  
 Sanderson, T. K.  
 Slater-Booth, rt. hn. G.  
 Scott, Lord H.  
 Scott, M. D.  
 Selwin - Ibbetson, Sir  
 H. J.  
 Severne, J. E.  
 Shirley, S. E.  
 Sidebottom, T. H.  
 Smith, A.  
 Smith, F. O.  
 Smith, S. G.  
 Smith, rt. hon. W. H.

Smollett, P. B.  
 Somerset, Lord H. R. O.  
 Spinks, Mr. Serjeant  
 Stanhope, hon. E.  
 Stanhope, W. T. W. S.  
 Stanley, Col. hon. F.  
 Starkey, L. R.  
 Starkie, J. P. C.  
 Steere, L.  
 Storer, G.  
 Sykes, C.  
 Talbot, J. G.  
 Taylor, rt. hon. Col.  
 Thornhill, T.  
 Thynne, Lord H. F.  
 Torr, J.  
 Tremayne, J.  
 Trevor, Lord A. E. Hill-  
 Turnor, E.  
 Twells, P.  
 Verner, E. W.

Walker, O. O.  
 Walker, T. E.  
 Wallace, Sir R.  
 Walpole, rt. hon. S.  
 Waterhouse, S.  
 Watney, J.  
 Welby-Gregory, Sir W.  
 Wheelhouse, W. S. J.  
 Wilmot, Sir H.  
 Wilmot, Sir J. E.  
 Wolff, Sir H. D.  
 Woodd, B. T.  
 Wroughton, P.  
 Wynn, C. W. W.  
 Yarmouth, Earl of  
 Yorke, J. R.

## TELLERS.

Dyke, Sir W. H.  
 Winn, R.

## NOES.

Acland, Sir T. D.  
 Adam, rt. hn. W. P.  
 Amory, Sir J. H.  
 Anderson, G.  
 Anstruther, Sir R.  
 Ashley, hon. E. M.  
 Balfour, Sir G.  
 Barclay, A. C.  
 Barclay, J. W.  
 Barran, J.  
 Bass, A.  
 Baxter, rt. hn. W. E.  
 Beaumont, Colonel F.  
 Bell, I. L.  
 Biddulph, M.  
 Biggar, J. G.  
 Blake, T.  
 Blennerhassett, R. P.  
 Bowyer, Sir G.  
 Brassey, H. A.  
 Brassey, T.  
 Briggs, W. E.  
 Bright, J. (Manchester)  
 Bright, rt. hon. J.  
 Bristowe, S. B.  
 Brocklehurst, W. C.  
 Brown, A. H.  
 Brown, J. C.  
 Browne, G. E.  
 Bruce, Lord C.  
 Cameron, C.  
 Campbell, Sir G.  
 Campbell-Bannerman,  
 H.  
 Carington, Col. hon. W.  
 Cartwright, W. C.  
 Cave, T.  
 Cavendish, Lord F. O.  
 Cavendish, Lord G.  
 Chadwick, D.  
 Chamberlain, J.  
 Chambers, Sir T.  
 Childers, rt. hon. H.  
 Cholmeley, Sir H.  
 Clarke, J. C.  
 Clifford, C. C.  
 Clive, G.  
 Cole, H. T.  
 Colebrooke, Sir T. E.  
 Collins, E.  
 Colman, J. J.  
 Conyngham, Lord F.  
 Corbett, J.  
 Corry, J. P.  
 Cotes, C. C.  
 Courtney, L. H.  
 Cowan, J.  
 Cowen, J.  
 Cowper, hon. H. F.  
 Cross, J. K.  
 Dalrymple, C.  
 Davies, D.  
 Davies, R.  
 Delahunty, J.  
 Dilke, Sir C. W.  
 Dillwyn, L. L.  
 Dodds, J.  
 Dodson, rt. hon. J. G.  
 Duff, M. E. G.  
 Duff, R. W.  
 Dunbar, J.  
 Dundas, J. C.  
 Earp, T.  
 Edwards, H.  
 Egerton, Admiral hn. F.  
 Ellice, E.  
 Errington, G.  
 Ewing, A. O.  
 Eyton, P. E.  
 Fawcett, H.  
 Ferguson, R.  
 Fitzmaurice, Lord E.  
 Forster, Sir C.  
 Forster, rt. hon. W. E.  
 Gladstone, rt. hon. W. E.  
 Gladstone, W. H.  
 Goldsmid, Sir F.  
 Goldsmid, J.  
 Gordon, Sir A.  
 Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.  
 Gourley, E. T.  
 Gower, hon. E. F. L.  
 Grant, A.  
 Grey, Earl de  
 Grosvenor, Lord R.  
 Hamilton, Marquess of  
 Hankey, T.  
 Harcourt, Sir W. V.  
 Harrison, J. F.  
 Hartington, Marq. of

Havelock, Sir H.  
 Hayter, A. D.  
 Herbert, H. A.  
 Herschell, F.  
 Hibbert, J. T.  
 Hill, T. R.  
 Hinchinbrook, Visct.  
 Holland, S.  
 Holms, J.  
 Howard, hon. C.  
 Howard, E. S.  
 Hutchinson, J. D.  
 Ingram, W. J.  
 Jackson, Sir H. M.  
 James, W. H.  
 James, Sir H.  
 Jenkins, D. J.  
 Jenkins, E.  
 Johnstone, Sir H.  
 Kay - Shuttleworth,  
 Sir U.  
 Kenealy, Dr.  
 Kensington, Lord  
 Kingscote, Colonel  
 Kirk, G. H.  
 Laverton, A.  
 Lawrence, Sir J. C.  
 Lawson, Sir W.  
 Leatham, E. A.  
 Lefevre, G. J. S.  
 Leith, J. F.  
 Lewis, C. E.  
 Lloyd, M.  
 Locke, J.  
 Lubbock, Sir J.  
 Lush, Dr.  
 Lusk, Sir A.  
 Macartney, J. W. E.  
 Macdonald, A.  
 Macduff, Viscount  
 Mackintosh, C. F.  
 M'Arthur, A.  
 M'Arthur, W.  
 M'Lagan, P.  
 M'Laren, D.  
 Maitland, W. F.  
 Marjoribanks, Sir D. C.  
 Massey, rt. hon. W. N.  
 Meldon, C. H.  
 Middleton, Sir A. E.  
 Monk, C. J.  
 Montagu, rt. hon. Lord R.  
 Morley, S.  
 Mundella, A. J.  
 Muntz, P. H.  
 Mure, Colonel  
 Murphy, N. D.  
 Noel, E.  
 Nolan, Major  
 Norwood, C. M.  
 O'Byrne, W. R.  
 O'Clery, K.  
 O'Connor, D. M.  
 O'Connor Don, The  
 O'Shaughnessy, R.  
 O'Sullivan, W. H.  
 Parker, C. S.  
 Parnell, C. S.

Peel, A. W.  
 Pender, J.  
 Pennington, F.  
 Perkins, Sir F.  
 Playfair, rt. hon. L.  
 Plimsoll, S.  
 Portman, hn. W. H. B.  
 Potter, T. B.  
 Powell, W.  
 Power, J. O'C.  
 Price, W. E.  
 Ralli, P.  
 Ramsay, J.  
 Rathbone, W.  
 Reed, E. J.  
 Richard, H.  
 Robertson, H.  
 Russell, Lord A.  
 Rylands, P.  
 St. Aubyn, Sir J.  
 Samuda, J. D'A.  
 Samuelson, B.  
 Sandford, G. M. W.  
 Seely, C.  
 Sheil, E.  
 Sheridan, H. B.  
 Simon, Mr. Serjeant  
 Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.  
 Smith, E.  
 Smyth, P. J.  
 Smyth, R.  
 Stacpoole, W.  
 Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.  
 Stevenson, J. C.  
 Stewart, J.  
 Stewart, M. J.  
 Stuart, Colonel  
 Sullivan, A. M.  
 Tavistock, Marquess of  
 Taylor, P. A.  
 Temple, right hon. W.  
 Cowper-  
 Torrens, W. T. M'C.  
 Tracy, hon. F. S. A.  
 Hanbury-  
 Trevelyan, G. O.  
 Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.  
 Vivian, A. P.  
 Vivian, H. H.  
 Waddy, S. D.  
 Wait, W. K.  
 Walsh, hon. A.  
 Walter, J.  
 Ward, M. F.  
 Waterlow, Sir S. H.  
 Watkin, Sir E. W.  
 Weguelin, T. M.  
 Whitbread, S.  
 Whitwell, J.  
 Whitworth, B.  
 Williams, W.  
 Yeaman, J.  
 Young, A. W.

## TELLERS.

Knatchbull-Hugessen,  
 rt. hon. E.  
 Morgan, G. O.

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

Original Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Committee *deferred* till *Monday* next.

## CRIMINAL LAW PRACTICE AMENDMENT BILL—[BILL 69.]

(Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Herschell, Mr. Cole.)

## SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, explained that his object was simply that it should reach the same stage which it had done last Session. He had no intention of pressing it further at present, but would wait until the House had an opportunity of seeing the large and comprehensive measure consolidating and dealing with the whole question of the Criminal Law which had been promised by Her Majesty's Government.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(Mr. Serjeant Simon.)

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL said, his hon. and learned Friend would probably find that many of the questions dealt with in the present Bill were included in the measure which the Government were about to introduce. On the understanding that his hon. and learned Friend did not proceed with the Bill further without previously consulting the Government, he would have no objection to its being read a second time.

MR. SERJEANT SIMON intimated his willingness to give an undertaking to that effect.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Friday*, 15th March.

House adjourned at a quarter  
 before Six o'clock till  
*Monday* next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday*, 18th February, 1878.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Consolidated Fund (£8,000,000)\*; Exchequer Bonds and Bills (£8,000,000)\*; House Occupiers Disqualification Removal (Scotland)\* (29).

*Second Reading*—Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis) (12).

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE ARMISTICE—THE TREATIES OF 1856 AND 1871.—OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, seeing my noble Friend (Lord Campbell), who has a Motion on the Notice Paper, in his place now, I wish to make an appeal to him, with which, I think, he will not be indisposed to comply. The subject of that Notice has been considered by myself and my Colleagues, and we are satisfied that a discussion relating to the terms of the Armistice entered into between the two belligerent Powers in a war in which, so far, Her Majesty's Government have remained neutrals would not be a discussion calculated to advance the public service, and certainly would not be one in which any Representative of Her Majesty's Government in this House could take a part. My noble Friend, of course, may proceed with his Motion or not, as he thinks proper; but I think it right to inform him before he begins his statement that, in the event of his doing so, we do not intend to take part in any debate that may ensue and shall meet the Motion by the previous Question.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I entirely agree in the observations that have fallen from the noble Earl. I am not aware whether this Motion is intended as a Motion for a Vote of Confidence in the Government or a Vote of Want of Confidence; but I can only say for myself—and I believe I speak also for my noble Friends near me—that in either of those two courses we are not at present disposed to concur.

LORD CAMPBELL, whose Notice of Motion was—

“To move to resolve, That in the opinion of this House the terms of the armistice between Russia and the Porte are such as to justify Her Majesty's Government in taking every precaution to discourage the encroachments by which the Treaties of 1856 and 1871 are unfortunately threatened,”

said, there was only one rule by which any noble Lord could be guided on an appeal of this kind from the Government. When the Government affirmed that discussion on a given Notice was likely to be detrimental to the public service, the announcement of their views—whether their conclusions be well founded or not—created a hostile feeling in the audience which nobody with Parlia-

mentary experience would think it prudent to encounter. There was no room for deliberation on the point; but as to noble Lords who might be disposed to criticize his Notice, and whose language might create an incorrect impression out-of-doors, he would take this opportunity of adding that the drift and design of the Motion was merely to place their Lordships in accord with the House of Commons, which had lately put on record a Vote of Credit to strengthen them against an overbearing Power. As to the Motion, he postponed it in deference to the appeal of the noble Earl the Foreign Secretary, as he would always do on similar occasions; reserving to himself a perfect right to move in the same or in a different form a Resolution, to the same effect, whenever the obstacle referred to by the Government had been disposed of.

THE EASTERN QUESTION — MOVEMENTS OF THE FLEET.—QUESTION.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I wish to ask the noble Earl, Whether there is any truth in the rumour of a further movement of the Fleet in Turkish waters; and, if so, whether that movement has been the result of any communications between Her Majesty's Government and the Russian Government? I wish, also, to ask if it is convenient for the noble Earl to state whether any further progress has been made in respect of a Conference of the Great Powers for the purpose of bringing about Peace?

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, in answer, first, to the latter Question put by the noble Earl, I am sorry to say that since the House last met no further progress has been made, so far as I am aware, for the assembling of a Conference or Congress. On that point it is scarcely necessary for me to observe, that whatever delay may have arisen, has not arisen on the part of Her Majesty's Government. With regard to the other Question of the noble Earl, respecting the movements of the Fleet, what has happened is this—Admiral Hornby was sent up the Sea of Marmora with full discretionary power of selection as to the place of anchorage. It was suggested to him by the Admiralty that Prince's Islands would be the safest and most convenient; he had, however, full power to act to the best of his judgment

in the selection of the place that might be thought most advisable; and, after communication with Mr. Layard, Admiral Hornby thought it desirable to move the vessels to the Bay of Moudania, which is rather further from Constantinople; but where, I believe, there is better anchorage, and where he will be in telegraphic communication with the capital, while at Prince's Islands he would not be. I may add, that the movement which has been effected has not been the result of any negotiations between this Government and that of Russia.

**EARL GRANVILLE:** Can the noble Earl give the House any information with regard to the threatened advance of the Russian troops on Constantinople?

**THE EARL OF DERBY:** No, my Lords. At present, as to an advance on Constantinople, I am not aware of anything. As regards a subject on which there have been communications—a possible advance on Gallipoli—I have received a communication, but it has arrived only within the last few hours, and the Government have not as yet had time to consider it. I shall, however, take an early opportunity of stating the purport of it to your Lordships' House.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR AT THE PORTE.

##### PERSONAL VINDICATION.

**THE EARL OF DERBY:** My Lords, I have received a telegram from Mr. Layard which, inasmuch as it contains a vindication of his personal character from attacks publicly made, and which have obtained much notoriety in this country, I think it desirable that I should make known at the earliest date. Accordingly, I shall proceed to read it to your Lordships—

"February 17, 1878.

"Great indignation is felt here at the statement attributed to Server Pasha in a telegram which appeared in *The Daily News* of the 7th instant.

"The Sultan and the Prime Minister have expressed to me their great regret at so flagrant a breach of duty on the part of a high functionary, and have promised that justice shall be done in the matter. Server Pasha himself denies absolutely that he made the statement, and he says that the observations attributed to other members of the Turkish Mission are mere gossip.

"I deny that I ever encouraged the Turks to go to war or to continue the war, or ever pro-

mised or encouraged them to expect material aid from England. On the contrary, I have always striven for peace.

"If sympathy for human suffering, a desire to uphold the interests and dignity of my country, and efforts to promote the cause of religious and civil liberty are considered offences, I confess to having been guilty of them."

That is the communication I have received from Mr. Layard; and, considering what is the responsibility of Mr. Layard's position, I thought I was bound in justice to him to place that communication before the House at the earliest moment.

#### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS (METRO- POLIS) BILL—(No. 12.)

(*Earl Cadogan.*)

##### SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

**EARL CADOGAN**, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the Bill, which had come up from the other House, was not a Government measure; but it was thought desirable that some one connected with the metropolis should take charge of it in their Lordships' House, and he had agreed to do so with the consent of his Colleagues. The object of the Bill was to extend the hours of polling in metropolitan boroughs at Parliamentary Elections. If the Bill should become law, the hours of polling in those boroughs would be from 8 A.M. in the forenoon till 8 P.M. in the afternoon. The question of an extension of the hours of polling was first raised by Sir Charles Dilke in the House of Commons in 1871. In the following year, during a discussion of the Ballot Bill, there was a division upon an Amendment of the hon. Baronet in favour of a general extension of the hours of polling from 8 to 8, and the proposal was rejected. In 1872 Mr. Gladstone's Administration, through Mr W. E. Forster, opposed a general extension of hours, but they promised to propose a compromise. Their compromise, however, was rejected, and the Ballot Bill came up to the Lords leaving the hours as they stood. On June 17, 1872, the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Shaftesbury) carried a proposal for a general extension similar to that which had been rejected by the Commons; but, on a subsequent stage of the Bill, the

*The Earl of Derby*

Government induced their Lordships' House to accept a compromise instead of the from 8 to 8 extension. This compromise was again rejected by the House of Commons, and the Ballot Bill when it became law left matters as they had stood. A general Bill, introduced by Sir Charles Dilke, was thrown out in 1874. In 1877 the hon. Baronet moved a Resolution in less sweeping terms, and was seconded by his Conservative Colleague in the representation of Chelsea (Mr. Gordon). Ultimately, on the Motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Resolution of the hon. Baronet was negatived, and a Resolution agreed to to refer to a Select Committee the Question—

"Whether any and what alteration can without inconvenience be made in the hours of polling at Parliamentary and Municipal Elections in the Metropolis and towns so as to afford greater facilities to electors desiring to record their votes."

The Chairmanship of the Committee was offered to and declined by Sir Charles Dilke, who wished the Committee to be a Government Committee, and after some delay a Government Chairman was obtained. The Committee decided to consider the case of the metropolis first, and evidence was taken from the whole of the metropolitan boroughs. The Bill now before their Lordships was introduced by one Liberal and four Conservative metropolitan Members; it was assented to by Mr. Cross on behalf of the Government, and passed through all its stages without opposition or Amendment. The Bill simply proposed to enact that at every Election held after the passing of this Act to return a Member or Members to serve in any of the boroughs named in the Schedule—namely, London, Westminster, Chelsea, Finsbury, Greenwich, Hackney, Lambeth, Marylebone, Southwark, and the Tower Hamlets—the poll should commence at 8 o'clock in the forenoon and be kept open until 8 o'clock of the afternoon of the same day.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."  
—(*The Earl Cadogan*.)

VISCOUNT ENFIELD asked his noble Friend who had charge of the Bill whether before the next stage he would not consider the propriety of extending its provisions to the case of other large towns, where the working population

was in considerable numbers, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, &c., and whose position did not vary much from those in London, to whom the additional hours for polling would prove a great boon?

EARL CADOGAN said, he could not undertake to do what his noble Friend suggested. The Committee of last Session reported in favour of immediate legislation in the case of the metropolis, and inquiry during the present Session by a new Committee in the case of towns. That inquiry was now proceeding, and it would not be advisable to attempt legislation for the towns until the Committee of the present Session had reported.

THE EARL OF SHAFTESBURY said, he was in favour of a general extension of the hours of polling in all large cities and towns. It was much needed by industrious workmen in the towns.

*Motion agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half past Five o'clock,  
till To-morrow, a quarter past  
One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 18th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—*SUBJECT COMMITTEE*—Public Works (East India), *nominated*; Public Accounts, *nominated*.

SUPPLY—*considered in Committee*—(£1,000,000) Exchequer Bonds.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—County Government [93]; Highways [95], *debate adjourned*.

*Committee*—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) \* [44]—*a.r.*

*Third Reading*—(£6,000,000) Consolidated Fund \*; (£6,000,000) Exchequer Bonds and Bills \* [107], and *passed*.

## QUESTIONS.

ARMY (IRELAND)—MARRIED  
SOLDIERS' QUARTERS—LONGFORD  
BARRACKS.—QUESTION.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can



hold out any hope that the long contemplated and much needed increase of accommodation in Longford Cavalry Barracks, especially in the married soldiers' quarters, will soon be provided?

MR. GATHORNE HARDY: Sir, I regret that I cannot give much satisfaction to the hon. Member. The fact is that the system of shortened services has brought into consideration the necessity of limiting the number of married soldiers' quarters, and this year I shall not, I fear, be able to provide for the case of Longford.

#### NAVY—H.M.S. "NELSON."—QUESTION.

MR. DALRYMPLE asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he is aware that on the occasion of H.M.S. "Nelson" being towed from the building yard in the Clyde to Greenock, an operation which took a considerable time and was attended with great risk and difficulty, the pilot in charge received the minimum payment possible for such a duty, and not more than would be received for towing an ordinary merchant vessel, and whether a request for a more liberal remuneration had been refused?

MR. W. H. SMITH: Sir, my hon. Friend has been misinformed in this case. The pilot who took charge of the *Nelson* from Glasgow to Greenock was paid £4 5s. 6d. for his services, which was the full amount payable under the local and Admiralty Regulations. For a merchant ship of the same draught he would have received but £2 12s. 10d. for pilotage. No request for further remuneration has been received for piloting the *Nelson*.

#### TURKEY—BRITISH SUBJECTS IN CONSTANTINOPE.—QUESTION.

MR. J. HOLMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the number of persons enrolled as British subjects in Constantinople in 1868 amounted to 459; and, if he will inform the House what the total number of enrolled British subjects was in 1876 and 1877, as well as for 1878, by the latest Returns?

MR. BOURKE, in reply, said, that he hoped the hon. Gentleman would consent to postpone his Question for a few days, as he was not yet in possession of the necessary information to answer it accurately.

*Mr. Errington*

#### COOLIE EMIGRATION TO THE MAURITIUS.—QUESTION.

MR. ERRINGTON asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he has any objection to lay upon the Table a Copy of any Correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Government of Mauritius relative to the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on the "Treatment of Immigrants," in their Report presented to Parliament in February, 1875, and to the Ordinance which Lord Carnarvon directed the local authorities to prepare in order to give effect to those recommendations, as well as a Copy of the Ordinance itself; and, of the Ordinances introduced by Sir Arthur Gordon to regulate the treatment of Polynesian labourers, and the proposed introduction of Indian Coolies into Fiji?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: We expect shortly to receive further communications from Mauritius on the subject of the treatment of immigrants, and until after the receipt of them I can hardly say whether the Papers referred to by the hon. Member can be presented. The Fiji Correspondence on the same subject can be given, if the hon. Member desires to move for it, so far as it has yet proceeded; but I am sorry to say it is incomplete, as the question is still under discussion.

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE CONGRESS—CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN POLAND.—QUESTION.

COLONEL BERESFORD asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether Her Majesty's Government will endeavour to obtain for the Polish subjects of the Emperor of Russia a like measure of civil and religious liberty to that which the conference may decide to be fit for the territories belonging to His Majesty the Sultan of Turkey?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: Sir, Her Majesty's Government have no reason to suppose that the affairs of Poland will be brought before the Congress.

#### IRELAND—THE SUCK DRAINAGE DISTRICT.—QUESTION.

THE O'CONOR DON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What is the

cause of the delay in issuing the Provisional Order for the formation of the Suck drainage district in Ireland, and whether it is not the fact that the requisite number of assents have been for some time sent into the Board of Public Works in Dublin?

**COLONEL STANLEY:** Sir, the Provisional Order for the formation of the Suck drainage district had been prepared for some time, and on the 13th instant the number of assents requisite to form the necessary majority were obtained. An important legal question has, however, been raised, and the Board of Public Works was only yesterday in a position to complete the arrangements. An order will be issued forthwith.

#### ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—THE CANDIDATES.—QUESTION.

**DR. WARD** asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will state what was the number of candidates for the recent examination for the Army Medical Department, and what was the number of vacancies advertised?

**MR. GATHORNE HARDY,** in reply, said, there were 40 vacancies, and, he regretted to say, only 19 candidates. That was a very unsatisfactory state of things, but he would make inquiries into the subject. The hon. Member for Salisbury (**Dr. Lush**) had given Notice of a Question for to-morrow night, and he would ask that hon. Gentleman to postpone it until the inquiries were made.

#### NAVY—H.M.S. "UNDAUNTED."

##### QUESTION.

**MR. DODSON** asked the First Lord of the Admiralty, Whether it is the fact, as stated in the "Times" of February 14th, that fifteen officers and a number of the men of Her Majesty's Ship "Undaunted," now on the Bombay station, have since November 30th been affected with fever, that one officer has died, and four officers and two men have recently been sent home invalided, and that small-pox has broken out on board; whether the statement is substantially correct that the "Undaunted" has, during the period of nearly three years that she has been in commission, invalided an unusually large number of officers; and, whether it is the fact that the "Un-

daunted" has a broken back, and whether he considers her suitable for the station she is now on?

**MR. W. H. SMITH:** Sir, since November, 1877, there have been 25 cases of simple continued fever, and one case of remittent fever, which, I regret to say, ended fatally. The cases of continued fever were very simple, and easily yielded to medical treatment. During December four men were sent home invalided—two from debility, and two from other causes. No officer has been invalided since August last. One case of small-pox was reported on the 27th of December. The number of officers invalided from the *Undaunted* has been considerably less than from the previous flag-ship during the same period. The *Undaunted* has not a broken back, but has only dropped astern like many wooden frigates of her date. This defect in no way unfits her for the proper performance of her duties.

#### THE PATENT LAWS—LEGISLATION.

##### QUESTION.

**MR. MUNDELLA** asked Mr. Attorney General, Whether it is the intention of the Government to introduce a Bill to amend the Patent Laws during the present Session?

**THE ATTORNEY GENERAL,** in reply, said, that at present it was the intention of the Government not to introduce a Bill this Session to amend the Patent Laws.

#### SCOTLAND—GROCERS' LICENSES.

##### QUESTION.

**MR. DALRYMPLE** (for Sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, When the Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the present system of Grocers' Licenses in Scotland will be laid upon the Table of the House?

**MR. ASSHETON CROSS,** in reply, said, he had been informed that the Report would not be printed under three weeks, but signed copies would be ready in about a fortnight.

#### FACTORIES AND WORKSHOPS BILL.

##### QUESTION.

In reply to **MR. FAWCETT,**

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER** said, it was the intention of the

Government to proceed with the Factories and Workshops Bill on Thursday next.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE CONGRESS.—QUESTION.

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** I have not been able to give any Notice to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but I have no doubt the House will be glad to know, Whether it is in his power to make any statement respecting the progress of the negotiations for a Conference or Congress; and also whether the Government have received any information as to the movements of the Fleet in the Sea of Marmora?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** Sir, with respect to the second Question of the noble Lord, I may say that we have received a communication from the Admiral stating that he has in concert with Her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople, taken up his position at Mundania Bay, in the south-east angle of the Sea of Marmora. That is found to be a convenient station. He was authorized, in concert with Her Majesty's Ambassador, to select what station he pleased, which he has accordingly done. I am not able at the present moment to give the noble Lord any information with regard to the Conference. An important communication has been received, I believe, by my noble Friend the Foreign Secretary, within the last half-hour; but that has not yet been submitted to Her Majesty's Government, and therefore I am unable to give any information on the subject.

THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE ARMISTICE—RUSSIAN FORCES WITHIN THE NEUTRAL ZONE.—QUESTION.

**SIR CHARLES W. DILKE:** Can the right hon. Gentleman state whether the Russian forces have been withdrawn from a redoubt within the neutral zone?

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I have not heard of their having occupied any position within the neutral zone. I do not think any official information of such an occurrence has been received.

*The Chancellor of the Exchequer*

RUSSIA—COLONEL WELLESLEY'S DESPATCHES.—QUESTION.

**THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER:** I will take this opportunity of making an appeal to the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) who has given Notice of an Amendment on the third reading of the Consolidated Fund Bill, with reference to the delay which occurred in presenting to Parliament the despatches of Colonel Wellesley to the Earl of Derby, dated the 20th July and the 7th August, 1877. I will venture to ask the hon. Gentleman not to proceed with this Motion at the present time, as it might give rise to a debate which I think might be inconvenient to the public service. With regard to the point of time to which the hon. Gentleman calls attention, and to which no doubt his own attention is exclusively directed, I may state that the reason for not presenting these despatches earlier, was that they were of a strictly confidential character, and it would not have been possible to make them public at that time, as their publication would have been objected to by the Emperor of Russia. I hope there will be no discussion at the present time.

**MR. MONK:** Sir, I wish to disclaim any intention of raising a discussion on the general policy of the Government in reference to the war in the East, by placing this Motion on the Paper. That is a question which will, I hope, be raised at a proper time by those who, according to Parliamentary and Constitutional practice, are entitled to do so. I certainly had hoped to be able to bring forward this Question on the present occasion. The Answer which the right hon. Gentleman has given me in anticipation is not, I must remark, entirely satisfactory. It may account for the non-production of the despatches in July; but it does not account for Ministerial statements in November. But I feel it would be impossible for a private Member to oppose his judgment at a crisis like the present to that of the responsible Ministers of the Crown, and, therefore, I will yield to the appeal made to me, and not proceed at present with my Amendment.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## COUNTY GOVERNMENT BILL.—[BILL 93.]

(*Mr. Selator-Booth, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

## SECOND READING. ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [14th February], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "with a view to simplify and strengthen local self-government, it is desirable, with as little delay as possible, to bring each sanitary district and poor law union within the area of one county, and to give to the ratepayers in and of such districts the power of directly electing members to the County Board exceeding in number the representatives of justices,"—(*Mr. Stansfeld*.)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate resumed.

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE:**

It must, I think, have struck anybody who listened to the debate of Thursday last that the Bill now before the House met with an almost unanimous condemnation from this side of the House; and it must also have struck him as remarkable that while all condemned the Bill, all, with one exception, announced their intention of voting for the second reading. That one exception was my hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (*Mr. Muntz*) who had the courage of his convictions. I intend to follow the example of that hon. Member. This Bill relates to a subject of first-rate importance. I believe it to be a bad Bill, and therefore shall vote against it. I do not think the Government can complain if their measure is submitted to a rigid scrutiny. At the last General Election no subject was more prominently brought forward than that of county government. It was generally supposed that the first thing the Government would do would be to introduce a Bill relating to local government and local taxation. But the first Session of their official career went by and nothing was done, because it was said they had not had time to look into

the pigeon-holes of their Predecessors. A second Session came and a certain amount of public money was shovelled out with reckless profusion in aid of the local rates. A third Session came and a similar course was pursued. In their fourth Session nothing was done, and the Eastern Question was pleaded as an excuse. And now, at length, with the fifth Session of their existence, the long-expected measure has come. I hope I may be excused if I venture to quote, in regard to the result of the long travails of the Government, the old line—

"Parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus."

What were the evils with which the Government had to cope? They were those arising from the overlapping of areas and the consequent confusion of accounts, from the absence of all connection between representation and taxation in county government, and from the centralization, want of interest, and expense which are themselves the results of the first-named evils. How was it that this system, or rather want of system, had arisen? To the wisdom of our forefathers we owe the division of the country into counties, hundreds, and tithings, which, curiously enough, in olden times fulfilled what the Sanitary Commission which sat only in 1871 declared to be the first condition of all reform of local government—that the unit of area should be the same for all local purposes, and larger areas should be the exact multiples of those units. That early system I have alluded to fulfilled these conditions. A variety of causes, some political, some economic, stretching over a long period of time, gradually sapped the foundations and destroyed that edifice. While the ancient system was falling to the ground, another was growing up in its place, a system we are all familiar with—the magisterial system. This system took its rise in the troublous times which followed the accession of King Edward III., and was built up in the despotic period of the history of England—the reigns of the Tudors. The magistrates in quarter and petty sessions came gradually to fill the place of the old county and hundred courts, while the ancient tithing, chiefly owing to the intermixture of civil and ecclesiastical business, had gradually grown into the modern parish, the overseers of which were appointed by the justices in sessions. The election of the constable

and the care of the roads and bridges were still theoretically in the hands of the parish assembly or court leet; but the court leet become more and more useless as the class of small freeholders diminished, and although there was an old proverb, "Where there is a constable there is a parish," it frequently became difficult to identify the former, owing to the difficulty of finding the latter. Such a system as this could only continue owing to the fact that in the 17th and first half of the 18th centuries, when the population was comparatively small and scattered, and the means of communication slow and few, the duties required of it were small and simple, relating mainly to the preservation of the peace and the maintenance of the roads and bridges. The only other duty which the local bodies had to perform was the care of the poor, which they grossly mismanaged. When accordingly, chiefly in consequence of the great mechanical and engineering discoveries of the last century, the population of England and Wales had risen between 1700 and 1800 from 5,500,000 to nearly 9,000,000, the local institutions of England entirely broke down. It would appear that Parliament was not unaware of the danger that was growing up, as in 1782 Mr. Gilbert, a private Member of Parliament, passed the Act which bears his name, and contains, among several provisions very open to criticism, the foundation of the present parochial Union system of England. But, a very short time after 1782, the attention of Ministers and of Parliament was diverted for a period of 40 years—that is to say, till the Reform Bill—from the study of the social condition of the country by the outbreak of the French Revolutionary War. It was an interesting matter of speculation whether Mr. Pitt, after the great reforms he had carried out in various Departments of Government between 1784 and 1789, might not have turned his attention to a reform of the local government of the country, if he had continued to be a peace instead of becoming a war Minister. That, however, was not to be. After the Reform Bill at the end of 40 years, men of great ability took in hand the question of local self-government, and carried out those numerous Acts for the establishment of local boards of various kinds with the view to carrying out sanitary works, education, and local government. But the great mistake which was made by

these men of vigour and ability, and which has been continued down to this very hour, was to lose sight of the principle which underlay those ancient territorial divisions of the country into counties, hundreds, and tithings. Instead of taking them as the unit of their reformation, they made special districts for special purposes, and chopped, and cut, and carved up the country until we can scarcely now say who we are, or where we are, or by whom we are governed. From this mass of confusion flowed all those evils so graphically described the other evening by the right hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), which I shall not weary the House by repeating. These are the evils with which the Government had to deal, but, except in a few trifling details, it has dealt with none of them. Nay, in some respects it increases them. The present court of quarter sessions, which, though theoretically imperfect, works, as is admitted on all hands with efficiency and economy, is for administrative purposes cut in two, and some of its duties are in future to be performed by the old court and others by the new county board. The Guardians within the petty sessional divisions are called into existence as a new electoral body. The petty sessional division is, in fact, throughout the Bill taken as the unit of election instead of the Union, the arguments for which were so clearly stated by the right hon. Member for Halifax. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board declares that the Union has little interests of its own in antagonism with its neighbours. Questions of settlement, questions of the maintenance of roads, and above all, questions of a proportional contribution to the general county fund, are among the obvious instances he might have given of them. The petty sessional area has none of these, and is, therefore, likely to be free from the jealousies that might be expected to arise out of them. This is beyond doubt true; but the reason is to be found in the fact that the petty sessional area has been up to this time of such extremely slight importance. It has no local interests just because it has, so to say, no local life. If the President of the Local Government Board succeeds in quickening it into more active existence, he will scarcely find it as neutral as it has been. Again, the President of the Local Government Board said it was an argument for the petty sessional

areas that the quarter sessions boroughs were not as a rule included in them, whereas they were included in the Unions. This, however, is an argument not for taking the petty sessional areas as the unit of local self-government, but for making the limits of urban Unions conterminous with the areas of quarter sessions boroughs, many of which contribute in one shape or another to the county rate. But there was another argument of the right hon Gentleman which I thought most extraordinary. In defending the electoral portion of his Bill, he urged the expense of elections as an argument for indirect elections. Now nobody will deny that the expense of elections is one of the chief evils of English political life, and any honest attempt to deal with it, by whosoever proposed, ought to meet with support. Day by day it is getting more difficult for a man, even of moderate means, to get into the House of Commons, and it would be a gigantic evil if these same evils were allowed to spring up unrestrained in the affairs of local government. But the best way to deal with the evil is the honest and straightforward way—to pass a measure for restricting the growing expenses of elections; in any case let us not use those evils, if we are afraid to grapple with them, as an argument for restricting the franchise of the people. Now, I was told the other evening, by the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), that it was very easy to criticize, and he threw out a sort of challenge to me to state what I would have done. I shall venture to take up that challenge. The principle from which I would have started would have been that of treating the localities with confidence. I believe that most of the difficulties of this complicated question could be solved if you proceeded on that principle. When the Local Government Board, represented by an Inspector, appears in the country districts as a dictator, its action is received with jealousy and suspicion, and, in the long run little is done towards solving any point in dispute; but if you were to say to the local authorities, you shall settle these questions amongst yourselves, and the Local Government Board will confirm the Provisional Orders which you shall make, unless they clearly contain something illegal or unjust, then I believe you will soon arrive at a solution of ex-

isting difficulties. I wish you had given the court of quarter sessions a year or more to map out their counties into divisions, consisting of aggregated parishes, for all the more important purposes of local self-government, taking the boundaries of the Unions as their starting-point. Where the boundaries of Unions overlapped counties, they would have had to divide the Unions in most cases. A great deal has been said about the difficulty of doing this; but, as was stated by my hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread), a great authority on the subject, the difficulties when each case is examined in detail are not so great as they seem. In some cases—I know they are not many—the county boundary would have to be altered in order to avoid inflicting hardship on the poor. The difficulty about altering the county boundary is a sentimental one, and if a Local Government Board were to try to compel such an alteration, it would be an insuperable difficulty; but, if you give full power to the counties to do it in their own way, they will, I believe, rise to the occasion, and carry out the duty very well. There is no county, in all probability, where the boundaries of Unions overlap so much as the county in which I live; and I know at least one case where the difficulty can only be got over by altering the county boundary—it is a case on the borders of Wiltshire and Hampshire. The right hon. Gentleman is acquainted with it. If you made the boundaries of the Unions conterminous with the present county boundaries, you would inflict a great hardship on the poor; you would compel people to walk to a workhouse double the present distance over some high hills. You could not do that; but I feel perfectly certain that half-a-dozen sensible magistrates from Wiltshire and Hampshire could easily agree upon a new county boundary which would be satisfactory to all parties. In the manner I have proposed you would have brought the boundaries of the Unions within the counties, and the whole county would then have been divided into administrative units for all the important purposes of local self-government. The administrative powers of the court of quarter sessions would then have ceased, and I would have given the ratepayers within the Unions the right of electing three members to a

new county board—the owners one, and the occupiers two. I would have given the Lord Lieutenant of the county, the high sheriff, and the county Members *ex officio* seats on that board; and I see no reason why each Board of Guardians should not also send one member to the county board. Much has been said in this debate about direct and indirect election. They are not incompatible one with the other. I see no reason why you should not have both. It seems to me, however, that if you have indirect election by the Guardians, the manner in which they are themselves elected will have to be examined. I believe, however, it is the intention of my hon. Friend the Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert) to bring that subject shortly before the attention of the House. To the county board thus selected, I would have given all the administrative duties of the present court of quarter sessions, as well as the new duties proposed to be conferred on the county board by the Bill, with some others, such as the appointment of the County Court Judge, with the sanction of the Home Secretary. I believe that a county board, freely elected, and with these duties, would be a source of strength to every county in England, and that their deliberations, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax said the other evening, would be eminently English and practical—

“Though deep, yet clear, though gentle, yet  
not dull,  
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing  
full.”

Such a county board, however, the Government has not given us. They are simply proposing to abolish the court of quarter sessions, which, as I have said, works well, though theoretically imperfect, in order to introduce a new board which is neither popular nor magisterial, but nondescript—neither fish, flesh, nor good red herring—and which in all probability will not work well. I have also shown that the Bill does practically nothing to remedy the existing confusion of local government, and the resulting evils. It does not even consolidate into the hands of one Department in London the powers over various portions of local administration which are now possessed by the Council Office, the Home Office, and the Local Government Board. Some years ago it was laid

down by a great Parliamentary authority that when a hon. Member objected to all the chief clauses of a Bill, to the principles on which it was based, and to its leading details, the course most in keeping with the Rules and practice of the House was not to take shelter behind elaborate Amendments or deceive yourself with the vain hope of altering the Bill in Committee, but to adopt the straightforward course of moving its rejection. That was the course recommended by Mr. Bouverie, who was universally recognized as one of the highest authorities on the law and practice of Parliament. Objecting, then, as I do, both to the principle and the details of this Bill—objecting to it on account of its sins of omission and commission, because it destroys an old system of government which is working well, without substituting a better system; because it will, in the long run, be an obstacle to popular government while professing to extend it, and because it is marked in every line by political perplexity and Ministerial vacillation, I have placed an Amendment on the Paper that this Bill be read a second time this day six months, and I shall divide the House upon it.

MR. PAGET said, the Bill had for him a special interest, acting as he did in quarter sessions, and being acquainted with the details of local government. He thought the term new fangled, which the noble Lord who spoke last applied to this Bill, was more applicable to his own vague scheme. He would not follow the noble Lord in his interesting antiquarian researches, but would rather address himself to the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Halifax and the details of the Bill. The first proposition of the right hon. Gentleman was put forward in so attractive a manner, and had such an air of sweet sympathy about it that he was almost tempted to fall a victim to its seductive fascination. But a little consideration showed its dangerous character. The proposition of the right hon. Gentleman was this—that they should accept the Union as the unit of local administration, because it would require very little gentle re-adjustment in order to arrive at an assimilation of areas. He held in his hand a map of the county of Somerset, divided into its 22 petty sessional divisions. If he could put his finger on each one and

say it was not only an area for the administration of justice, but for all other purposes, he would admit that the division would have the advantage of being almost perfect; but it was not so. He held in his hand another map, showing the Union divisions of the county, and although it nearly coincided with the other, it did not quite do so. If they put the lines of one map on the other, it must be admitted that it produced some confusion. But those who lived on the spot had the key to the mystery, and they could do their work either in the petty sessional division or in the Union without confusion or inconvenience. If the change which was proposed was one which could be easily made he would raise no objection to it, or if it could be established that any practical advantage would accrue from it he would readily assent to it, even though it occasioned inconvenience; but if, as he believed, there were serious difficulties in the way and no practical advantage to be gained, and if its sole object was to square with the pedantic theories of doctrinaires, then he must offer his decided opposition to any change. The right hon. Gentleman did not appear to have realized all the difficulties which his Resolution invited them to encounter. He would like to mention to the House what the opinion of the Poor Law Inspectors was, according to the Returns of 1870. The Poor Law Board at that time thought it desirable that the boundaries question should be settled, and invited information on the subject. The President, it was stated, was anxious to ascertain how far the re-adjustment of boundaries was reasonably feasible, and 11 Poor Law Inspectors, than whom none were better acquainted with the local circumstances, gave evidence. The first on the list stated that there would be an increase of expenditure, and that a grievance would be created; and the others had said of the change that it would excite a very strong and persistent opposition, that it would inflict considerable hardship on the poor, and that it would sometimes amount to an actual denial of relief. For instance, the Poor Law Inspector in Somersetshire mentioned the Gloucestershire parish of Hambrook, which was now three miles from the nearest Somersetshire workhouse, but 10 from that in its own county. In fact,

it could not be contended that the evidence of the best-informed persons was in favour of the Amendment, for they one and all described the change as so considerable as to be almost impossible. Yet the right hon. Gentleman who had moved the Amendment gave no inkling as to how the change was to be effected, or when, or by whom; he had given no details, but had urged the accomplishment of a scheme which would meet with the most strenuous opposition. He trusted that the Local Government Board would do nothing merely to satisfy theorists who appeared to forget that the institutions of the country were not easily overturned. The most radical changes were possible enough in a despotic country, but in England it was impossible to attain to the monotonous perfection of autonomous atoms. He feared that any legislation would be disastrous of which the effect would be to make a man travel eight or 10 miles, instead of one or two, to state his case before the Guardians. Nor was it a merit that the scheme would tend to the assimilation of areas, if there were no reason why the counties should exactly resemble each other; and he would be glad to hear whether Norfolk would, for example, desire to have highway districts such as existed in Somerset. The Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman was directed not less against the Government scheme of central areas than against the re-arrangement of the Union boundaries. It was not feasible to alter the areas of Unions, we must take them as they were; and there was so much difficulty in laying down principles that would apply to all the cases of Unions that were in two or three counties, that there would be no way out of it short of a Royal Commission or a Schedule fixing the bounds of each. It would also be necessary to determine what sized Union would be large enough to be considered an electoral unit of its county. It was argued as an objection to petty sessional districts that they would bring together men who were unknown to each other, but that objection might be applied with equal force against Unions. There was no argument against the petty sessional districts in themselves; they existed and their boundaries were well known; and what harm was there in making them electoral units for county boards? There was



apparently none, unless it was that the circumstances would be more difficult of explanation to the intelligent foreigner. It was another question whether we were to accept the divisions as units of equal value. They varied in size and population, and arrangements would have to be devised to prevent an undue representation of the smaller divisions. The question of direct representation was also raised by the Amendment under discussion; but he could not imagine that the right hon. Gentleman who introduced it had any hope of inducing the House to agree to it. Their desire, above all things, was to secure the best men upon the county boards, and in order to do that it was necessary to keep them clear of politics. Did the House suppose that gentlemen who lived in rural districts, and who at present devoted themselves to the business of their neighbourhood and to rural pursuits, would give their time if they had to undertake a contested election extending over a considerable area? In the interests of economy and of peace and quietness, let them be content with the system of indirect representation which was set up in the Bill, of the working of which they had an example in the Metropolitan board. In regard to the numbers of justices and interference with the present functions of quarter sessions, the Bill went far beyond the Resolution of last Session, and the speech then made by the hon. Member for Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read). When a great institution which had been at work for centuries was to be disestablished, one expected to hear something of its faults and misdeeds, of its inefficiency or its inactivity; but it was admitted by all hon. Members that the administration of quarter sessions had been honest, just, economical, intelligent, and efficient. These honeyed words at the last moments of quarter sessions might be compared to the sweetmeats, the dainty sugar plums, that were presented in Spain to the criminal who was about to suffer death by the garotte. Had the House thoroughly considered the magnitude of that change? When the county board was formed nobody but elective members, whether as magistrates or as representatives of the rate-payers, would have a right to enter the old court of quarter sessions to do

business. Those who had not been elected would have to sit as silent spectators in the gallery. ["Hear, hear!"] He wondered how the hon. Gentleman who cried "Hear" would like to be a silent spectator in the gallery. For himself, as a chairman of quarter sessions, he had always endeavoured to interest all the younger magistrates in the business, to aid them in obtaining places on committees, and to give them every opportunity of engaging in the work. Now, he feared that there would be but small inducement to the younger magistrates to learn their work if they were to attend merely as silent spectators. It would, in his opinion, be a serious mistake to do anything which would prevent magistrates from engaging in the affairs of the neighbourhood in which they resided. Therefore, he felt very strongly that the Government ought to stand by the proposition in their Bill which fixed the proportion of magistrates at one-half. The provisions of the Bill were sweeping enough without the power of the justices being wholly swept away. There were various other details in the measure, to some of which he might advert. With regard to the question of main roads, he thought the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board as to the re-establishment of turnpikes was one that would not answer. Although it might do for the few cases of extreme hardship where the roads were much injured by exceptional traffic, yet it would afford no remedy in that area without where there was a grievance serious enough to merit consideration, but not sufficient to justify under that Bill the re-establishment of turnpikes. Moreover, with the conditions laid down in the Bill for their re-establishment, he thought it would be very rarely, if ever, that a turnpike would be re-set up; because when people had once enjoyed the luxury of going along a road without fumbling in their pockets for money with which to pay the turnpikes, it would be difficult to get them re-established. He had hoped that the grievance might have been dealt with in some other way, and that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have come down and aided them. That was not an unreasonable demand. They might invite the right hon. Gentleman to consider whether the dog tax was not

*Mr. Paget*

one which in these days of hydrophobia might be handed over to the local authorities; whether a wheel tax might not also be given to the local authorities; and whether those authorities might not be invested with special power to impose a wheel tax of their own as a rate in aid of main roads. Again, in respect to the clauses of the Bill dealing with main roads, it was laid down that the county rate was to be divided between the owner and the occupier. Now, he did not say a word about the general principle of a division of rates; but he thought if it were to be introduced at all, it ought to be applied in a far more wholesale way. Its introduction in that minute manner was not sufficient to justify it. The case might have been different if the charge were entirely new; whereas it was an old one. He had also been much in hopes that in that Bill, or, at any rate, in a Highway Bill, they might have found the wholesale repeal of all those old Acts connected with bridges which encumbered the Statute Book and confused local authorities. The local authorities charged with the duty of maintaining main roads should have the same duty in regard to bridges. Then as to the conservancy of rivers in his county—Somerset—they had an area of upwards of 130,000 acres under the rule of a court of sewers, and that Bill, although it did not of necessity override them, yet provided that with their consent the newly-established county board might take over the whole management of the conservancy of rivers. He thought that would be found impossible. At present the owners and occupiers at particular spots were the persons who had the decision of the question whether works were necessary and also the administering of the funds, and he doubted whether the new county board would be a body adapted for such a purpose. There would be no security that the members would possess the special acquaintance with drainage which was necessary to fit them for interfering in such matters. He wished to add a few words on the general policy of legislation. The demand for county financial boards arose when ratepayers were dismayed with the large expenditure on buildings which was going on all around them, and over which they had no control. But things had entirely changed. The works were completed, the debts

were paid off, and the ratepayers knew well that it was not the magistrates, but the Legislature, which had by Statute required the establishment of police, of prisons, of asylums, and various other things entailing a vast outlay upon counties. The Bill would tend more or less towards decentralization. He hoped that those magistrates whom the Bill left out in the cold would accept their situation in a spirit of resignation, and that those who were more fortunate would continue to devote themselves with the same assiduity and intelligence as they had hitherto done, and that the newly-elected members of the board would carefully devote themselves to the performance of the work placed before them, and that hon. Members would do their best to assist the Government in their attempt to solve one of the most difficult questions relating to local self-government.

LORD GEORGE CAVENDISH said, that, as a Member of the Select Committee on Turnpikes, he must express his gratitude to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board for having introduced this Bill, which was calculated to meet the necessities of the case. The majority of parishes had contributed to the building of workhouses and other institutions, and they would grumble very much if they were suddenly shifted from one Union to another. He was aware that some people thought that the procedure proposed by the Bill was very imperfect; but he agreed very much with what was said by one of the Members for Yorkshire to-night—that the main thing was to get a board which would work. Rome was not built in a day, nor was the procedure of that House arranged in one Session. As to what had been said about the elected members being chosen directly or through a Board of Guardians, he observed that in the metropolis we had one board—namely, the Metropolitan Board of Works—which was elected through the Vestries, and we had another—namely, the School Board—which was chosen directly. He was sure that there was one thing on which all on both sides of the House were agreed—namely, that a board could not be better represented than the Metropolitan Board of Works was represented in that House by his hon. and gallant Friend the Member for Truro.

(Sir James M'Garel-Hogg). Both of those boards had very grand ideas and both spent a deal of money. With regard to the relative numbers of the magistrates and the elected members, he had for 40 years been a member of a Board of Guardians, and he did not know that he had ever worked more pleasantly or more satisfactorily than he had worked in that capacity. He, therefore, did not see that there was any reason for anticipating such antagonism as some had supposed would be exhibited at the meetings of these boards. Of course, there were differences of opinion among magistrates as among other people. There would be antagonism in respect of the expenditure of money on main roads in different districts; because some districts were jealous of the number of miles of a road in one direction being greater than those in another direction. With regard to the relative number of magistrates and guardians, the House should recollect that landlords were virtually the ratepayers. He should like to see the provisions which were contained in the Scotch County Roads Act with reference to the making of new roads and building new bridges adopted in this Bill. There should be a fair representation of the magistracy upon these county boards. Magistrates were not of that exclusive character they were 50 years ago, and it was now difficult to secure their attendance at petty sessions; because, instead of living always in the country, they frequently went to London or abroad. It would be unfair if all the turnpike roads which had been well managed and the debt of which had been extinguished should be thrown upon the parishes, while those which had been badly managed and were still in debt should be thrown upon the county. It should be left to the county boards to determine whether roads should be regarded as county roads or should be held to be common highways. The boards should also have power to make turnpikes in places where there was unusually heavy traffic. No doubt there would be every disposition on the part of county boards to meet the wishes of boroughs, that they might be allowed to pay a composition in respect of their roads, the amount to be paid to be fixed by either consent or arbitration. In conclusion, he begged to offer his humble tribute of gratitude to the right hon.

Gentleman for introducing this measure, the second reading of which he should gladly vote for.

MR. CLARE READ said, he should give his cordial and hearty vote for the second reading of the Bill. He entirely approved its main principles, although he should feel it his duty to try to improve and amend certain of its details in Committee. He was not sure that he understood the full scope and meaning of the Amendment of the right hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld). If the right hon. Gentleman meant by that Amendment that all urban sanitary authorities should be represented on the county boards, he could not agree with him; but if he intended by it that the Union was a better electoral area than the petty sessional division, then he entirely concurred in his view. That point, however, was a mere detail which, although very important, could be better considered in Committee than in the present stage of the measure. He was quite sure, however, that the indirect mode of election was far preferable to that which the right hon. Gentleman advocated in his Amendment. This was a point upon which he should like to say a few words to the House. The point was made by several hon. Members that, as we were going to have municipal institutions for the counties, we should borrow our machinery from the boroughs also. For his own part, he should prefer to obtain the advantages of both systems without their corresponding disadvantages. There would be a vast difference between town councils in boroughs and these county boards. There were certain matters which would come before the county boards which affected a man as a ratepayer rather than as a citizen. And, above all, he deprecated any system which would import politics into the elections for these boards. He did not wish to see the election of an individual to these boards hailed as a great Conservative triumph or as a tremendous Radical victory. He believed that in the case of appointments made by town councils the question of politics entered largely, so much so that the election of a bellman depended not so much upon the strength of his lungs as the direction of his politics, and the selection of a charwoman to sweep out the mayor's parlour, sometimes depended upon whether the applicant went to church or to chapel. The

*Lord George Cavendish*

strife that prevailed in boroughs during the election of the town council was felt in the country, perhaps, every four or five years when a Parliamentary Election was held; but, although they became somewhat hot and peppery, and called each other naughty names during the contest, they soon forgot their differences and shook hands. Party feeling in the boroughs was, however, a source of continuous strife. Then again, the expenses of elections would necessarily be very large. Agents and lawyers would be employed, and the bills of costs sent in by gentlemen of that kind were not, as a rule, small in amount. The elections, again, would have to be conducted in the chief towns of the chosen areas, and everyone who had experience of county contests must know that such an arrangement would give the ratepayers in the towns a very great advantage over the ratepayers in the distant villages, who would be put to considerable difficulty, coupled with probable loss, in getting to the places at which alone they could record their votes. His chief objection, however, to the proposed mode of constituting the county boards was that it would not secure the services of the best men. A member would be chosen because he made an eloquent speech, preached a good sermon, or, possibly, because he sang the best song, or told the best story at the market ordinary. The steady, quiet men of business would not go to the trouble or expense of contested elections, and so the boards and the county business would suffer—vain, showy men would be elected instead of men who could and would do good work. With regard to the mode of election, he was strongly in favour of the indirect method, notwithstanding the fact that it was denounced as anomalous. Mr. Gurdon, Chairman of the Norfolk Chamber of Agriculture, who was a strong Liberal, and had shown his devotion to his Party by contesting the county thrice, and whose opinions, therefore, might be supposed to be re-

There were many cases—as, for instance, the election of aldermen, of members of the Metropolitan Board of Works, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and members of other administrative bodies—which showed that the public service did not suffer by reason of the fact that their members were selected by and from elected bodies instead of being directly chosen and appointed by the ratepayers as a body. During the last few years almost all the new work that had been added to the duties of Boards of Guardians had been put upon Committees simply elected by the Boards themselves, and no one could say that the work had been done otherwise than fairly well. Another objection he held to the direct election to membership of county boards was that it would discourage competent men from seeking or accepting the office of Guardians of the poor, an office the duties of which, if properly discharged, involved laborious and constant toil. Wanting, as he did, to elevate the class of men who would become Poor Law Guardians, he should like to see it necessary that candidates for the county boards should as a preparation have been compelled to serve a kind of apprenticeship in the capacity of Poor Law Guardians. This would act as an inducement for a better stamp of men to seek election as Guardians with a view to their being selected for the higher office. One provision of the Bill to which he objected was that the magistrates in quarter sessions should select one half of the members of county boards. He thought it would be ample if the magistrates selected a third of the members, and if the election of such members was not confined in strict proportions to the petty sessional divisions, in many of which, although they might adjoin, the scope for selection was widely different. Magistrates were not a caste by themselves, and did not cease to be ratepayers after they became magistrates; but they were generally men of education, leisure, and of substantial

which could not be gainsaid. He did not wish to quarrel with the figures brought forward by the hon. Member for Mid Somersetshire (Mr. Paget), who seemed to revel in the inequality of areas. He would give the case of his own county—Norfolk; 19 Unions were entirely within the county. Two were divided almost equally, and each Union would have a population varying from 20,000 to 10,000, and an area of about 80,000 acres. Each, therefore, might have a member. There was also a large district of the county—in a Cambridge-shire Union, which was also entitled to a member. There were also three fractions or little parishes with few inhabitants, and these surely might vote in the neighbouring Unions. He was quite aware that the rectification of the boundaries would be a most serious and difficult task to accomplish; but he also regarded it as one which it was necessary to undertake and complete. Some area there must be, and what area was so good as the Union? The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) spoke of it as being a comparatively easy task if it were once set about in the right way; but he feared that in any case it would take a long time to carry out, and that even if his right hon. Friend had the aid of quarter sessions, which was advocated by the hon. Member for Mid Somerset, he would not live long enough to accomplish it. There would be complications of all sorts to meet, and difficulties of all kinds to face; but with the aid of a permanent authority, he believed they would be successfully encountered. As an instance, he might say he remembered that it was recently proposed to abolish one of the prisons in the county of Norfolk; but the magistrates of West Norfolk spoke on the subject of the proposal as if they were about to be deprived of their birth-right. Their arguments, however, did not prevail, and the prison was now shut up. Well, then, as to the machinery of the elections which his right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board had devised, he looked upon the plan as being as complicated, as gloomy, and as unpleasant as if it referred to a Sacred Conclave going to elect a Pope. The Guardians of the different Unions were to be asked to come to the places where the petty sessional work was done, as if they had assembled to nominate

Members for the county. Well, in some counties, no doubt, they had splendid court-houses; but in others the work would have to be done in public-houses, where the Guardians would be shut up for two mortal hours. He thought that in some instances it would be very difficult to bring them together, and the only way to keep them in good humour under the circumstances would be to order in pipes and glasses all round. Seriously he asked whether Guardians coming together in that way were likely to make the best selections? And when it was said—"Oh, they are all friends and neighbours; they well know the fittest man to elect," he answered that they could not know the value of a man as a Guardian until they came to work with him. They might find a man to be shrewd and sharp at market, but such a man would know full well the value of his time. Another man they might find to speak as if he were an authority on sanitary matters, and as to the true principles on which the Poor Laws were to be administered; but the same man might prove to be cantankerous and disagreeable as a member of a Board of Guardians, and one who changed his opinion every week. Another might be a quiet, shy, unpopular man, unknown beyond the precincts of his parish, and yet, from constant attendance and devotion to the work, turn out to be an excellent Guardian, one who ought to go to the county board rather than some of the gentlemen who were more likely to be elected. For his part, he would prefer a more matter-of-fact mode of election than that proposed. Why should the election not be held at the first meeting of the Guardians in November? If it were objected that there might be undue influence, then let there be vote by ballot. In his Union they had had vote by ballot for the last 100 years. With respect to the appointment of coroners, he was glad his right hon. Friend proposed to get rid of that odious mode of election—namely, the direct vote of the freeholders throughout the county. No man holding a judicial office ought to be appointed by popular election. It almost always ended in a party fight, and saddled the unfortunate man who lost, and the perhaps still more unfortunate man who won, with expenses for life. It was now proposed to return to the old system of election by county

boards, and he hoped that the Government, having made the proposal, would go further, and provide that the country should pay the coroners' salaries. He trusted, too, that the county boards would rectify coroners' areas, as at present a coroner's map of Norfolk was like a Chinese puzzle. His hon. Friend the Member for Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) was represented to have said that he did not approve the powers which the Bill conferred upon the county board with respect to highways. He thought his hon. Friend was misrepresented, as he understood him to say he thought it would be better to have the clauses in question transferred to the Highway Bill. He quite agreed with the suggestion thrown out by his hon. Friend, because discussion of them, especially of those which related to tolls, would occupy a very long time; and they might, by delay, endanger the success of the principal measure. He approved of the principle of the clauses; but he should be glad if there was one clause in the Bill to the effect that for future highway legislation the county authority should be the county board. With regard to valuation, he was sorry to have heard his right hon. Friend say he could not adopt the plan sketched forth by the hon. and learned Member for Cambridgeshire (Mr. Rodwell) last year. No man in the House was a higher authority on the subject than was his hon. and learned Friend, and he agreed with him that the best court of appeal in reference to value would be a committee of the valuation board, and that on all questions of law they required a higher court of final appeal than the court of quarter sessions. With regard to the officials, he was glad to find that they would be appointed by the board; but he saw nothing in the Bill about clerks of the peace, who were now appointed by the Lords Lieutenant. The magistrates would have to give up a great deal of their patronage. That Bill took from them the power of appointing asylum officials and the county analyst; previous legislation took from them the officials of the gaols, and he saw no reason why the chief magistrate of the county should not be called upon to give up this patronage, because the ratepayers had to pay the clerks of the peace as well as other officials. If the Lord Lieutenant gave up this, he would be happy to offer him, as

a reward, a seat at the board. The proposed number of the boards, he thought, was too numerous. He found that in Norfolk they would have to elect 104 members to the board every year. They had now in that county 300 magistrates; but the whole of the business was transacted by about 30, unless there was business of great importance, and then, perhaps, some 60 or 70 came together. It might be well to show that members were not to be appointed on these boards simply as a distinction, or in order that they might attach certain initials to their names; but that they might do the work of the county. He thought the election of members for one year only was too short a period; but they could not well make it longer till the Guardians were elected for longer time than one year. He was not jealous of quarter sessions. He knew they had done their work remarkably well. But he was jealous of the great powers of the central government. He was jealous of the powers of the President of the Local Government Board, even under the benign reign of the present holder of the Office. The powers of the Board were so great that it could throw refractory Guardians into gaol; and so small, that it could give instructions how to improve the formula of a currant pudding. He hoped the effect of the Bill would be to harmonize and consolidate all the numerous local and conflicting authorities; and he also hoped that the Boards would form a new and powerful bulwark against the centralizing tendencies of modern civilization.

Mr. ARTHUR PEEL said, he had listened to many of the remarks of the hon. Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) with satisfaction. He agreed with him that the Union was a better electoral area than the petty sessions district. He hoped the analogy of municipal representation would not be pushed too far, for if there was anything scandalous and anomalous in the whole range of representation, nothing more scandalous or anomalous could be found than the way in which different wards were represented in both large towns and small on the municipal council. He did not agree with some of the unfavourable epithets which had in the course of the evening been applied to the Bill. He looked upon the measure as one upon which a

great deal might be built hereafter. Objections had been taken to the Bill as being too quarter-sessional and too magisterial; but it must not be forgotten that it was a serious thing to deprive the magistrates of the many things which they had now to dispose of in the various committees of quarter sessions. But they must, on the other hand, consider what was the cry which brought this Bill forward. On what was it founded? It was founded on the demand which was widely expressed throughout the country that the principle of representation should be adopted on our county boards; and, while they gave representation, he thought it ought to be given in no grudging spirit. Ever since the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Norfolk had brought forward his Resolution, and before that, the cry had been for representation; and he was unwilling that they should have a county board on which they would have a too sharp and striking contrast between non-elected and elected members on a board professedly representative. The hon. Gentleman advocated one-third instead of one-half as the proportion which county magistrates were to bear to the elected members; but whatever proportion the House might fix now, when they had the representative board established, as he hoped they would have under the Bill, it would not long be a question of one-third or one-half of *ex-officio* members side by side with representative members. He believed that the time would inevitably come, sooner or later, when the whole of the members of the board would be elected by some system of representation by the whole body of the ratepayers at large. He quite admitted that at present it would be, he would not say dangerous, but it would be inexpedient to adopt direct representation at once. He was aware of the difficulties they would have to contend with, and the uncertainty which would exist as to getting the best men on the board; but, looking to the not distant future, they must make up their minds to have these boards elected by the whole body of ratepayers, and he was confident that due weight would be given under any system to men of the social position and tried ability of present members of quarter sessions. As to the electoral area, the arguments against the Unions had been repeatedly

stated. It was true that the Unions overlapped counties — some extending into two, some into three, or even four, counties—but he thought there was a tendency to overrate the extent of that difficulty. That question could be dealt with in one of three ways — by a Royal Commission, by the quarter sessions, or by the county boards; and he was of opinion that a county board, as elected under the Bill, would be more competent than any other body, by an arrangement with neighbouring county boards, so to adjust matters that the Unions might be made continuous with county limits. There might be some little inconvenience felt at first, yet all the difficulties could be dealt with, and the intermediate state of representation and adjustment of contribution could be made tolerable. The Union was the natural area; and, considering the number of duties which were already thrown upon it in the way of valuation, registration, education, and the great question of pauperism, he could see nothing more fit for the nucleus of a county board than the Guardians. Yet when Parliament was about to saddle them with new duties, it was too ostentatiously provided that they were to be associated with a number of persons who were, not like themselves, elected, but who were to be nominees and *ex-officio* members of the board. He, for one, strongly objected to fixing the hard-and-fast rule that a certain number should be *ex-officio*, or what was to be ostensibly a representative board. He had, however, risen to address the House principally with reference to one of the functions of the new boards, which was of great importance—he alluded to the question of river conservancy. It was, he thought, a weak point in the Bill that the powers to be given to these boards were only permissive, and he should like to make that permissive power in many cases compulsory, for otherwise many grave duties would, he was afraid, be relegated to the distant future. By the 23rd clause, the board might undertake, if it pleased, the conservancy of any river; but the word “may” pervaded too much the whole section, and he would venture to suggest that, instead of the present proposal, every county board should be *ipso facto* constituted the conservancy board of the county. What was wanted,

Mr. Arthur Peel

he contended, was some general supervision over the waters in a county, and some one authority to which any person or body of persons might refer who had a grievance to complain of. He would have, too, as members of the conservancy committees, not those elected from the county at large; but those, be they petty sessional members or otherwise, who actually resided in the neighbourhood, and themselves felt the evil which they sought to have removed. The power to rate towns was essential; so was unity of management and power of combination of several counties, for the purpose of effective control of the rivers. He was aware how difficult the whole question of rating was, but a fair system might nevertheless be adopted, based on the old principle of due proportion to benefit received. Believing that the Bill might be improved, he would vote for the second reading, and try to make it, independent of all Party and political feeling, a good measure, so that it might be a benefit to the great interests of county government.

SIR GEORGE JENKINSON said, the country was indebted for this Bill to the action of the Chambers of Agriculture throughout the country, and he congratulated the Government on its having been received favourably by the House. No doubt the chief controversy would take place upon the question of area; but he was of opinion that the area proposed by the Government—namely, the petty sessional divisions, was the best that had yet been suggested. It was already marked out, it was one well-known to the public, and it was familiar to the officials who would have to deal with the elections, and it was an area well defined for all purposes of jurisdiction; while it must be recollected that the adoption of an area like the Union with uncertain limits and boundaries—and running in parts of different counties—would probably necessitate a Boundary Commission, and thus entail a delay of perhaps two or three years, and thus lose the passing of a useful and much-wanted measure. The chief points of detail could be better discussed in Committee. On the whole, he was happy to say that he cordially supported the principle of the Bill.

SIR THOMAS ACLAND thanked the Government for having at length brought the question before the House in a

tangible form, and said, he approached the consideration of the question with a sincere desire to achieve something in the shape of practical legislation. It was a subject on which the earnest endeavours of many hon. Members had been directed, and to which previous Governments had been studiously working. The general scope and purpose of the Bill were very great indeed, and he was not sure that the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues fully appreciated their magnitude. Instead of "county financial boards," they were asked to deal with the wider question of "county government;" and he gathered that the real object of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board was to lay the foundation of a municipal system for the country districts of England which did not at present enjoy that privilege. Much had been said against centralization, but he thought in these days of the penny post and the telegraph and railways they must have centralization, and so bring their quiet country homes and rural parishes into greater and closer communication with the thought and feeling of statesmen and Parliamentary officials in London. They did not require a set of fences and bulwarks against centralization, but a powerful system of local administration, through which and by which the central government might attain the desirable object of teaching people how most wisely to govern themselves. The Bill was intended to create a powerful body intermediate between central administration and those who had to work out local government on the spot; but it was open to question whether the effect of these "buffer boards," as they were colloquially called, would not be more to obstruct the central government than to do any real positive good. It might, however, on the whole, be fairly expected that they would act wisely as between the central government and the units. He was, however, satisfied that if there had been good county government in this country during the past four years education would not have been so much a matter of religious controversy and acrimonious party feeling as it had been. When county boards were duly established, he hoped that one of their duties would be to assist the Charity Commissioners in improving the state of the local charities,



for there was at present a very great tendency to administer local charities in the interests, not of the poor, but of the ratepayers. He could support this statement by numbers of cases in which he had been personally concerned. The storage of water was another important subject which might engage the attention of county boards. As, therefore, these boards would have before them an immense amount of administration, they ought to have their roots deep in our national institutions and to be really and truly representative. The Bill practically deprived the quarter sessions of all its functions except those of electing a chairman and a police committee. For his own part, he did not object to this; but he thought the county Members did not fully realize what the Bill would do for their favourite institution. He could not accept the principles of election which were laid down in this measure, for they were not likely to conduce to the permanence of county government. What was wanted was not a board to satisfy the cry raised by tenant-farmers in Chambers of Agriculture, but a board which would fulfil the municipal requirements of England. If it was to be strong it should rest on popular confidence and popular sympathy. The constitution of the proposed boards appeared to be deficient because it would rest on the magisterial office. In his judgment, the boards ought to represent property, occupation or residence, and labour. There were many persons in country districts who held small properties of their own which they occupied and farmed. These were among the most valuable members of society, and he did not want to see them passed over altogether because they were persons not qualified to be magistrates nor yet classed among the tenant-farmers. Although, unfortunately, it was a fact that the large landowners had bought up many of the small properties, he was not at all sure that that process was likely to be continued. In the more populous districts people now acquired small properties for their own occupation and residence, and they were coming into the same position as the old yeomen possessors of small properties. Again, looking forward to the future, we ought to think of the labourers, and there was no provision in the Bill for their being represented. The Agricultural Labourers'

Unions were endeavouring to agitate the country, and it was bad policy on the part of a Conservative Government to pass over the labourers without making provisions for giving to them a more Constitutional mode of expressing their rights than that of simply voting for Guardians. Again, he did not like the representation of property to be left entirely in the hands of the nominees of the Lord Lieutenant, although he did not mean to say for a moment that the appointment of magistrates was not on the whole exceedingly fair. He pressed upon the Government that they should adopt in a system founded on popular representation the principle of direct election. The principle of allowing towns a share in county government had been recognized by the President of the Local Government Board in this Bill; but the proposal was wholly inadequate to ensure a reasonable urban representation. Out of 60 county districts there were 47 which would have no town represented, and eight would have only one. Now, he did not see why such a principle should not be adopted as would give towns in every county representation on the county board. If these boards were to consist only of the magistrates and tenant-farmers, they would not be equal to the requirements of England. Why not have them so constituted that professional men and other well-qualified persons might become members? For administrative purposes he agreed that the Union area was the proper basis for constructing county government; and he believed that with a little trouble the Unions might be arranged, in conjunction with counties, on a footing which would meet all the difficulties of the case. He regretted that Her Majesty's Government, with the power at their command, should stave off direct representation and leave it to a future Parliament, which might not be able to deal with it so easily; but if the Government were determined to adhere to the principle of indirect election, he would urge upon them the great importance of endeavouring to improve the mode of electing the local boards which were to elect the county boards. He had known many instances where there was a great difficulty in finding persons in any degree competent to act as Guardians in a parish. He was glad to find that in the Highway Bill the right hon. Gentleman

*Sir Thomas Acland*

(Mr. Selater-Booth) had recognized the principle of taking the local circumstances of particular districts into account, and grouping parishes for the purpose of rating in connection with roads. He hoped that they were going into this question not as a mere matter of keeping down the rates, but with the view of establishing a system which would educate the people in public spirit, and provide for their personal well-being as citizens. While agreeing very much with the views of his right hon. Friend the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), he did not wish to do anything which would prevent this Bill from being considered by the House, which he believed to be a serious attempt on the part of the Government to set up local government, with at least some attempt to encourage popular representation in counties.

MR. GREGORY said, he thought that, in discussing the Bill as a whole, the House ought to consider whether the right hon. Gentleman who introduced it had fairly carried into effect the Resolution arrived at by the House last Session; and whether he had, in fact, redeemed the pledge which he gave on that occasion. He had not heard anyone say that the right hon. Gentleman had not done so. Various criticisms, it was true, had been passed on the Bill, but it did not appear to him that any of these had reference to the Resolution of last year. Therefore, as the Bill was framed on the lines of that Resolution, it seemed to him to carry out substantially the intentions of the House. No doubt a measure of a larger scope might have been brought in; but it was doubtful whether it would have escaped the criticism which had been applied to the present Bill, and still more, whether it would have passed through the ordeal of that House. In his judgment, the Bill was a fair one, as it did substantially what was required. What was wanted was to give the rate-payers a representation in the expenditure of the money of the county. This had been done by means of the elective Guardians. It occurred to him, however, that there might be some doubt whether a sufficient attendance of the elective Guardians would be obtained, considering that those gentlemen who really performed their functions under this Bill must be prepared to give a good deal of their time and some

portion of their money in the fulfilment of their duties. But the Bill contained provisions which would, to some extent, meet that difficulty. Something had been said about the want of the representation of towns, but he thought the right hon. Gentleman had fairly met the case. When he came to that portion of the Bill which dealt with the roads, he confessed he had somewhat more difficulty. That was a part of the Bill which proposed a sort of dual jurisdiction over the main roads of the county. He trusted the right hon. Gentleman would accede to the suggestion which had been made to ante-date the period within which roads were to be taken over by the county board, and that he would name 1870 instead of 1874. The highway districts would have imposed upon them the repairs and maintenance of turnpike roads, but half the expense of those repairs would be repaid by the county board. He objected to this provision because it involved two spending authorities. The necessary consequence of that would be that both authorities must look after the roads. For his own part, he could not see why all these main roads should not be placed under the same authority, and why that authority should not be the county board. Let their surveyor look after all the county roads, and let them provide for the maintenance of all the roads out of one fund—namely, the county rate. He did not think there need be any apprehension of the centralization of the administration of these roads in the county boards, and this arrangement would get rid of a certain conflict of authority. It would also meet another difficulty intended to be provided against by the right hon. Gentleman. He referred to those portions of the main roads that lay in the neighbourhood of large towns, and on which a considerable expenditure was involved in consequence of the traffic to and from those towns. This had been the subject of considerable complaint in his own county. A proposal had been made to meet the difficulty by giving the county authorities the power within certain restrictions of putting up turnpike gates in the neighbourhood of the towns. This was objectionable, because it reverted to the old turnpike system, which was now pretty well abolished. Still, considering the benefit which the towns derived from the roads,

it was only just that they should contribute, to some extent, to the maintenance and repairs of those roads. He should be prepared to propose, in Committee, that all the main turnpike roads should be taken upon the county rate, and that the towns should contribute to such rate. In other respects, he thought the Bill fairly carried out the Resolution of last Session, and he trusted the House would pass the second reading.

SIR HENRY JACKSON said, that, in the event of the noble Lord the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) dividing the House on his Amendment, he should vote with him. He observed that while every hon. Member who had spoken on the subject was in favour of the establishment of some municipal authority for counties, all were dissatisfied with the details of this measure; and if it were to be altered in Committee in accordance with the views of every Gentleman who had supported the second reading, very little of the original Bill would be left. Those who had spoken most in favour of the Bill had admitted there was no finality in it, and it was also plain that it would not furnish even a step in the process of establishing a permanent basis for county government. It would only add a new area to the existing chaos of areas. He could not see what was the gain in making any change at all unless they were prepared with something better than they already had. He found a perfect unanimity of opinion as to the satisfactory manner in which the present quarter sessions did their work, and that nothing called for a change except the natural demand of the public for a representative in place of an oligarchical system. Certainly there was no pressure, and he therefore thought it would be wiser to reserve the measure for another Session, when opinion would have become more mature with regard to the subject. His principal objection was as to the proposed constitution of the new board, which was to be not altogether a new body, but merely a portion of the old-established quarter sessions. The two distinct elements of which the new board would be composed—the nominated members and the representative members—would not be likely to assist each other, but rather to come into speedy conflict. Disguise it how they would, the existing body would feel dis-

credited; for if not discredited, why were they now to be deprived of their functions? And whenever a conflict arose, those who denied their authority by election would assert, and probably establish, a certain superiority over those who represented that discredited remnant of the old authority. Indeed, a better mode of constructing a machine which would not work could hardly be conceived than that adopted by the Bill as it stood. Desiring, as he did, that there should be constituted some strong and efficient county board, invested with adequate powers, he must confess that he thought the half-assent which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had given to the elective principle—putting his hand, as it were, to the plough and yet looking back—was not calculated to attain the object which both sides of the House had at heart. On the other hand, supposing the new court of quarter sessions, consisting partly of nominated and partly of elected members, should work well for administrative purposes, was there, he asked, no danger that the agitating part of the public might demand that the judicial functions of the court of quarter sessions should also be entrusted to the same hybrid board? If the right hon. Gentleman would have the courage to take from the quarter sessions the whole of their present functions, and leave the magistrates to take their chance of being elected, then assuredly all the best of them would be elected, and would thus go into the board with pride and satisfaction, and carry out the purposes of the Bill. There had been a great deal of discussion on questions of detail, and much had been said about direct, as contrasted with indirect, representation. It might be thought a matter of course that all on that—the Opposition—side of the House would be in favour of direct representation; but he would be inclined to vote with the right hon. Gentleman on that point, if care were taken that those who had the duty of selecting were themselves fairly representative men. In considering this question they must remember that they were not going to deal with an area which had no government at all; but as every yard of a county would be occupied by some local government or other, the county board would really have to supply the function rather of a federal than of a local government. It would

have to deal not so much with the functions of the direct local government, as with the conflict of interests which would arise between a series of neighbouring governments. So regarding it, he did see some advantage to be gained by indirect election rather than election by the popular vote, and several existing examples of the application of that principle had been cited in the course of that discussion. He might mention in connection with this point, that in Canada there prevailed a system of county government which worked admirably—he referred to the case of Ontario. There the primary area was what was called the township. In the township there was a direct representation of the ratepayers by means of wards; they had a municipality there constituted much like our urban municipalities at home, with powers analogous to, but rather wider than, those of the latter; but every function of local self-government was vested in the township council, elected directly by the ratepayers. Every township council elected a reeve, or chairman, and where the town was more than a certain size, a deputy reeve; and the Reeves and deputy Reeves of all those townships together formed a county council, which met in the county town and discharged that sort of federated duty which the separate townships could not perform, because they would be acting out of their own area. Nothing could work better than that system; which was one, no doubt, of indirect election, but of indirect election based upon the widest possible electoral bases in the choice of the electing body. Experience of that kind was not without its value when they were dealing with a measure like the present. Objecting, as he did, to the mode in which it was now proposed to carry out the principle on which they were all agreed, he would suggest, not with a view to delay the settlement of the question, but in order to promote the passing of a really good and effective measure, that the Government should decide not to legislate on that question at once, but should carefully re-consider this Bill in the light of the discussion it had undergone.

MR. ASSHETON said, the selection of the areas of the Poor Law Unions, which was made above 40 years ago, was a great success. It was impossible to have adopted areas with more regard to the

convenience of the public; the headquarters were chosen with very great skill, but with no consideration of the boundaries of the counties. In the case of the Union in which he lived, the adoption of the Amendment of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) would result in extreme inconvenience, not only to the Lancashire portion, but to the Yorkshire portion, which would have no workhouse, and would have to begin *de novo*. And the case in his Union would be the case in many of the Unions in the country. He had no objection to a petty sessional instead of a Union area being adopted as that in which the election of elected Guardians should be held. One point which had been raised was as to whether it would be desirable that the chosen members and the elected members should be chosen or elected for one year, or for a longer period. He felt very strongly that there should be a certain degree of continuity in appointments of this kind; but he was also strongly of opinion that if they wished for continuity they should make their election annual. Guardians were elected every year, but they were almost invariably re-elected. He did not like the Bill; but it was said of two evils choose the least—if he did not like the Bill he liked the Amendment less, and therefore he should unhesitatingly vote against it. When, if ever, the time came for him to consider how to vote on the second reading of the Bill, he should make up his mind how to act.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN admitted that his experience of local government had been exclusively confined to boroughs; and, therefore, that it might be fairly argued that while his proposals were suitable for great urban populations, they were unsuitable, and not expressive of, the wish of the agricultural districts. Under these circumstances, he did not propose to offer a persistent opposition to this measure if it should appear that the feeling of the House was generally in its favour. Still, like his noble Friend the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), who had opened the debate that evening, he was glad of an opportunity of entering his protest against it. He was greatly surprised at some of the statements which had been made. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had expressed objections which almost went to the root of the Bill; and yet they generally con-

cluded with the remark that, with all its faults, they liked the Bill. He had always thought that farmers were a shrewd, hard-headed body of men, as capable of managing their own affairs as people in towns; but if they were willing to accept such a sop to Cerberus as was contained in the Bill before the House, he should think they were the most readily contented and least exacting of all Her Majesty's subjects. He thought the Bill originated in a desire to give to the counties local institutions which should vie in their efficiency, simplicity, and importance, with those which existed in towns; but such a desire would hardly appear to exist from the speeches which had been made on the other side of the House. He had always accepted the hon. Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) as an authority on local government in counties; but the hon. Member seemed to be up in a balloon in regard to what happened in towns. He seemed to think that contests in towns gave rise to all sorts of acrimony and ill-feeling; but he could tell him that it was nothing of the kind. Though they fought out their battles no acrimony or ill-feeling remained; and the contests did not in the least interfere with their relations with their political opponents. True, the Birmingham Corporation had a debt of £5,000,000; but it held valuable assets, and, if it were sold up, it would probably pay 30s. in the pound. The debts of this and other towns indicated the magnitude and importance of their work; and, where urban government had, failed it was generally because the areas were so small and the work was so subdivided that good men did not care to take part in it. Some of the great Corporations in the Kingdom administered funds which were equal to those of many a small State in providing for the health and comfort of the inhabitants, and in that administration provided a channel for every kind of ability and usefulness. He had hoped that when the House came to deal with county government it would profit by the experience gained in the towns, and that they would have taken care that the work to be performed was of sufficient importance to attract the services of the best and most efficient administrators in the district. The first object of the Bill should have been the simplification of the existing system, and the concentra-

tion of the work of the present minor authorities; to have created a primary area which should have been of sufficient importance and size to lend a dignity and importance to the work which had to be performed. The Bill, instead of simplifying the constitution, had actually complicated it, as it added not only a new authority, but also a new area, and instead of concentrating the work it did just the opposite. In fact, it left undone those things it ought to have done, and dealt with the subject in such a faltering manner that he felt sure it would never prove to be a satisfactory solution of the difficulty. It was simply a Bill to do away with quarter sessions—to destroy the integrity and independence of that historical and time-honoured institution. If efficiency and economy were the only objects sought for it was unnecessary to make a change—certainly not a change in the present direction. The object of our local reformers ought to be to strengthen and invigorate local life in the counties, and secure some sort of civic education. The position of a county magistrate had been one that was somewhat sought after, and which had conferred certain social distinction; but could anyone say that the traditional influence and authority of a county magistrate, or of the quarter sessions, would be transferred to this bran new body? County gentlemen who had not taken great interest in the expenditure of a rate of 3s. or 4s. in the pound would not care much about a rate of 1½d. in the pound, a few permissive powers, and the occasional election of a coroner. The representative element in the board was concealed within a multitude of checks and restrictions, and reminded him of a nest of Japanese boxes, one within the other, the innermost of which contained nothing, for half the electors were *ex-officio* members of their boards, and the other half were elected by a limited constituency with plural votes. A board so constituted must necessarily involve the abandonment of the educational idea connected with the conduct of local government work. He feared also that the proposed constitution of the board would interfere with its efficiency. It was intended to have a number of *ex-officio* members, and he thought experience went to prove that such members did not take the same amount of interest in the work devolving upon them as was

taken by members who owed their position to the result of open elections. He had been told that the *ex-officio* Guardians seldom attended the Boards of Guardians except when there was some piece of patronage to be disposed of. He had no doubt the result would be the same with respect to the county boards. He could not see that the class whose interests were to be safeguarded could lose by appealing to the electors in the most open and direct manner. Local ability, influence, and wealth would always have their due effect; and county gentlemen who had shown any desire to serve their neighbours might rely on their suffrages without any of these unnecessary restrictions. With regard to the double elections, he thought further inquiry would show that the persons thus chosen would be less amenable to public criticism and control than those who were elected directly by the ratepayers. It had been said that direct elections would introduce political matters into the board; but the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Mr. Selater-Booth) was very sanguine if he thought the present measure would succeed in excluding Party bias. He believed that the majority of the members of these boards, which were nominally to have no political bias, would hold very strong and sound Conservative opinions. What he wanted the House to consider was whether they were right in endeavouring to exclude political considerations from local government. To his mind, the desire to exclude such matters proceeded from taking too low a view of what constituted political considerations. If they were not a question merely of Party interests and personal ambition, but a question of the application of great principles to the government of the nation, there was likely to be as much difference in the point of view of a Liberal and a Conservative in matters of local government as there would be in matters of national finance and the administration of a State Department. He objected to the Bill, because it failed to remove the existing state of anarchy and confusion; because it destroyed a board which had hitherto worked well, and substituted a new authority which was a mere pretence of representation, which kept the word of promise to the ear but broke it to the hope.

SIR JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG congratulated the President of the Local Government Board that, notwithstanding the various theories in favour of direct representation which had been advanced, he had chosen the indirect mode of representation. He had before him the example of the Metropolitan Board of Works and of the Asylums Board, both of which had worked very well. He had himself been associated with the Metropolitan Board for nearly 12 years, and for eight years had occupied the position of Chairman, and could therefore speak with confidence of indirect representation. And with regard to the Asylums Board, he knew something of that body, because he was a member of the Board of Guardians who had elected it, and knew that it had worked very satisfactorily. He was sorry that the right hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) had said that the Metropolitan Board had gained neither in dignity nor authority by the process of indirect election. Now, with regard to dignity, it seemed to him that it attained its dignity by the due discharge of the duties imposed on it, and did not look for it in any other way; and, with regard to its influence and authority, he might say that, having been in existence for 22 years, and having been originally appointed to carry out one Act alone, Parliament had now entrusted it with the power of carrying out many others. With regard to expense, the election of the Metropolitan Board cost nothing, or, at any rate, nothing beyond a merely nominal sum; whilst that of the School Board in 1876 cost nearly £10,000, paid out of the rates, besides the expense incurred by individual candidates. At the last two elections, excluding the City, there were 414,485 persons entitled to vote, and only about 144,599 took the trouble to go to the poll. The hon. Member who had just spoken seemed to think it would be an excellent thing to bring politics into the administration of local affairs. With that view he entirely disagreed. There was no reason whatever that he could see why in the conduct of local government Liberals and Conservatives should not work cordially together, and he believed it would be the destruction of any local system of government to have politics mixed up with it. This he said as the result of what experience had taught him as Chair-

rman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, of which, he believed, the majority of the members did not agree with him as to political matters; but at that Board they did not allow their political views to interfere with the discharge of their duties. Neither did he concur with the hon. Member in the opinion that those who were elected in a direct manner would be more responsible to the electors than if they were chosen by the indirect method. The men elected by the vestries and district boards of the metropolis were ten times more responsible than were, for example, the elected members of school boards. The latter seemed to do as they liked, and spend as much money as they liked; but if the members of the Metropolitan Board were extravagant, they would soon be called to account for their conduct. The Chairman of the Asylums Board entertained a similar opinion in favour of indirect election, believing it to be the best method of obtaining good and efficient men to discharge the various duties confided to their care. He thought that election for one year would be too short a period, as the Guardians would fall under the influence of their own officials, and they ought to be able of themselves and from their own knowledge to carry on the business of the boards. He wished to ask what representation would be given to the Metropolitan Board in regard to the area within their jurisdiction; because, if the metropolis was to be mixed, there ought to be some representation.

MR. WHITBREAD said, the subject could not be said to have failed in attracting attention, seeing that this was the second night's debate upon it, and considering that men's minds were directed to other very important matters. Now, anyone who had listened to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), would agree that the question could not have been more forcibly or ably discussed; but there was an amount of misconception as to the scope of the Amendment moved by the right hon. Gentleman existing in the minds of hon. Members which he would like to try to remove. There were three points in that Resolution—direct election, the composition of the boards, and the areas. They were all of them important; but their relative importance was very wide

apart. The question of direct election was one that seemed to commend itself to many hon. Members upon his side of the House; but that view was not shared in by hon. Members opposite. If, however, there was to be direct election, it would, in his opinion, be better for three years, and not one year. Hon. Members opposite seemed to think that Party politics would be the result of direct elections. He should be sorry if these elections were made a pretext for Party strife; but he could not see how indirect election would shut out Party politics. But the point was not the most important of the three; because, if they were to have indirect elections for a trial of the system, they could easily fall back upon direct elections, if experience should point to it as being better. Then, as to the members of the Boards being balanced between the elected and the non-elected, was it supposed that there would be some antagonism? From his experience he thought that there would be. The area was the most important point, and the selection of the petty sessions was incomprehensible. They had hoped that boards would be established which would give some prospect of working harmoniously with other existing Boards; but the area selected would harmonise with nothing. They did not, when dealing with these questions of county management, consider them as a whole. They considered one subject, and disregarded all the rest. There was the question of in-door relief. If spread over a larger area there would be a great saving. Everybody knew what success had attended the measure in the metropolis, and that if the aged were provided for at one place, the sick at another, and the children at another, the management would be better and more economical. Hon. Members might say that that was not the question before the House. He mentioned it in order to ask whether it was wise to shut their eyes to it, and to place barriers against their actions in the future? He was afraid that if they once established these petty sessional areas, they would become the areas for administration. They might become the highway areas, and if so, let them consider, the conflict that would arise between the highway and the sanitary areas, and how difficult it would be to deal with the sewage question. One

question which must soon come under the notice of the local authorities was that of the water supply. The question of the storage and utilization of water, viewed in all its aspects, was of gigantic dimensions, and it was impossible that it could be withdrawn altogether from the control of the county board. It could, however, only obtain a voice in the matter in connection with the sanitary area. If the Bill had been brought in upon the best lines, he thought it would have been made a Provisional Bill. He thought it would have been well to elect a county board provisionally, giving to it the work of simplification of areas. If they were determined that this board should have only the duty they now proposed for it, there was no difficulty for the mere purpose of elections, in working with the Union area so far as it corresponded with the county. The re-adjustment of the Union area need not follow immediately. If it were taken as far as it coincided with the county, much difficulty would be avoided, and the door would not be shut against the consideration of the question at some future date. The subject of centralization had been mentioned, and he would remark that it came about in two ways—either by the simple subordination of all local authorities to a central one—a system which worked smoothly enough in some countries—or by a different process, as in England, where the local machinery worked with so much friction that there was a constant necessity for an appeal to a central umpire. It was mere waste of breath to declaim against centralization, and then, when opportunity offered itself, to take no step in spite of the manifest confusion in the local government of the country. But, in truth, the Bill was out of date, though it would have been suitable enough at the time when Hume and Mr. Milner Gibson made their proposals. As for the transfer of the work of the magistrates to the county board, it was to be borne in mind that the magistrates had a much smaller share now than formerly of the whole local administration, and that the dominant purpose of local government was poor relief and sanitary measures. Admirably consistent views on the subject had been taken by the Sanitary Commission, over which the right hon. Gentleman (Sir Charles Adderley) had presided, and he was sure they would commend themselves

to the House. The title of the Bill was a misnomer. The Bill was called a County Government Bill. It should be a County Board Bill. They could not give it the strength and power of a County Government Bill unless it was the head and centre of all the local administration within the confines of the county. What was wanted was a Bill that would check centralization in London, and that the counties might conduct their own local affairs without reference to a board in London. No doubt that as long as the Imperial Government contributed to local burdens, they must see that they got value for their money; but what was wanted was to get rid of that constant interference which irritated every man who took part in the local government. He was curious to see what would be done in Committee on the Bill. The opinion of the House was distinctly against the petty sessional area. ["No, no!"] At all events, he was not misquoting the debate in stating that the current of opinion ran strongly against it. The change would not be as troublesome as had been imagined, and no excuse on the score of trouble could be accepted. The House was anxious to settle the question, and the one thing wanted was a measure that would take the first step towards its solution.

MR. NEWDEGATE: The hon. Member for Bedford (Mr. Whitbread) has enunciated a principle which I know he entertains strongly, and which prevails among hon. Members on the opposite side of the House. The hon. Member wishes to avoid centralization, and he tells us that the means of avoiding centralization is to concentrate all authority in a limited number of local bodies; it seems that the hon. Member for Bedford totally fails to perceive that this concentration has, in every country where it has been tried, proved to be the first step towards centralization. If you concentrate all authority in a limited number of districts, or limited number of centres, you take the first step, and render the extension of centralization immensely more easy. I think that that is a simple and clear proposition—that was the process by which the centralization of France was accomplished. And then the hon. Member wishes to persuade us that we are about to adopt a novel principle—to adopt a novel area for county administration; because we



prefer the petty sessional division. Why, these are at present the existing district areas for county administration. They have been so for centuries, and at this moment they are not only the areas for the administration of justice, but they are the areas for the administration of the roads. [Mr. CLARE READ: No.] I say that, where highway districts have not been formed, the petty sessional district is the area for local administration. I have acted as a magistrate for 40 years, and have had some experience of that fact. Then, hon. Members opposite speak as if we were introducing some novel area and some novel sphere of administration. The petty sessional area is a police district, and as to there being any doubt in the minds of the population with respect to the centres of these areas, why, every policeman is bound to inform every inhabitant of the district where these, the centres of county administration, are—but, in fact, these centres are perfectly well known; they are the habitual, time-honoured centres of county administration, as it has existed for generations. It is now desired to increase the sphere of county administration by increasing the number of subjects with which it is to deal; because the sphere of county *qua* county administration is to be enlarged, hon. Members opposite seem to think it incumbent upon them, while creating a concentration of authority, to erect, also, new centres of administration, and would, therefore, repudiate the system of areas which exists. All that is really needed is an enlargement of the functions of the authorities who at present meet in those petty sessional centres, for the purpose of accomplishing the object which we have in view. But I entertain a distinct objection to the Union area. The Unions were formed for a distinct purpose—the administration of relief to the poor, which is a totally distinct function from county administration. The Unions were never formed for, and have never been adapted to, county administration; and the proof of that is, that they overlap the county. On the other hand, in the petty sessional districts, we have areas which are specially adapted to county administration, and are limited to the counties; and I can see no reason for preferring the Union areas, except that they are areas so inconvenient that their adoption will lead to a large altera-

tion of their limits, and tend towards the formation of electoral districts for municipal purposes. The hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) has the honesty to say that he wishes to see the distinction between municipal and political functions abolished. Now, any man who has studied the Constitution of this country, knows the evil of local administration becoming tainted by political interference, and that political action gains nothing in purity from the confusion with municipal objects. Nothing is more marked in the Constitution of this country than the distinction it preserves between municipal and political functions and action. If the existence of the Constitution of this country is worth anything, as contra-distinguished from the system which prevails in France, the fact of its maintaining a broad distinction between municipal and political functions is a characteristic which ought to be preserved, for it distinguishes the Constitution of this country from the centralized system of France. If you are not tired of England as she has been, or ashamed of England as she is, you will adhere to the principle which has marked her internal government—that of always maintaining a broad distinction between municipal and political functions. In Birmingham the hon. Member is at the head of a very powerful combination. He has been mayor of the borough, and he represents the borough in this House with an ability we all acknowledge; but what is the source of his strength? The complete fusion and confusion of municipal with political functions, enforced by a single extemporised body of 600 persons, who are guarded chiefly—if not entirely—by political considerations. Surely, Sir, the House cannot desire to see that system extended throughout the country, whether the predominance to be achieved by such a process be in favour of that which is called Conservatism, or of that which is called Liberalism. The hon. Member for Birmingham spoke with the greatest possible honesty and frankness. He says—"I am discontented with this Bill, because it does not fuse municipal with political functions and authority." He says—"I am discontented with this Bill, because I look forward to the equalization of the franchise throughout the whole country"—an object which, I admit, is

*Mr. Newdegate*

perfectly consistent with the somewhat extreme opinions he is known to entertain; and he asks us Conservatives to hesitate before taking the step proposed by this Bill, because it is a Bill which is inconsistent with his political creed—a creed which, to use an old-fashioned phrase, is that of an advanced Radical. Sir, I stand strongly by the petty sessional area, and for this reason—I deprecated the Prisons Act of last Session, because, to my mind, it struck a heavy blow at the Common Law, and ousted the jurisdiction of the magistrates, for no sufficient reason. By this Bill, if you retain the petty sessional area, you are sure to have justices of the peace to act at every centre, because magistrates are provided for that centre, in order that they may administer justice; and, I ask, is there anything in their administration of justice as a body which you have seen, which ought to be held to unfit them for the municipal functions which you now contemplate bestowing? The fact is, as I have shown, in the case of highway administration, and in many other ways, the justices already administer municipal affairs; and my belief is this—that the county board will be far better with a due proportion of magistrates, provided that to them are added a sufficient number of elected Guardians. There is a Guardian for every parish; and, after all, the parish is the unit of the petty sessional district, just as it is the unit of the Union district. The Union has a centre, and so has the petty sessional area. Well, Sir, it appears to me that no valid reason has been shown for breaking up the county system of administration, although I see that it is desirable that the elective principle should be so adapted as to introduce into that system a new element. I am strongly in favour of the system of indirect election. The hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for Truro (Sir James M'Carel-Hogg) has given you good evidence with respect to the advantage of that system of election in the case of the Board over which he so ably presides; and, if you desire a wider example, in what country in Europe has a democratic constituency been brought to work more smoothly, and under greater difficulties, than in Italy? Yet, the political elections in Italy are all indirect—are all conducted on the principle which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government

Board proposes to introduce by this Bill. And I do not think that the House could have failed to feel the force of what was said by the hon. and gallant Member for Truro. By the system of direct election, by a democratic constituency, you destroy the sense of responsibility in many important matters of detail; by adopting the system of indirect election, you increase the sense of responsibility in matters of detail, and municipal functions relate to matters of detail. You may be sure that the Guardians will choose the best men whom the rate-payers have returned for county administrations, and will have no feeling of jealousy, because already the Unions in which they act are overpowered by the multiplicity of their functions. I know that, in my own county, the best Guardians will be very glad to have the opportunity of selecting from their own body the men who are best fitted to undertake the functions which are contemplated by this Bill. They tell me that they have already enough to do as Guardians; and my belief is that this Bill, regulated as its action is intended to be, according to the petty sessional districts, and founded upon the principle of indirect election, is a measure which will, in some degree, compensate for the blow which the county system received through that bad measure—the Prisons Act—of the last Session.

MR. GOSCHEN said, the President of the Local Government Board had done him the honour to refer to a Bill which he had introduced some years ago, and in which the petty sessional division figured as the area for the election of representatives of the county board; but the right hon. Gentleman would not fail to remember that in every other respect the Bill then introduced entirely differed from that which the right hon. Gentleman had brought forward. The objection taken on both sides of the House to the petty sessional division was that the electoral area was made different from the administrative area. The administrative area was the Union; but, under this Bill, the Guardians were directed to elect representatives under the petty sessional division area. That was an anomaly which, on the whole, had met with the disapproval of a majority in the House. But under the Bill to which the right hon. Gentleman had alluded that did not occur, because the Guardians

were not made electors in any sense to the new board. There was no confusion between the administrative and the electoral area. The Boards of Guardians were put aside, rightly or wrongly; a new system was built up, a new administrative area established, and the election was made to cover that administrative area. Therefore, there was no analogy between his own proposal with regard to petty seasonal divisions and that which the right hon. Gentleman now submitted to the consideration of the House. He took the greatest possible exception to the proposal which this Bill made—that, instead of having *ex-officio* magistrates only, there was to be added to them a certain number of persons who were to be elected by the Guardians. One of the objects which, on this side of the House, they desired, was to infuse new life into civic rural affairs, and their complaint was that, if this Bill were passed, it was doubtful if a single additional person would take any interest in local rural affairs. This Bill was intended to check overlapping areas; but it had been conclusively shown that overlapping was most timidly and unsatisfactorily dealt with. Another object of the Bill was to improve the administration of county affairs. Possibly that might be done to a certain extent; but hon. Members opposite were endeavouring to persuade them that their administration was perfect at the present moment. Another object of this Bill was to counteract the indifference to local affairs which was felt at the present moment in the rural districts. In regard to that object the Bill appeared to him to be a total failure, and hon. Gentlemen opposite had gloried in this indifference, and had hoped that no new life would be called into existence. They thought that rural life could not exist unless it was tainted by politics. He thought that in this country they were proud of their local self-government; but he never heard a speech more directed against local self-government than the speech of the hon. Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read). His observations might have been directed against representative institutions altogether, for he spoke of the expense and excitement of elections, and about popular constituencies not choosing the best men, and that he hoped that rural elections would never remind them of

municipal elections. [Mr. CLARE READ: Hear, hear!] And yet Conservative Members had been heard in after-dinner speeches to compliment the country upon the great institution of local self-government in their towns and cities; but in the counties hon. Gentlemen opposite preferred to continue the mild and benignant sway of the magistrates. The hon. Member for Mid Somersetshire (Mr. Paget) regretted that, if this Bill passed, the younger magistrates would cease to take an interest in local affairs. He sympathized with the hon. Member; but he hoped, on the other hand, that large classes might be induced to take an interest in local rural affairs under a large and improved system of local self-government. The hon. Member for South Norfolk was the Representative of the tenant-farmers in this House, and spoke for the elected Guardians. He assumed that they would elect good men. That was not enough. [An hon. MEMBER: What more do you want?] What they wanted was to create an intelligent interest in public affairs in larger classes of the community. That was the difference between the two sides of the House on this question. Hon. Gentlemen opposite looked mainly to administration. There was a certain amount of work to be done, and if it were well done they thought that that was all that was necessary. On this side they said that something more was necessary. They said, that it was not only necessary that the work should be well done, but that great classes of the community should take an interest in that work—should feel it to be their work, and take their share in it. They felt it was important to harness to the work of the State as great a proportion of the community as they could engage to do the work. It was important to introduce an amount of civic life and vigour among certain classes of the community. Hon. Members opposite seemed to think that, if they introduced a direct system of election, they would be introducing politics into local affairs. Why should that be the case? It had not been so in the case of the school boards, which had shown great vitality, and attracted to them a large number of persons who took an intelligent interest in public affairs. There was another branch of the subject upon which there might possibly be more community of feeling between the two sides of the

*Mr. Goschen*

House. When it was his duty to deal with this question, why did he wish to place within reach of ratepayers a different set of duties from that which they now possessed? It was for this reason—he was not satisfied that the great question of the Poor Law should be the one leading idea which in the public mind represented local self-government. While the Poor Law had conferred many benefits, it had a great deal to answer for; and, among other things, it had destroyed their system of local self-government, which was at this moment more difficult to deal with on account of that overshadowing influence. The idea of local self-government in the mind of the rural population was the Union, and the Union meant in-door and out-door relief, so that local self-government had got fatally mixed up with relief to the poor. That was one of the reasons which appeared to him to be a very strong argument for endeavouring to separate the new system of local government from the system of the Poor Law. The Guardians of the poor were to be the chief element of building up the new system. That appeared to him to be a great error. He should have wished that, by a system of direct election, they should cut themselves adrift from the idea that the men who were elected for the purpose of administering in and out-door relief were the men who were to form the basis of an administration for local affairs. The question of areas was a very important question; but it was as nothing compared with the importance of infusing new life into the rural population. If this Bill passed, not a single ratepayer and not a single owner would know that anything had happened. They would simply have added one additional duty to the duties of the Board of Guardians. He did not know how far the right hon. Gentleman might be able to remedy the defects in his Bill, and he trusted that the House might be able to remedy them, at some future time, in a more popular manner. The system proposed by the Bill was not representative in the slightest degree. It might satisfy the grievances of the farmers for a certain time, because the farmers mainly constituted the elective portion of the Board of Guardians; but there were classes below who were entirely ignored under this arrangement, which would fail to secure

those civic municipalities at which the hon. Member for South Norfolk sneered; but which, in the future, might be a great object which reformers would strive to attain.

MR. SOLATER-BOOTH said, whatever the effect of the Bill might be, he could not claim for it an approach to the ideal of the right hon. Gentleman, who had rightly stated that the measure had been constructed with no such ambitious view. It was the first time he had heard that the objects mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman were the objects of the great body of the people of this country. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that for many years he and his Friends had desired to stimulate rural life. What evidence there was that they had done so he was at a loss to understand. The right hon. Gentleman complained that the Bill vested the principal part of the construction of the county board in the Guardians of the parish. But what difference was there between the Guardian who was the elected man of the parish and the parish head man set up by the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman? The Government might not be very ambitious in their aim, but they desired to meet the exigencies of the situation. For what was the situation? The Government desired to give effect to a long entertained and frequently expressed wish on the part of county ratepayers, that they should have a voice in the administration of the funds to which they contributed. The grievance under which they laboured in that respect was felt 40 or 50 years ago; it faded away by degrees, but there was now a revival of the feeling; and the Government wanted, therefore, to introduce the representative element into county boards. There was great and important county work to be done—work which could no longer be performed by those overworked bodies—the Boards of Guardians—nor by the courts of quarter sessions as now established. He owned he regarded the mode in which the county board was to be filled up as a matter of secondary importance; what was of greater importance was that those great and growing functions should be provided for in a way least disturbing to the rural population, and likely to secure most effectively the great objects of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman objected to the Bill on the ground that it

did not comprehend municipal areas; but this, whether rightly or wrongly, was the deliberate intention of the Government in framing the measure. The parish was the unit best understood by the county ratepayers, and therefore it was the one which had been adopted in an important part of the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) had stated that he should not press his Amendment in the event of his receiving certain assurances from the Government. He had no hesitation in saying to the right hon. Gentleman and those who thought with him, that the suggestion contained in the Amendment, and the other suggestions conveyed in the speeches which had been delivered in its support, should be seriously considered when the measure reached the Committee stage. There were several minor matters which had been touched upon, but to which it was not necessary to refer at length, inasmuch as the main interest of the debate had turned upon the question of the area to be selected for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of the Bill. It would be a very serious change from the proposal of the measure if they were to divide the Poor Law Unions into rural and urban sanitary districts. In most parts of the Kingdom, the urban sanitary districts far outnumbered the rural districts; and in these cases, if the proposal of the right hon. Gentleman was carried into effect, the urban districts would outweigh the rural districts in the management of rural affairs. The right hon. Gentleman insisted with much earnestness upon the principle that it was a necessary preliminary to the formation of county boards that the Poor Law Unions should be reduced within the limit of one county. This insistence was an illustration of the dragooning spirit in which some local reformers desired to stimulate local life. It seemed to be forgotten that the county was not an administrative area at all; and it was also lost sight of that the plan of the Bill was to constitute the county boards a municipal representation of the counties for certain important purposes only. We might depend upon it that local communities, as they grew in population and strength, would value nothing more highly than the privilege of managing their own affairs in these respects without interference from the

outside. The county boards, of course, might lay down general lines of guidance in such matters as the storage of water and drainage outlets; but urban communities would not submit to be controlled in detail by county boards. He would go back for a moment to the question of bringing Poor Law Union boundaries within county boundaries. That was an object he had very much at heart; and it was only two years ago that a Bill was passed through Parliament at his instance, which he had hoped would assist in bringing that end about. By the moderate exercise of such powers as were in that Bill, he thought he might pave the way to overcoming many difficulties which existed. In moving the second reading of the Bill, he said that the Government had no special reason for objecting to the Poor Law Union as the area; but it had been found much more convenient to adopt the area in the Bill, on account of the overlapping of boundaries in the Unions. Poor Law Guardians were assigned to parishes in numbers proportioned to the wealth and population of the district they represented; and urban districts, being more populous than the rural, would, by their representatives, exercise a comparatively greater influence in the constitution of the board. The hon. Member for Mid Somersetshire (Mr. Paget) had already quoted from the Reports of Inspectors, prepared some six years ago, showing the difficulties they anticipated in bringing Poor Law Union boundaries within county boundaries; and he would not, therefore, quote further from the Return, though he agreed with the opinions there expressed. He had always been of opinion, though, that some portion of that work might be accomplished, and, by a clause he had inserted in the Bill, he hoped to enlist the county authorities on his side. The Guardians, the ratepayers, and the poor were all concerned, and many conflicting interests interfered when it was proposed to vary Union boundaries. For instance, consideration for the poor had prevented quite recently a change in the case of a parish in Wiltshire belonging to a Hampshire Union. Again, the right hon. Gentleman opposite had neglected a few years since a golden opportunity to transfer Aldershot from a Surrey to a Hampshire Union; he would not take his advice at the time, and he was afraid the

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interests which had now grown up would render it impossible for that desirable change to be made. No effort, however, should be wanting on his part to give that clause a wide and beneficial operation. If the county boards were to be composed of a combination of Unions represented directly by the Guardians as delegates, they might not be disposed to assent to the rectification of boundaries which might be desirable. But if they placed the Guardians, as was proposed by the Bill, in a position where they would get accustomed to consider questions of county policy, they might become more favourable to the correction of existing anomalies. Nobody who was not in favour of an entire break-up of the whole Poor Law system of this country would think it possible that that system could be maintained unless its administration was subject to some control from the central department. He should deprecate, at all events, in the early inception of these boards, any interference by them with the details of poor relief; but he had gone a long way in the endeavour to initiate county boards into work of this kind by assigning to them power to construct buildings which might relieve the workhouses of some of their poor, and also the counties from the expensive obligation which was at present upon them of having to add to lunatic asylums. He should have been glad to go a step further, and place the charge for the in-door poor upon a wider area; but it would be seen at once that owing to the great difficulties in the way, we were very far from having arrived at the point at which that could be done. Until a rectification of county boundaries had been effected, it would be impossible to place the whole charge of the indoor poor on the county rate. Those who examined the clause to which he had referred would see what might be done by the county authority without trenching on the common fund of the different Unions, and without any approach to a shifting of burdens. He thought the right hon. Gentleman who moved the Amendment made use of a rather hard expression when he said that this board would be a justices' board, and chosen in a justices' area. After the sacrifices which had been made by Gentlemen on that side of the House in surrendering so considerable an amount of power as would be taken from the magistrates by the

operation of the Bill, such an expression was rather a hard one. It was a considerable measure to be proposed from that side of the House, and as it had been received almost without objection from that side, it should not have been imputed to them that they desired to monopolize the county boards for the county justices. The petty sessional area was not a justices' area; but it had been selected because it was found to be convenient for the public at large. He entirely disclaimed the notion of making it an administrative area at all. He had selected it only for the purpose of enabling the representatives of parishes to combine together in convenient groups for an important county object. The Amendment required, also, that the election should be direct. So little had been said in support of the principle of direct election, that he was not going at that late hour of the night to dwell upon it. He would only say that he believed direct election would be unpopular in the districts and expensive to the ratepayers. It had been urged by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld), and by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. Goschen), that they ought to have one administrative body within the county for all purposes. The logical inference from that was, either that the Poor Law Guardians must take back the sanitary authority they had parted with to the local boards, or the local boards must take over the poor relief from the president. It was obviously impossible to have two bodies administering the same functions in the same area. It that was not meant, he did not know what was intended by the observation. His hon. Friend the Member for South Norfolk (Mr. Clare Read) had stated that the boards would be too large; but he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) had gone much into the question, and he was satisfied that they would not be so in actual operation. With reference to the remarks of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Hutchinson), as to account and audit for these boards, he (Mr. Sclater-Booth) thought he should be able to satisfy him that all he desired would be accomplished by means of the court of quarter sessions' publication of accounts. He did not think that, on the whole, the number of magistrates was excessive; on the contrary, in some districts it was clearly too

small. There were many points raised in the debate which remained to be considered; but he would not detain the House on them at that hour. The Bill was safe and satisfactory, though the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. Rathbone) had complained of its incompleteness. He could not but remark, however, with reference to one point, that if the number of magistrates set out in the Bill were reduced by one-half, the boards would be prevented from obtaining the assistance of many of those gentlemen who had for such a great number of years conducted the county business in so satisfactory a manner. He did not think that the Bill would work satisfactorily with a smaller number of magistrates. With respect to many of the objections which had been raised, they would receive his attention, and would have full consideration when the Bill got into Committee. The Government had taken up the matter in a Conservative spirit, and he trusted that the House would assist them in their endeavours to render the Bill as perfect as possible, and that it would be found to work in a satisfactory manner.

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON:** I do not propose to follow the right hon. Gentleman in the remarks he has just made. I only wish to state on behalf of my right hon. Friend (Mr. Stansfeld), who, by the Rules of the House, cannot speak again, that he thinks it would not be desirable for him to press his Amendment to a division. In making this announcement, I must express my own opinion that my right hon. Friend has conferred a service on the House by bringing forward his Motion, and by originating the discussion which has taken place. It may be said that there is no principle in the Bill, except one to erect county boards; but my right hon. Friend has pointed out what, in his opinion, are the main principles of the Bill, and to which we take very great exception. There are points, however, which no doubt can be more thoroughly gone into in Committee than on the second reading; but, at the same time, the discussion of them on this evening will render their consideration in Committee easier and more profitable. Now, the principal question raised by my right hon. Friend is that of the proposed area of election to these county boards. About this there seems to be a great

difference of opinion; and at the same time some hon. Members are in favour of direct whilst others are in favour of indirect representation. In reference to the latter point, it appears to me that changes might be made from time to time in the principle of direct representation in any place where it was not found to work satisfactorily; but if you once start with a wrong area of election, then you will have a difficulty in dealing with the matter hereafter. There will be a great deal of work to be undone—perhaps so much that you will find it impossible to undo it. Therefore, I do not think that any time can be wasted in the discussion of that point. It has been objected that the functions to be given under the Bill to members of county boards are not such as will attract the best men in the counties. To that objection we do not attach much importance; because, if these Boards be founded upon true principles they will, in course of time, attract to themselves other and more important functions; but, in order to do this, they must be based on real administrative organization, and not on the organization of districts which are not really administrative districts. That is the issue which my right hon. Friend has raised, and on which, if necessary, he would have taken the sense of the House; but it is an issue which I think may be more advantageously taken in Committee. It has also been objected that the change required to bring the boundaries of the Unions into the area of election will be very great, and no doubt that is so; but, as the right hon. Gentleman has pointed out, it is desirable that those changes should be made sooner or later. It is not necessary that the change should be made at once—it is very easy to make some temporary arrangement, which shall be equal for all purposes of election to these county boards. Now, Sir, I believe that after the Amendment has been withdrawn a Vote will be taken on the second reading. I admit the force of a great deal that has been said by my noble Friend the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), and my hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain); but I would suggest to them that as this Bill does contain an important principle—namely, the introduction of the representative element into county representation—it

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would be better to wait and see what progress is made with the Bill in Committee rather than vote against its principle altogether. At all events, considering the concessions which the Government seem disposed to make, I shall myself vote for the second reading of the Bill.

MAJOR NOLAN drew the attention of the House to the absurd position in which Irish Members were placed by the conduct of the Government and the accidents of debate. In the Queen's Speech they were promised a County Boards Bill for Ireland, but they had not yet heard anything of it. They were now asked, in truth, to commit themselves blindfolded to the principles laid down in the English Bill. If they voted for that Bill, the fact would hereafter be used as a precedent against them in connection with the Irish Bill, and thus they would be making a rod for their own backs. Irish Members on his side of the House took a great interest in the present Bill, for there were no less than 46 county Representatives amongst them. But the Government, in crowding the debate on the second reading into two nights, had virtually condemned many of them to absolute silence. Indeed, only one Member on the Conservative side had spoken on the Bill, and he did so not in his capacity of an Irish Member, but as an English proprietor. The Bill was one which he had studied very carefully, and upon which he had taken the opinion of his constituents. Some of them said it was a step in the right direction; but the great majority agreed that it would be well to wait until they could get something better, so far as Ireland was concerned. The magistrates, beside the half share of representation they were to have upon county boards, would have an influence over their own tenants in the election of Guardians; and the effect of this in Ireland would be to strengthen whatever was left of the feudal system in that country.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I can assure the hon. and gallant Gentleman who has just sat down that it is a subject of great regret to the Government that the Irish Bill on this subject has not yet been placed on the Table; but I hope he and his Friends will do us the justice to bear in mind the peculiar position in which we stand in consequence of the recent change that

has taken place in the Office of Chief Secretary for Ireland. We hope that to-morrow my right hon. Friend the new Chief Secretary will be in his place, and that then, or the next day, he will give Notice to introduce the Bill without delay. The Bill, I may say, has been very carefully prepared; but it is necessary that the new Chief Secretary should have an opportunity of examining it and of making himself acquainted with its actual nature before submitting it to the House. I am perfectly well aware of the great interest which the hon. and gallant Member takes in the subject of local self-government; but I have no doubt that the question which will be raised in connection with Ireland must vary, in some respects, from the solution that is proposed in this English measure. It is impossible that the conditions in the two countries can be exactly the same in a question so peculiarly local as that of county self-government; and I hope that hon. Gentlemen opposite will not think that it has been from any neglect or indifference that the Bill relating to Ireland has not yet been introduced. After all, we are tolerably early in the Session; and I trust there will be ample time for the discussion of the Irish Bill. At any rate, I hope hon. Gentlemen will see that in voting for the second reading of this Bill they do not lose or foreclose their right to take any line they may consider fit hereafter. I think that the course taken by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Halifax (Mr. Stansfeld) is one exceedingly well adapted to the convenience of the House. It was very desirable that the Bill, on its second reading, should be discussed in such a way as would bring all its points under criticism; and I have no doubt that when we get into Committee, my right hon. Friend who has conducted this measure with such pains and ability, will give every consideration to the suggestions that have been made, and at the same time be able to defend those principles which have been attacked.

MR. PARNELL was still of opinion that the Irish Members had been very badly treated. Notwithstanding the desire of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to give them every opportunity of discussing the Irish Bill, they knew, by the experience of last Session, that it was almost impossible he could do so. It was perfectly clear that unless they



could succeed in making the English Bill a good Bill, they would fail in getting anything like a beneficial Act for Ireland. The circumstances of the present Bill very much resembled those of the Prisons Bill of last Session. That was a Bill with which the Irish Members were obliged to interfere with the view of making a good Bill for Ireland. By some that interference was described as obstruction; but in the end the Irish Members succeeded in amending the Bill, and on getting their Amendments incorporated in the Irish Prisons Bill. The latter did not come on in Committee until nearly the end of the Session, and at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning—and where would they have been but for the opposition to the English Bill? It was for this reason, that they desired an opportunity of discussing the points of analogous interest in the present Bill. The Irish Members were of opinion that the principle of direct representation should be incorporated in the Irish Bill. This point might not be a matter of serious importance to the English Liberal Party, because of the administration of the courts of quarter sessions in this country; but in Ireland, where that administration was represented only by Grand Juries, it was a matter of vital concern. There was no county in Ireland which felt more strongly on the subject of county government than his own—County Meath—and there the popular impression was that this Bill was a sham and a delusion. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich (Mr. Gladstone), in his recent speech at Dublin, said he could not countenance the demand for Home Rule, but he was ready to give the people county government. He (Mr. Parnell) would ask the Members of the front Opposition Bench, was this the kind of county government they proposed to give them? If so, he believed it would not increase the admiration of the people for the part they had taken in Irish legislation. He moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed,  
 “That the Debate be now adjourned.”  
 —(Mr. Parnell.)

MR. BIGGAR observed that the greater part of the debate had been devoted to proving that this measure

was not required at all. He would therefore support the Motion for the adjournment in order that the Bill might be withdrawn, and one of real merit substituted.

MR. O'CONNOR POWER said, that many Irish Members desired to speak on the Bill, and if the House went into Committee they would be precluded from doing so. An Amendment had been placed on the Paper which the Irish Members would have been very glad to support; but when they came down to the House, they found that the front Opposition Bench had once more beaten a hasty and precipitate retreat in the face of the enemy. If that misleading Amendment had not been put on the Paper, some Irish Member who was in earnest on the question, would have put down an Amendment, and would have thrashed the matter out. The Speaker, in the exercise of the discretion which was always characterized by the greatest judgment and impartiality, had called upon English Members to speak on the question; but as the Irish Members would be saddled with the consequences of their decision, they asked that further time should be allowed to discuss the many points contained in the Bill. He, therefore, appealed to the right hon. Baronet to consent to the Motion for adjournment.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, he regretted that he could not defer to the appeal which had been made to him by the noble Lord on the front Opposition bench. The reason that he could not do so was, that he read the expressions of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board in a very different sense from that attributed to them by the noble Lord. He could not see that there was anything in what the right hon. Gentleman said, to lead him or anyone else to suppose that when they got into Committee, the right hon. Gentleman would do anything beyond treating all Amendments that might come from that side of the House with the fairness with which he always treated proposals from whatever quarter they might come. When Amendments were proposed, carrying out the principles enunciated by the right hon. Member for Halifax, the supporters of the Government would flock down in considerable numbers, and the Amendments would be thrown

Mr. Parnell

out. When the Bill reached a further stage, they would find that they had made no progress in giving effect to their views. Therefore, though with great reluctance, he felt compelled to press the matter to a division. The Irish Members, he might point out, would have an opportunity of speaking on the Motion that the Speaker do leave the Chair.

MR. SULLIVAN observed, that if that were the case, there appeared to have been a shocking waste of time on the part of the English Members who had addressed the House during the last two evenings, and he trusted that the noble Lord had reserved his own observations for the same occasion.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I did not say that the Irish Members ought to have reserved their speeches. All I said was that they still had an opportunity.

MR. SULLIVAN said, he had not the slightest idea of charging the noble Lord with intending to shut the Irish Members out of this debate. On many questions, besides this one of local government, the Irish Members had a right to speak. He would tell the English Members that Irish legislation had had to pave the way for any reform they ever got. They had, for instance, bled, so to speak, for the Land Question for many years. It was exactly the same upon this matter of county government. They called upon the English Members to realize the fact that the Irish Members were merely going to fight the battle for the future for the English people upon that question. They intended to fight the battle of the English people upon that Bill, knowing, at the same time, that they had to fight their own battle. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had said that the Irish Members would have a full opportunity of discussing the Irish Bill. But when the Irish Bill came on—the debate, having all the life and earnestness worn out of it by the debate on the English Bill, would be one of those dreary discussions that no one would care to listen to. Members would, therefore, naturally say—“We have heard all that before on the English Bill; when the division bell rings we will go in and vote.” The Irish Members learned a little every year, and, as they were brought to that House, they intended to intervene in these

debates for the purpose of serving every useful interest in England as well as in Ireland. He appealed to the Government to grant this adjournment, because, in doing so, they would, as a matter of fact, save time on the Irish Bill.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER pointed out that there was some difference between the position last year with regard to the Prisons Bills and the position this year with regard to the Local Government Bills. Last year the two Prisons Bills were introduced together, and it was found convenient by the Irish Members to discuss the English Bill, as upon a considerable number of questions it governed the decisions upon the Irish Bill. It was an understanding that these discussions should take place with the view subsequently of making the Irish Prisons Bill as nearly as possible identical with the English Prisons Bill. He thought there would probably be more difference between the County Government Bill for England and the Grand Jury Bill for Ireland than there was between the two Prisons Bills last year; and it would be more convenient that the Irish discussion should take place upon the Irish Bill, because if they wished to discuss the principles of the Irish Bill upon the English Bill, they would find there was some difficulty in making their speeches exactly fit the point to which they wished to direct them. The Government were very desirous there should be a fair opportunity given for the discussion of the Irish Bill by the Irish Members and by the whole House, and they were quite ready to propose some arrangement by which that should be effected. He would undertake to provide that when the Irish Bill was before the House a reasonably early day should be given when the Bill should be taken as a first Order, and not put off till late at night. He was quite sure the House would listen with pleasure to the arguments of Irish Members. They would be losing time if an adjournment took place, and he hoped it would not be pressed, but that the House would be now allowed to go to a division on the second reading of the Bill.

SIR GEORGE BOWYER trusted that the Motion for the adjournment would not be pressed. The principles of the Irish Bill were entirely different from those of the English Bill. In Ireland

taxation was in the hands of the Grand Juries, and in England financial administration belonged to quarter sessions. These two bodies were as distinct as possible, and the two cases must be argued in a perfectly different manner.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY said, if they had the Irish Bill before them they would not be in their present difficulty. He would suggest that they should have the opportunity of seeing the Irish Bill in print and discussing it before this Bill went into Committee. Last year they had to agree to the Irish Public Health Bill being read a second time without discussion. As a protest against this slovenly way of dealing with Irish legislation, he would support the Motion for the adjournment.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON expressed a hope that hon. Members would adopt the advice of the noble Lord the Member for Calne (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), and postpone the further discussion till a later stage. Most of the English Members who desired to speak had already stated their views; and, unless there was so much difference of opinion among the Irish Members that they were capable of keeping up the debate for a whole night, he did not see the advantage of an adjournment. He had no doubt that the hon. Member for Mayo (Mr. O'Connor Power) would be able to frame a satisfactory Amendment at a further stage of the Bill.

MR. SOLATER - BOOTH promised that the Government would not proceed with the Committee until the Irish Bill had been read a second time.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman quite altered the situation.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn*.

Main Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 231; Noes 63: Majority 168.—(Div. List, No. 17.)

Bill read a second time, and committed for Thursday 7th March.

#### SUPPLY.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Resolved, That a sum, not exceeding £1,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, to pay off and dis-

Sir George Bowyer

charge Exchequer Bonds that will become due and payable during the year ending on the 31st day of March, 1878.

Resolution to be reported *To-morrow*;  
Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday*.

#### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 44.]

(The O'Connor Don, Mr. Richard Smyth, Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. James Cerry, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Dease, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Redmond.

COMMITTEE. [Progress 14th February.]

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, that no confidence could be placed by the Irish people in legislation commenced at that hour of the night or morning. This Bill was run through the second reading, without hon. Members getting any reasonable opportunity of speaking upon it, and there were most important Amendments on the Paper which would alter the entire character of the Bill, and to some of which he should offer every opposition. Public opinion in Ireland was not in favour of this measure to the extent some hon. Members imagined. A large number of his own constituents had requested him to support Sunday closing, and he suggested to them that before they undertook to tell him what were the views of his constituents, as a whole, they should hold a public meeting on the subject. A public meeting was accordingly held at the latter end of last week, and the Chairman of the Town Commissioners, a gentleman who had signed the Memorial sent through him in favour of Sunday closing, presided. At that meeting two resolutions were passed. The first was—

“Resolved, that this meeting is of opinion and feels that the Sunday Closing Bill now before Parliament is a measure pressed on the House by a minority of agitators against the wish of the great majority of the people of this country; that it is subversive of and an attempt to disturb the vested rights of the licensed traders; that it is also a blow directed against the unfettered rights of the working classes, which they have heretofore enjoyed; and, in conclusion, we have to add that the Bill is against the voice of the majority of the people of this country.”

They also passed a second resolution—

THE CHAIRMAN observed, that it was usual for hon. Members in some way to connect their observations with the Motion with which they presumably intended to conclude.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he was addressing himself to the circumstance of the Bill being before the House at 20 minutes to 2 o'clock in the morning, and the absolute necessity, owing to the conflict of opinions, for time to deliberate. He would, however, at once move that the Chairman report Progress.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again."—(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna.*)

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY observed, that when the Bill was last before the House, there was no doubt its opponents were taken by surprise by its being brought on at an unexpected early hour; but on this occasion they had full Notice that it would be proceeded with, and the consequence was that they were present. On that account, therefore, he should not support the Motion for Progress; but as they were all interested in the question being properly discussed, he should join in urging the Government to give proper facilities for the fair discussion of the Bill.

THE O'CONOR DON felt it would be unreasonable in him to ask the Committee to discuss the Bill at so late an hour; but he wished to point out that he was placed in this difficulty—if the Bill was brought on early, complaint was made that hon. Members were taken by surprise, and if late, that it was too late to consider the Bill properly. Then they had the statement of the Government on the last occasion, that they must use every effort to get the Bill on at a time when it could be properly discussed. On this occasion he had stated early in the evening that he should bring the Bill on at whatever hour he could. In accordance with that pledge, he felt it his duty to propose going on; but as to now reporting Progress, he placed himself in the hands of the House, and would bow to its decision. The hon. Member for Limerick (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) had appealed to the Government to give facilities for the discussion of the Bill. He (the O'Conor Don) had made a similar appeal a few nights before. He would not now repeat it; but he would give an assurance on behalf of the promoters of the Bill that they were most anxious to come to the consideration of the Government

Amendments, and to approach them with every desire of coming to a satisfactory arrangement. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had very fairly stated that if the Amendments proposed by the Government were substantially adopted, he would give facilities for the passing of the Bill. On behalf of its promoters, he would meet the right hon. Gentleman's suggestion in the same spirit in which it was made, and in the hope that they might be able to come to some agreement. Of course, with respect to the first Amendment of the hon. Member for Limerick, it went to the whole principle of the Bill, and involved a re-opening of the whole question. This principle had been very fully discussed last Session, and again substantially discussed this Session on the second reading; and they could not assent to a re-opening of it.

MR. MURPHY denied that the principle of the Bill had received a full discussion this Session. It was not debated on the second reading, it being understood that the discussion should take place on going into Committee; but no discussion then really took place. There had, therefore, been no debate worthy of the subject, and it was absolutely necessary that the Bill should undergo a full and fair discussion. It was only now that it was becoming understood in Ireland, and the evidence which the House was receiving from that country showed that its real opinion had always been against the measure. The Amendment of the hon. Member for Limerick struck at the root of the Bill, and it was of the greatest importance that it should be fully considered.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER said, that, of course, at that advanced hour it was impossible they could proceed with the consideration of the clauses, and he hoped that the hon. Gentleman who was in charge of the Bill would consent to Progress being reported. If the Government obtained facilities for the despatch of other Business, they would undertake not later than a fortnight or three weeks to provide a day for the discussion of the Bill.

MR. ONSLOW hoped the Bill would not be put down on the Order Book night after night on the bare possibility that it might be brought on.

THE O'CONOR DON said, he intended to move that the further consideration of the Bill in Committee should be taken on Thursday next.

MR. O'SULLIVAN called attention to the fact that some of the promoters of this Irish measure had stated at public meetings that their desire in pressing on the Legislature the closing of public-houses on Sunday in Ireland was that they might lay the foundation for an English Sunday closing system—that when the Irish Bill passed, they might assist in bringing forward one for England. That admission having been made, he thought the Government could not do better than fix a day when the principle of Sunday closing in its application to both England and Ireland might be discussed on one broad and common basis.

MR. SANDFORD warned the hon. Member for Roscommon (the O'Conor Don) that if he persisted in the vexatious policy of putting this Bill down night after night, and bringing it on at such an hour in the morning, he (Mr. Sandford) would move on the next occasion that the course was taken that the day for resuming Committee on the Bill should be fixed in September.

THE O'CONOR DON considered that after the statement made by the right hon. Gentleman, he should not be justified in bringing the Bill on after 12.30; but opportunities might arise through the lapsing of other Business, and the House might be able to come to the consideration of this Bill at a comparatively early hour. It would, therefore, be necessary to keep the Bill on the Paper; but he would undertake, at all events, during the time named by the right hon. Gentleman, not to proceed with the Bill after 12.30.

*Motion agreed to.*

Committee report Progress; to sit again upon *Thursday*.

#### PUBLIC WORKS (EAST INDIA).

Select Committee on Public Works (East India) *nominated*:—MR. BALFOUR, MR. FAWCETT, MR. CHILDERS, MR. ASHBURY, SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, MR. ONSLOW, MR. JOHN CROSS, MR. HARDCASTLE, SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA, MR. SAMPSON LLOYD, MR. GRANT DUFF, MR. MULHOLLAND, MR. EUSTACE SMITH, MR. AGNEW, and LORD GEORGE HAMILTON:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.—(*Lord George Hamilton.*)

#### PUBLIC ACCOUNTS.

Committee of Public Accounts *nominated*:—SIR WALTER BARTHELOT, LORD FREDERICK CAVENDISH, MR. CUBITT, LORD ESSLINGTON, MR. GOLDNEY, MR. THOMSON HANKEY, SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, MR. O'REILLY, SIR CHARLES MILLIS, MR. SEELY, and Colonel STANLEY.—(*Colonel Stanley.*)

House adjourned at Two o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 19th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Lord de Clifford, after the death of his father. SELECT COMMITTEE—Intemperance, Earl of Shaftesbury *discharged*. PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading*—Public Parks (Scotland) (18). Committee—*Report*—House Occupiers Disqualification Removal\* (17); Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis)\* (12).

#### THE EASTERN QUESTION—THE OCCUPATION OF GALLIOLI.—QUESTION.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, perhaps the noble Earl at the head of the Foreign Office will allow me to ask him, Whether, without injury to the public service, he can give the House any further information with regard to the negotiations now understood to be carried on respecting the occupation of Gallipoli?

THE EARL OF DERBY: My Lords, I am always ready to give your Lordships any information in my power; but all I can say on the very important subject to which the noble Duke has called attention is that those communications are still going on between the two Governments. I have no doubt that at the next meeting of this House I shall be in a position to state the result.

#### PUBLIC PARKS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

(*The Lord Kinnauld.*)

(NO. 18) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading, read.

LORD KINNAIRD, in moving that the Bill be now read the second time,

said, it was one to enable Local Authorities in Scotland to acquire and lay out land for Public Parks and Pleasure Grounds. These places of recreation were much needed for the population of our large overcrowded towns, and in England the privilege was granted which, by the present Bill, it was sought to extend to Scotland. Every enacting clause of the Bill was already law in England; and the Bill as it stood was approved by the Lord Advocate as well as by the Home Secretary, having been, with slight Amendments, carried with their help in the House of Commons. Parliament had always been disposed to view with favour attempts to bring the laws of England and Scotland into harmony, and this Bill was a step in that direction.

*Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>a</sup>."*  
—(*The Lord Kinnaird.*)

THE EARL OF REDESDALE pointed out that a formal alteration in respect to procedure under the Bill was desirable in the Bill as it came up from the other House.

Motion *agreed to*; Bill read 2<sup>a</sup> accordingly, and committed to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, to Thursday next, half past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 19th February, 1878.*

MINUTES.]—SELECT COMMITTEE—Irish Land Act, 1870, Mr. Downing discharged, Mr. Melton added.

SUPPLY—considered in Committee—Resolution [18th February] reported—(\$1,000,000) Exchequer Bonds.

PUBLIC BILLS—Second Reading—Ancient Monuments [63]; Dental Practitioners [96], debate adjourned.

Select Committee—Public Health Act (1875) Amendment\* [66], nominated.

Committee—Report—Globe Loans (Ireland) [9].

VOL. CXXXVII. [THIRD SERIES.]

## QUESTIONS.

### POST OFFICE—MONEY-ORDER OFFICE. QUESTION.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE asked the Postmaster General, Whether it is a fact that since the 1st of April 1873 no promotions have been made from the second and third class of the Money Order Department of the General Post Office, although during the period in question many vacancies have occurred and still exist, no alteration having been made in the establishment of that office?

LORD JOHN MANNERS: Yes, Sir; it is the fact that no promotions have been made as stated in the Question of the hon. Baronet. On that date, in consequence of a general revision, accompanied by optional retirements, there were a large number of promotions, and the higher positions were filled by comparatively young men, among whom, presumably, vacancies would be slower than among those whom they had succeeded. Thus, in the first class, no vacancy, and in the second class, only one vacancy occurred until 1876. Since then several vacancies have occurred in consequence of exceptional circumstances, which induced me to propose to the Treasury that the office should be revised again. A decision on this proposal is expected daily, and as soon as it arrives no time shall be lost in making any promotions that may remain to be made under the new scheme.

### TURKEY—THE WAR—ILL-TREATMENT OF ENGLISH DOCTORS.

#### QUESTION.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he can afford any information as to how the Russians disposed and what has become of Doctors Armand, Leslie, and Neville, two of whom are British subjects, who were made prisoners by the Russians at Kamarli early in January?

MR. BOURKE: Sir, from communications which we have received, we understand that the doctors mentioned in the Question of the hon. Gentleman were made prisoners of war at Kamarli;

and, subsequently, they, no doubt, endured very great hardships. When they arrived at Adrianople the Grand Duke Nicholas, upon the representation of our Consul, Mr. Blunt, ordered their release, and they were then granted permission to proceed to Constantinople. When the hardships that these gentlemen had endured came to be known to Her Majesty's Government, they instructed their Ambassador at St. Petersburg to make representations to the Russian Government; and we are informed that the Commander-in-Chief expressed his very great regret at the hardships they had endured, and he said that rigorous inquiries would be instituted into the matter and severe punishment inflicted upon the persons who were responsible for those hardships, if it turned out that the facts alleged were true. Upon their release the prisoners in question went to Constantinople, and we are informed that two of them are intending to return to England.

#### INDIA—THE LOCAL SERVICE AND STAFF CORPS.—QUESTION.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Secretary of State for India intends to extend to the Indian Service the provisions of the Royal Warrant on retirements; and, whether there is any intention to revise the pension regulations of the Indian Army?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Sir, officers in the Indian service are either in the local service or the Staff Corps. The first have their rights guaranteed by a clause in an Act of Parliament, and the Staff Corps promotion being by length of service, the Royal Warrant alluded to could not regulate their retirement. At present there is no scheme for the revision of the pension regulations of the Indian Army under the consideration of the Secretary of State.

#### INDIA—IRRIGATION REPORTS. QUESTION.

MR. FORTESCUE HARRISON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he will lay upon the Table of the House the annual Indian Irrigation Reports, as yearly printed, circulated among Indian officials, and sent to the India Office; and, whether

*Mr. Bourke*

the Reports for at least ten years cannot be made accessible to Members, and those of 1875-7 printed for the use of Members?

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON, in reply, said, that the Reports referred to had for the last 10 years been sent to the Library of the House. They were too bulky to be laid on the Table; but there would be no objection to the production of a small Return showing what was the exact state of things in connection with the subject. In fact, the India Office were now considering the best way of condensing them in order to furnish it.

#### SOUTH AFRICA—THE KAFFIR OUTBREAK.—QUESTION.

MR. E. JENKINS asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, in view of the nature of the intelligence from South Africa, he will give the House some official information of the state of affairs at the Cape, and as to the proceedings which are being taken by the Government to arrange the existing difficulties?

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: In reply to the Question of the hon. Member, which is rather of a general character, I have no official intelligence to give him with respect to the state of affairs at the Cape materially differing from that which he has doubtless seen through the ordinary channels of information. I think, however, there is reason to hope that the disturbances on the Cape frontier are in course of being suppressed, and that the Zulu King, whose actions exercise great influence among all South African Natives, is adopting a more pacific attitude. With regard to political matters, of course, the whole energies of the Cape Government are occupied by the military situation, and therefore it is impossible to consider what measures may or may not be necessary after peace is restored.

#### INHABITED HOUSE DUTY BILL. QUESTION.

MR. A. H. BROWN asked the right hon. Member for the City of London (Mr. Hubbard), Whether he intended to proceed with the Bill on Wednesday (that day), seeing that it was the Fourth Order, and that there was not much probability of its being brought on?

MR. J. G. HUBBARD, in reply, said, the Bill was one of great importance; but as it stood a very small chance of being considered, in consequence of there being two Irish measures in the way, he was afraid he should have to postpone it. He would, however, appeal to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, if the right hon. Gentleman was satisfied that the provisions of the Bill were reasonable, whether he would not adopt them in the fiscal legislation of the Session?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER: I may answer the Question at once; but only to say that the subject is one which has engaged my attention, and I hope to be able to deal with it when I make my Financial Statement to the House.

#### EDUCATION (SCOTLAND)—THE CODE OF 1878 AND THE GAELIC LANGUAGE.

##### WITHDRAWAL OF MOTION.

MR. FRASER MACKINTOSH, who had a Notice on the Paper of a Motion for an Address to Her Majesty, praying that she would

“be graciously pleased to direct that an addition should be made to the Scottish Education Code for 1878, providing, in the Gaelic speaking districts of Scotland, and where the School Boards so resolve, that instruction in and by means of Gaelic shall be regarded and dealt with as a proper subject of and means of education,”

said, with the leave of the House he would now withdraw it. Since his Motion was put on the Notice Paper, the Education Department had agreed to make certain additions to the New Scottish Education Code, which, to some extent, met the object he had in view. It would, therefore, be unnecessary for him to bring forward his Motion that night.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

#### MOTIONS.



#### BOROUGH FRANCHISE (IRELAND).

##### RESOLUTION.

MR. MELDON, in rising to call attention to the restricted nature of the Borough Franchise in Ireland, and to move—

“That the restricted nature of the Borough Franchise of Ireland, as compared with that existing in England and Scotland, is a subject deserving the immediate attention of Parliament, with a view of establishing a fair and just equality of the Franchise in the three countries,”

said, he would take that opportunity of expressing his regret at Ireland having lost the services of the late excellent Chief Secretary (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who had pledged himself on entering Office four years ago to give fair and candid consideration to all well-founded Irish grievances. He (Mr. Melton) believed it had been established over and over again that the borough franchise question, as it affected Ireland, was a substantial grievance; and if the late Chief Secretary had not been able to carry out his pledge so far as that question was concerned, it was, he believed, because the watchword of the Tory Party was the restriction of the franchise. Well, they were at present in the midst of a great crisis, and he would appeal to the House whether this was not a fitting opportunity for conciliating Ireland by extending to her the same political rights and privileges as were now enjoyed by England. His (Mr. Melton's) Motion involved no new principles of any kind, and he was quite satisfied to take his stand upon them, for they were admitted and adopted by hon. Gentlemen who sat on the opposite side of the House. It only proposed to establish in Ireland the same principle as obtained in England and Scotland in the matter of the borough franchise. To entitle a person to the borough franchise in England and Scotland, it was necessary he should be a male inhabitant, a householder, that his poor rate should be paid, and that he should reside for a certain specified period in the house; but in Ireland a man was not entitled to the franchise unless he were a householder—tenant of a house of certain value—namely, £6. Apart from this limited franchise, the law in Ireland threw every difficulty in the way of the people obtaining it, and there was a material difference in this respect between the two countries. In certain parts of Ireland it was absolutely prohibitory—actually preventing occupiers who paid by the week or the month from being put upon the register at all, because the landlords, and not they, were rated. Was that just, fair, and



reasonable? If there was to be any difference, surely it ought to be the poorer country that ought to have the lower franchise and not the richer one, whereas the reverse was the case. Although in Ireland they presumably had the same county franchise, still in reality it was a £15 franchise and not a £12 franchise, while in the boroughs it was really a £6 franchise, as compared with the £4 franchise in England and Scotland. Why should not the same principle be adopted in Ireland, and the same principles applied to both countries? The same principles which carried the Reform Bill of 1867 were equally applicable to Ireland, and they were put forward by the Conservative Party themselves. Had an Irishman less stake in the country than an Englishman under similar circumstances? Why should an Irishman living in a £4 house at Liverpool be disfranchised if he went to live in such a house at Dublin? The only excuse must be that the Irishman was unfit to exercise the franchise. The statement frequently put forward was that the Irish people received equal rights with the people of England; but that was not true. This Parliament, they were told, looked upon Ireland as an integral part of the Kingdom; but he maintained that the country did not enjoy the same political rights—consequently, he would press upon the House the necessity of adopting his Motion. They had not equality of representation, nor had they equal rights. While in England and Scotland there was an extended franchise, in Ireland there was a limited constituency. Therefore, even assuming that union was to be maintained as it at present existed, he would appeal to the House to carry out their part of the contract, and to give them what they now asked—equal political rights in this matter. They had no such political rights, and were not on terms of equality. No union existed between the two countries. Parliament gave them what it pleased, and between the two countries there was the same position as that which existed between master and servant. The Irish people were ground down by the iron heel of their conquerors. What had Ireland done that she should not be properly represented in that House? Why was she to have a limited constituency while the people of England and Scotland had a large

franchise? What was to prevent them being treated on equal terms? If the Imperial Parliament chose to carry out the Union, he trusted that it would be maintained by honour, good faith, and fair dealing between the two countries, and not in the way it had hitherto been. The existence of inequality was too patent and too strong to be denied, and he would now quote a few figures in order to show how the matter stood. It was an astonishing fact, which demonstrated the justice of the cause he was advocating, that one city in Scotland—Glasgow—had a larger number of electors than all the boroughs of Ireland. Glasgow, with a population of 477,732, had 60,570 electors; Birmingham, with a population of 343,787, had a constituency of 61,756; Liverpool, with a population of 493,400, had a constituency of 59,667; and Manchester, with a population of 379,374, had a constituency of 63,938; In Ireland, however, the 31 boroughs, with a population of 882,146, had only 53,953 voters. Wherever we looked for facts, they all tended to show that Ireland was represented in that House in an entirely different manner from the rest of the United Kingdom. Scotland, with a population of less than 3,500,000, had in her boroughs no fewer than 202,852 electors; whereas Ireland, with a population of more than 4,500,000, had only 53,953 electors. England, with a population of 22,500,000, had 1,514,716 names on the registers of her boroughs. In England the number of borough voters had been more than trebled since the Reform Act of 1867, whereas in Ireland only about 20,000 had been added to the total number of voters. Dublin, with a population of 267,617, had only 12,310 electors; while Leeds, with a population of 259,212, had 49,300; Sheffield, with a population of 239,946, had 40,543; and Edinburgh, with a population of 196,979, had 26,934 electors. In Cork, with a population of about 100,000, there were only 4,445 electors; while in Nottingham, with a population of 86,600, there were 17,632. In Limerick, with a population of 49,853, there were only 1,804; while in Gateshead, with a population of 48,627, there were 11,516. In Waterford, with a population of 29,988, there were 1,414 electors; while in Great Grimsby, with a population of 26,892, there were 5,285. In England, as he

*Mr. Meldom*

had said, they had the borough constituencies about trebled since 1863; and if they assimilated the franchise in Ireland to that which existed in England, the number of electors would be increased from 53,000 to 97,890. He had shown that the borough franchise in Ireland was based upon a totally different principle from that of England; and he now asked the House to affirm that in this matter there was no difference whatever in the circumstances of the two countries, and Irishmen were as much entitled to the franchise as though they were living in England. It was a breach of union between the two countries. In conclusion, he hoped he was not over sanguine in trusting that the House would adopt the Motion he had laid before it, and which he now begged to move.

Mr. GRAY seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the restricted nature of the Borough Franchise of Ireland, as compared with that existing in England and Scotland, is a subject deserving the immediate attention of Parliament, with a view of establishing a fair and just equality of the Franchise in the three countries."—(*Mr. Meldon*.)

MR. CHARLES LEWIS, who had the following Notice upon the Paper:—As an Amendment to Mr. Meldon's Motion on Borough Franchise (*Ireland*), to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, there is no substantial ground for believing that in the present state of the Irish Borough Representation the opinions of the inhabitants of the borough constituencies are not really represented: That it appears that certain of the borough constituencies returning thirty Members have a population of less than one-sixteenth of the whole of Ireland: That under these circumstances the reform which is really required in the Representation of Ireland is a re-distribution of seats,"

said, the intense interest felt in that question by Irish Members—if not by all Irish Members, by Irish borough Members; and if not by all Irish borough Members, by all Irish Liberal borough Members—was shown by the fact that, during the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Kildare (*Mr. Meldon*), there was but one Irish Liberal borough Member in the House, or at most there were but two, and if all the Irish Liberal Members were included, only six were present. It had, doubt-

less, in various forms been brought before the notice of the House; but no interest in it had been manifested by the Liberal electors of Ireland, and many debates had taken place with regard to it from time to time. Now, what was the nature of the settlement which it was proposed to disturb by the Resolution, and the Bill which would be the result of it if passed? It was a settlement made almost without division, by the concurrence of both sides of the House, 10 years ago. No doubt, it was made under a Conservative Government, but a Government which had to carry its Reform Bills under the pressure and check of the great Liberal Party. If he recollected aright, there was only one division taken—namely, as to whether the line should be drawn at £4 and under or at £4, and Mr. Chichester Fortescue expressed his approval of the franchise proposed by the Bill. The root of the difference between different persons on this subject lay in this—that some considered the franchise a right, and others considered it a trust; some believed it a means, others that it was an end in itself. He confessed he belonged to the unpopular side. He did not believe that the franchise existed as a right inherent in any class or set of men, and legislation had never in this country proceeded on any such principle. If so, the question arose, was this change expedient in itself in reference to the country into which it was to be introduced; was it asked by the people; was it in itself a practical measure; and could it be looked at irrespective of other electoral measures before the House? If this were a measure popular in Ireland, they would not have seen such a state of the benches opposite while the hon. and learned Gentleman was making his able speech. How else were they to test whether the measure was popular? By Petitions to that House and public meetings. But during the present Parliament, he had searched and had not been able to discover that a single Petition had been presented to the House from any constituency or person in Ireland asking for that or any similar change. Had there been any public meetings on the subject? Not one. The hon. and learned Gentleman said, assimilate the law of Ireland to that of England. That was put forward as an act of dilatory

justice in order to restore the equilibrium of good feeling and concord between the two countries. But was Ireland really entitled to make any objection or put forward any claim on this score? The treatment of the Irish nation in past time, as regarded the franchise, had rather been in favour of Ireland; and the Legislature, not by accident, but by design, had been more liberal to her than to England. In 1860, or 16 years before the county franchise was reduced to £12 in England, it was reduced to £12 in Ireland. At that present time, there was a lower leasehold qualification for counties in Ireland than in England. They had another specimen of the course of legislation with reference to the borough franchise. In 1860 the English qualification was £10, whilst the Irish was only £8. It so happened now that the difference between the borough franchise in England and Ireland was, so to say, to the disadvantage of the Irish; but, as he had said, they had to deal with a state of circumstances based upon a settlement made 10 years ago, practically with the consent of both sides of the House; and before any change was effected, they must ask themselves, did the present representation in the boroughs fairly represent popular feeling? He was bound to admit that the representation did accurately represent the population, for he was sorry to say that, out of 37 borough Members, 21 described themselves as Home Rulers, and seven others were Liberal Members, so that 28 out of the 37 sat on the Liberal side of the House. Did the hon. and learned Member believe that, even if his nostrum were adopted, there would be any considerable change in the colour of the representation? The hon. and learned Gentleman had not ventured to say that the feelings of constituents were not now represented, and it was in vain he (Mr. Lewis) looked for an argument to support the proposition. No one could believe that in the town of Belfast any different result would occur from drawing the line of representation much lower. The same might be said of the boroughs of Lisburn, Armagh, and Enniskillen. With a very few other exceptions, the Liberal Party had a monopoly of the whole Irish borough representation. The next question was a most serious one—What was the

class which would be introduced into the borough constituency in Ireland by the proposed change, and what amount of electoral power would be conferred on that class? He (Mr. Lewis) hoped he should not be called a slanderer of the lower class in Ireland if he said that the class raised into power would consist of the worst educated, the poorest, the most dependent, the least able to resist influences of an undue character, the least able to resist the demands of religion; and occupation, and labour, the least able to give an independent vote, the least educated, and the least able to give an intelligent vote. Then, when he came to examine the power proposed to be conferred upon this residuum of constituents, he found that in the large majority of boroughs in Ireland the number of occupiers rated at and under £4 exceeded the entire number rated at upwards of £4. Taking out for a moment the towns of Belfast, Cork, and Dublin, the remaining boroughs showed of occupiers rated at £4 and under, 34,806; while the number above £4 was 24,463. So that they would be conferring a voting power upon a far larger number of persons whose rating was at and under £4 than the entire number of present electors. But taking in the whole borough constituencies of Ireland, including Belfast, Cork, and Dublin, the scale was turned slightly, but not very much, the other way, being as follows:—Above the £4 valuation, 74,623; at and under, 56,902. In the whole borough constituencies in Ireland the valuation on which rates were assessed above the £4 line was £1,226,000, while under £4 it was not one-tenth of that amount, being only £116,000, so that the alteration proposed would in 28 boroughs give an entire preponderance to those rated at and under £4, although their rating was only one-tenth of the other. These figures were of the greatest importance with reference to the social life and the various organizations of parties in Ireland, as well as in relation to the collateral measures which the Liberal Party were supposed to have in view for that country. But, going yet a little lower in the scale, he would take four borough constituencies—Drogheda, Galway, Limerick, and Waterford—where there were houses, tenements, huts, hovels rated so low as 5s., on which it was proposed to

*Mr. Charles Lewis*

confer the franchise. In Drogheda, out of the entire number of 3,564 tenements, huts, hovels, or what-not rated under 20s., 1,275 would be admitted to the franchise; and if they went to 40s., 2,173 would be admitted, or 60 per cent of the entire number of houses of Drogheda under 40s. valuation. In Galway, out of the entire number of householders—3,554—there were 1,426 persons holding tenements rated at and under 20s., while under 40s. there were 1,896. In Limerick, out of a total of 7,274, 1,767 were under 20s., and 3,187 under 40s. The House would have to consider seriously whether that was the sort of constituency which it was desirable to build up instead of the existing one. Those who were satisfied with quantity rather than quality might be content with the proposed change; but he thought the House should pause and ponder before they committed themselves to such a state of things. Lastly, he came to Waterford, where 1,878 were rated under 40s. in a total of 4,544. He would not detain the House too long with statistics, but would give some figures relating to England as a contrast. It was the only outward test he could bring to bear as to the state of the same class in the two Kingdoms. Out of 50 English boroughs the number of male persons rated at and under £4 was 69,406, as against 301,080 above £4; or less than a quarter as many under as above the £4 line. The hon. and learned Gentleman, in reviewing the state of things in England and Ireland, had spoken of Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, and some of the richest cities of England and Scotland in a somewhat inapt comparison between them and the weak, decaying towns in the South of Ireland, where there was never any sign of prosperity. He (Mr. Lewis) had himself extracted the proportion of voters to the populations of the English boroughs, and had found it to be in Marylebone, 1 in 15; in Finsbury, 1 in 12; in Chelsea, 1 in 11; in Dover, 1 in 13; in Greenwich, 1 in 10; in Plymouth, 1 in 16; in Southwark, 1 in 11; in the Tower Hamlets, 1 in 13; and in Westminster, 1 in 15. He admitted that in Manchester and other towns the proportions were higher. As for Irish boroughs, taking Belfast, he found that, with all the restrictions upon the franchise, there was a larger proportion

of voters than in Westminster; in Derry it was the same; in Enniskillen, Newry, and Dungannon, 1 in 15; in Antrim, 1 in 16; in Downpatrick, 1 in 17; in Lisburn, 1 in 10; and in Coleraine, 1 in 17; and these were the worst specimens he could find. The scale, however, was weighted when they came to the fading towns in the South, from which trade and population had both gone; the proportion was, in Carlow, 1 in 26; in Drogheda and Ennis, 1 in 32; in Galway and Kilkenny, 1 in 22; in Tralee and Dublin, 1 in 30; in Waterford, 1 in 29; and in Limerick, 1 in 25. The difference between these two groups was considerable; but if they went to any town in the North of Ireland, they would find it not only able to hold its own against England, but even, in some cases, to show a better result as regarded the proportion of electors to population. When he heard Manchester and Liverpool mentioned, he felt that the comparison was rather dangerous in the hands of the hon. and learned Gentleman; for Manchester and Liverpool, with a population exceeding that of the Irish boroughs, returned six Members as against 37 by the latter. He knew that the question opened up a very much larger one. The House was probably aware that, with a most trifling exception, there had been no re-distribution of seats in Ireland since the Union, so that the state of the borough representation could only be described as monstrous. It was not only that the boroughs had too many Members, but also that, as regarded their relative size, they were badly distributed, no just proportion of representation being maintained. He would just re-count the figures. The entire population of the boroughs in Ireland was only 866,000 persons, and they had 37 Representatives, or 39, including the two vacant seats; the county population was 4,548,713, with only 64 Members. In other words, the counties had five times the population, and not twice the representation of the boroughs, which, if justice were done, would return no more than 17 Members. The injustice, moreover, was not only between boroughs and counties, but also between the boroughs themselves. Nine of the smallest borough constituencies—Youghal, Portarlington, Ennis, Athlone, Dungarvan, Dungannon, Kinsale, Mallow, and

Tralee—had a valuation not exceeding £66,430, and they returned nine Members. The valuation of Derry was £64,913, and it returned only one Member to Parliament. The entire population of the nine towns was not more than 49,725, which was not double that of Derry. There were also two very remarkable constituencies that had been fading away Census after Census, with the exception of Galway at the last Census—namely, the cities of Galway and Waterford; though, by the favour and forbearance of Parliament, each returned two Members. The population of Galway was under 20,000, and its valuation £32,469, or one-half that of Derry. Its—Galway's—electors, including a large number of freemen, numbered 1,354. Waterford was not quite so bad. Its population was under 30,000, and its valuation was £53,000, the number of electors being 1,400. He had quoted enough figures to show that the House could not deal with the question as if it involved no difficulty. The question of Irish Reform was a far more searching and far more reaching question than Irish Members seemed to contemplate; and when it was undertaken in connection with a new Reform Bill, it must be carried out root-and-branch—especially with regard to the county constituencies, in justice to whom not half the boroughs now sending Members to Parliament were entitled to return Members at all. There were 10 Irish boroughs the population of which was under 7,000, although the increasing prosperity of the North gave Ireland some flourishing towns of from 10,000 to 13,000; and in the South there were Kingstown and other places that were deserving of consideration. He did not mean to suggest that it was the duty of the Government to set to work at once to introduce an Irish Reform Bill; but he did suggest that so far from its being the duty of the House to deal with the question in a fragmentary manner, it ought, under no circumstances, to deal with the subject until it was brought forward by a responsible Minister of the Crown with a majority behind him. That Motion constituted one of the great gala or festival days of the House, for it was about the only occasion he knew of when the Liberal Party was seen in union. The front Opposition Bench, according to their own supporters, were

in the habit of running away after moving Resolutions and not stopping for the division; but, with one or two remarkable exceptions, the franchise was a question on which hon. Gentlemen opposite were generally unanimous in their voting, though certain right hon. Gentlemen did not confine themselves, on this question, to opposing their Party in the House, but opposed it out of the House, writing articles against their Colleagues for the purpose of illustrating that there was not, after all, complete union of the Liberal Party even on the question of the franchise. But, looking at it altogether, there was no doubt that the Liberal Party was more or less united on the question of the franchise, and they would be more or less united on Friday next. Only two right hon. Gentlemen would dis sever themselves from their Colleagues. The Conservative Party might congratulate themselves that upon that question, on which they would be called upon to vote on Friday—household suffrage in counties—they were in the right and the Liberal Party in the wrong. ["No, no!"] He would ask anyone likely to be led away by the plausible nature of the Motion this day proposed to consider what would be the result in Ireland if the Resolutions of to-day and of Friday were passed and embodied in a Bill? It could only be followed out to its logical conclusion by giving the same county franchise to Ireland as existed in the other parts of the United Kingdom; and when they had the evil political example of a borough franchise debased to the man who paid upon a 5s. rental, the same rule would have to be applied to the counties; and, though he did not wish to say anything to excite religious feeling, he would assert that the effect of such a step would be to sweep out of existence the entire Protestant constituency. Belfast, and, perhaps, through the popularity of their present Members, Lisburn, might escape from such a flood; but with those exceptions, the result of carrying out the proposed measure of household franchise in Ireland as regarded boroughs, based on no test, and no limitation at all, and then applying the same principle—as the Liberal Party desired, to the counties—would be that one-fifth of the population of Ireland, containing far more than

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one-fifth of its wealth, influence, respectability, and loyalty, would be entirely destroyed, and would have no representation. He had not ventured to speak on the subject before; but he hoped to find many Members on the other side who would pause long before committing themselves to a step of that character, the result of which they could not thoroughly appreciate, unless they considered the points he had ventured to put before the House.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the hon. Member intend to move his Amendment?

MR. CHARLES LEWIS: No; he would content himself with negating the Resolution?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he was sure the House, in common with himself, must thank the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Charles Lewis) for having put the opposition of the Party to which he belonged upon grounds that were thoroughly intelligible. Last year the Opposition were placed in considerable difficulty by the speech of the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), then Chief Secretary, now Secretary for the Colonies, from which it was impossible to draw a conclusion as to the grounds on which the opposition of the Government were based; but there was no mistake at all about the grounds taken by the hon. Member for Londonderry. He adopted the well-known language of Lord Eldon—the argument in favour of rotten boroughs—the argument that representation should depend upon property alone; that the man who had £100 ought to have a vote, and the man who had only £5 ought not; that the numerical preponderance of representation ought always to be in the hands of the rich, and that if a system would give equal or more than equal representation to men who were not rich, that would be a conclusive argument against the enfranchisement of the people. Those might be arguments which commended themselves to the other side of the House, but they were not arguments upon which the Liberal Party ever had or would proceed. Of course, they would vote together against the principles which the hon. Gentleman had enunciated, which were those to which the Liberal Party always had been, and always would be, opposed to a man, and of which he hoped, in process of time, the Conservative Party would be ashamed.

He had taunted the Liberal Party with dissension on the subject of the franchise; but a recollection of the history of the Reform Bill of 1867 might have led the hon. Member to spare his taunts, for the Conservatives, after opposing for years the proposals of the Liberal Party for extending the franchise in England in just such speeches as he had delivered, when they found their account in it, suddenly turned round and carried a much more sweeping measure than any they had before opposed. He trusted that the language of the hon. Member for Londonderry was not to be repeated from the Treasury Bench; for his most conclusive argument had been that the enfranchisement of the people of Ireland would endanger Protestant ascendancy.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS said, he had said nothing of the sort; he said that it would sweep away the Protestant representation.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, in his opinion Protestant representation and ascendancy were almost one and the same thing; but if the hon. Member thought it worth while to draw that distinction, he would take it as Protestant representation, and he would ask hon. Gentlemen opposite if in the present day they were going to stand up before the people of Ireland, and say—"We refuse you your rights, which otherwise we could not dispute, rights which we have given to England and Scotland, because to give you them would endanger the Protestant representation?" Was that a position the hon. and learned Attorney General could support? To such principles the Liberal Party always had been and always must be opposed; and if anything were wanting to justify their votes, it was furnished by the speech of the hon. Member. He spoke of the residuum being large; and it was large in England before the Reform Bill of 1832. It was large because the franchise was so small, and the very arguments he used and the very figures he quoted were the answer to the conclusion to which he would bring them. The numbers excluded were so great, simply because the franchise was so narrow; but the statistics were worthless to the Party that granted household suffrage, who could not now estimate the right of a man to vote by the value of the house in which he lived. He (Sir William Harcourt) did not think,

therefore, that any responsible Minister would use the language or employ the arguments of the hon. Gentleman. The hon. Gentleman was a brave man, who had a contempt for Gentlemen who proposed Amendments and then ran away; but the hon. Member himself had put an Amendment down on the Paper, and had run away from it, before he had even proposed it. He was, however, quite right in so doing, for the Amendment was absurd. It was like saying to a man who demanded food—"I cannot give you food, what you really want is drink." It was perfectly true that a re-distribution of seats might be a very good thing in Ireland; but the argument about such a re-distribution had been used before, and would be again and again, as a convenient mode of getting rid of some proposal to which no good objection could be raised. The same remark applied to the fragmentary and the sumptuary arguments of the hon. Gentleman, which were simply worn-out obstructions to a claim to which no reasonable objection could be advanced. He (Sir William Harcourt) was very curious to learn what answer could be given from the Treasury Bench to that Motion. In the last speech it was impossible to discover any argument; and, in reference to the question, he could not sufficiently congratulate his right hon. Friend the new Chief Secretary for Ireland—of whose promotion he had been glad to hear—on his absence from the House that evening. It would, perhaps, not have been very agreeable for his right hon. Friend (Mr. J. Lowther) to have inaugurated his appointment by resisting the present Motion, and therefore he was happy in having escaped that debate by the opportuneness of his re-election. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland would, no doubt, say everything that ingenuity could suggest, and as well as it possibly could be said, and he was very curious to know what that would be. Upon what grounds were they going to say to the Irish people that they were not to be entitled, in respect to representation, to the same rights, and upon the same footing as the people of England? If the ground were not that, the proposal would disarrange the present Conservative Protestant representation of Ireland, which he took to be the real objection of the hon. Member for Londonderry.

*Sir William Harcourt*

Mr. CHARLES LEWIS denied having spoken of "Conservative" Members; he had simply spoken of the Protestant population.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, but the hon. Member seemed to suppose that many of them might be Conservatives; and, if that were not so, they would not have had an opposition of exactly that character to this Motion. The hon. Gentleman had enumerated various places where he thought the Protestant representation would be swept away; but he had mentioned, as probable exceptions to that, Belfast and Lisburn. He (Sir William Harcourt), however, fancied he had not heard him add the name of Londonderry. But if that was not the ground for resisting this proposal, and if there was no reasonable ground for resisting it, he would ask both sides of the House whether, in the present state of Irish opinion, it was a wise thing, because hon. Gentlemen who entertained opinions which they did not share, showed that a real grievance existed, to reject that Motion? On the opening night of the Session, he had pointed to this very question as one of the just grievances which Irish Members had brought forward, which it ought to be the duty and the interest both of the Conservative as well as of the Liberal Party to settle and remove. When Ireland could point, as in the present instance, to exceptional legislation and to a just grievance, and say that there was exceptional legislation by which they denied to the great body of the Irish people rights which the Imperial Parliament had granted freely to the people of England and Scotland, they armed them with a just grievance in refusing redress, and they inflicted on the country a real danger. It was, therefore, a matter of supreme political importance that they should endeavour to reconcile the Irish people by showing a disposition on both sides of the House to remove every grievance which appeared to be a real one, not by small calculations of Party advantage, nor by setting Protestant against Catholic representation, but by proving to Irishmen that they were willing to extend to them the same equal justice as they gave to the rest of the United Kingdom.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. GIBSON) observed, that the hon. and learned Member who had

just sat down (Sir William Harcourt) had endeavoured to infuse into that debate, which had begun very quietly, some amount of excitement; but it did not appear to him (Mr. Gibson) that he had quite done justice to the, in many respects, powerful argument of the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis); who had endeavoured, by the figures he had quoted, to show that there was something more to be considered in dealing with this question than had been suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon) in submitting his Resolution to the House.

Any Motion which purported, even in its terms, to demand an assimilation between the laws of different parts of the Empire, naturally commanded a certain amount of ready assent from every part of the House; because no one sitting on either side, could desire that there should be the semblance of a difference between the treatment given to Ireland and that given to the rest of the Kingdom. In suggesting, as he had fairly done, a consideration of the consequences which would result from the adoption of that Motion, it was not fair to conclude that the hon. Member for Londonderry had wished to discuss that question from a Party point of view. The hon. and learned Member's proposition was that by giving household suffrage to the Irish boroughs a great act of justice would be done to Ireland, and an anomaly would be swept away which was altogether indefensible. In the few observations he (Mr. Gibson) should address to the House, he should suggest that whilst the hon. Member had made a temperate and interesting speech, he had omitted from his statement some considerations which might induce the House to arrive at the conclusion that that question was not one requiring immediate or very speedy legislation. The hon. and learned Member's whole argument amounted to this—"Give us household suffrage in the Irish boroughs, because there is something in the English boroughs which is household suffrage." But there was a considerable difference between the boroughs of England and Ireland, which weakened that argument; for at the time of the latest Reform Bill in England many manufacturing towns, and great centres of industry had sprung up, where a numerous class of artisans and skilled labourers existed, who were receiving large

wages, enjoying very considerable comfort, and living in respectable houses. When Parliament, therefore, in 1867, had to consider whether household suffrage should be conceded to a population so circumstanced, it might have very reasonably decided to do so, having due regard to what would be the probable results of such a measure. As he gathered from his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry, all he ventured to do with the figures he submitted to the House, was to point out what might be some of the results which would follow in Ireland the adoption of this Motion. What were the results that were accomplished in England by the adoption of household suffrage in 1867? By that Act in no borough was the absolute power of returning Members handed over to the lowest class of householders; and if they would take the Returns laid before Parliament for the last couple of years, it would be found that the number of householders in the boroughs of England who were rated above £4 was greater by many thousands than the number of householders rated below £4. Of course, that was a circumstance which must be largely taken into account; and when it was found that in Ireland the vast majority of houses were rated below £4, and that the minority were over £4, that was a circumstance which also should fairly be taken into account when this matter was under consideration. In 29 Irish boroughs out of 33, if household suffrage were at once adopted, the absolute power of returning Representatives of those places would be given to householders rated below £4, to the exclusion of any power whatever in those who at present had the franchise. That was also a circumstance entitled to its due weight. He also believed that the test of valuation was referred to by his hon. Friend the Member for Londonderry, not at all as being decisive, but as an element suggesting caution in a case when, by a Motion of that kind, they were asked to say that this subject required the immediate attention of Parliament. In the vast majority of boroughs in Ireland, voters rated under £4 would preponderate, and voters rated about £4 would practically have no voice at all. He (Mr. Gibson) found that the persons occupying houses in the vast majority of boroughs in Ireland rated under £4 occupied tenements,



the value of which was £116,000; while those who occupied premises rated over £4, and who would be the minority of voters, if household suffrage were granted, occupied tenements the value of which was £1,200,000. If they took the condition of these boroughs in detail, it would be found that the matters to which he referred came out in the greater prominence, and would attract even greater attention. It was a startling fact to find that in four or five of the boroughs in Ireland, if household suffrage were granted, the absolute preponderance of electoral power would be handed over to persons rated under £2. That suggested the necessity for considering this question from every point of view. Even in Limerick, an important historical town, there was a large number of houses rated under 20s. Galway and some other towns contained a considerable number of houses rated under 5s. [An hon. MEMBER: What is the rent?] They would generally find that the rent was a third higher than the valuation, and, if that rule was applied to such cases when a house was valued at 5s., the rent might be only about 7s. But, however this might be, he said that 5s. did not represent a very high residential standard, for it was scarcely possible for anyone acquainted only with English boroughs to imagine a house valued at 5s. Of course, it must be borne in mind—he did not want to exaggerate one way or the other—that Ireland was mainly an agricultural country and England a manufacturing country, and a great number of the houses in some of the small Irish boroughs were occupied not by artisans, but by agricultural labourers. If a measure like that suggested by the hon. and learned Member for Kildare were at once carried, it might have the effect of depriving to a very large degree the existing electors of the right virtually of having any voice in the election of Members of Parliament. That was a matter of very great difficulty, and required attention, and it ought to be dealt with cautiously and with great care; and, moreover, he did not think it was of such extreme moment at the present as to demand the immediate attention of Parliament. For himself, he had seen nothing in the state of opinion in Ireland showing that it had attracted very much attention. The hon. and learned Member for Kildare had referred

to the law of rating. That was a very complicated question, and he (the Attorney General for Ireland) did not intend to trouble the House by entering on it on that occasion. He believed, however, that every person entitled to be an elector had every facility to be rated, if he was so desirous, and took the slightest amount of trouble in the matter. His hon. and learned Friend seemed, though not with a desire of acting unfairly, to have rather overstated that part of his case. His hon. and learned Friend also stated that there were anomalies on this question as to the system of representation. That was true; and, unless equal electoral districts were established, there would, to a certain extent, be anomalies in the representation of Ireland, as there were also in that of England and Scotland, and as there would be, to some extent, in every system. The hon. and learned Member for Oxford was rather severe on the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Lewis) with reference to what he stated about a re-distribution of seats. When, however, they found a great many boroughs in Ireland—the vast majority of them with a small population—many, in fact, decreasing in population, with a very moderate number of electors, and not much chance of increasing—when they found the majority of them without manufactures, he (the Attorney General for Ireland) ventured to think re-distribution of seats was a matter which lay at the root of the whole question, and which would require a great deal of consideration. If any change were to be made, many of these towns would, he supposed, have to be disfranchised, and some towns which at present returned two Members might have their right to do so challenged. He did not say the hon. and learned Member for Kildare evaded that point. He did not think any Member who discussed the question would seek to evade it. Under the circumstances, he hardly thought the hon. and learned Member for Kildare had made out his case, that this was a matter of such urgency as to require the immediate attention of Parliament. Surely there was a fair opportunity for laying every Irish grievance before that House? He had never heard it said in Ireland, nor seen it stated in the Irish Press, that there was any section of the people of Ireland that was not represented in that House. The question was one of great

*The Attorney General for Ireland*

importance, and it was quite reasonable that the hon. and learned Member for Kildare should have brought it forward as he had done in his fair and temperate speech. He thought, however, that the hon. and learned Gentleman had failed to show that the subject was one of such urgency that the attention of Parliament should be directed to it for the purpose of legislation at the present moment. For this reason, he was sorry to say that he should be unable to give his assent to the hon. and learned Gentleman's Motion.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY observed that the hon. Member for Derry (Mr. Charles Lewis) had said a great deal about the settlement of 1867; but it should be remembered that the settlement was arrived at not upon Constitutional principles, but to satisfy the officials of Dublin Castle. The fact, however, was that the influence of Dublin Castle was diminishing, and it was now extremely difficult to return Irish officials in certain constituencies of Ireland; and it was on account of that, and not from any wish arising from motives of Constitutional policy, that the basis established in 1867 was adopted. The representation of Ireland had been wrenched out of the bounds of that clique, and Dublin Castle had ceased to be predominant in Irish affairs. It had further been said that there were no Petitions in favour of a wider franchise; but the Irish people had not got used to Petition as an instrument of Constitutional warfare. The hon. Member for Londonderry expended a great deal of skill in combating an argument on which the hon. and learned Member for Kildare had never rested his claim. His hon. and learned Friend had rested his claim not on any theory as to the right of every man to a vote, but on the ground that Ireland would be better governed, the real feelings of the people better expressed, and Constitutional action encouraged by this extension of the franchise. The hon. Member for Derry said that spiritual influences would be brought to bear on the Roman Catholics, whom it was proposed to enfranchise.

MR. CHARLES LEWIS said, he had never used the word "Catholic" in reference to spiritual influence.

MR. O'SHAUGHNESSY: The hon. Member said that the class of voters

who would be introduced by this measure would on religious grounds be open to spiritual influence, and as the vast majority of those who would be enfranchised were Roman Catholics, he could only have been alluding to them. He (Mr. O'Shaughnessy) denied that any such influence would be used with an evil result; and, as a matter of fact, his own experience told him that the profession of Protestantism did not stand in the way of a candidate in the South of Ireland. Then, in the regard to the question of education, he had no doubt that the electors of Ireland would compare favourably with those of England and Scotland. He denied that in Ireland the Government valuations were any test of value, or that they in any way represented the rents derived from the houses. In the Committee on Irish Valuation last year, a responsible witness stated that in the city of Limerick there was not a single house the rent of which was under 1s. a-week, or £2 12s. a-year, and yet Limerick was one of the cities in which there were many houses valued at 5s. The Southern towns were rapidly increasing in prosperity, and had ceased to fall off in numbers; and he was glad to have an opportunity of stating, on behalf of Limerick, which was frequently represented in that House as a decaying city, that within the last few years houses had gone up 25 per cent in value, and that it was impossible to find in the business part of the city sufficient accommodation for its increasing commerce. If they declined to grant that request now, he would much regret it, as the Irish people could receive no greater benefit from the hands of their Conservative countrymen. But, at any rate, they would carry a measure of this kind in time. He believed that the franchise would be granted to Ireland; but when that was done, instead of its being a bond of union between the two countries, it might become the means of increasing the differences and that antagonism between the different classes of the Irish people which now existed.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT said, he was glad of an opportunity of explaining the vote he was about to give. On every occasion, when the proposal to extend the household borough franchise to Ireland had been made, he had given it his support, and should cordially do so now. He could entirely confirm the

statement made by the hon. and learned Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon)—namely, that, during the discussion respecting Home Rule, which took place during the first Session of the present Parliament, the right hon. Baronet (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), then Chief Secretary for Ireland, said, addressing the Irish Members, if they would introduce measures of real practical utility and tending to redress what they considered Irish grievances existing in their own country, Her Majesty's Government would not withhold from them its encouragement and support. Well, this was the fifth Session of the Parliament, and no such encouragement had been given. He (Sir Eardley Wilmot) had himself, on that very occasion, appealed to the noble Earl at the head of the Ministry, then sitting on those front benches, to utilize that powerful majority which he possessed, and the great strength of the Conservative Party, in order to enter upon a policy of conciliation towards Ireland, and to remove some of those inequalities in its Constitutional Government which were a source of irritation to Irishmen, and prevented the complete harmony of the two countries. He could conscientiously say, that one of his principal objects in seeking the honour of a seat in Parliament at a late period in life, was, that he might assist in promoting measures which would advance the prosperity and social condition of Ireland and raise her to the same level as England, which could only be done by granting her the same rights and privileges, and the same laws, of which we had the full advantage on this side of the Channel. Now, as regarded the measure proposed by the hon. and learned Member for Kildare, it would be recollected, that originally the household franchise existed by law or by custom in all our English boroughs, the electors of which consisted of freemen, scot- and -lot voters, and pot-wallopers—the last representing the possession of a domicile or dwelling—and these formed the great majority of the borough voters. This continued till 1832, when the Reform Bill of that year introduced into the boroughs, as it did into the counties, a new qualification—namely, occupation of a tenement for value; and this qualification continued till 1867, when the Conservative Government, headed by the present Pre-

*Sir Eardley Wilmot*

mier, restored the borough franchise to its original tenure—household suffrage as it had existed in the earlier periods of our history. At that time, if he (Sir Eardley Wilmot) was not incorrect, the Prime Minister distinctly intimated that the question of an extension of the household franchise to the boroughs of Ireland would undergo attentive consideration at no distant period. He had certainly felt considerable disappointment, that from this as well as from other social and political improvements proposed for Ireland, the Government had turned away; and they could not be surprised if Irishmen felt annoyed and irritated, when one proposal after another, which they made for the amelioration of their country, was rejected. As regarded the hon. Member for Derry (Mr. Charles Lewis), who had an Amendment on the Paper which he had not moved, nothing could be more inconsistent and illogical than his course of action. One great point in his argument was, that the Act of 1867 had entirely settled the question of electoral matters and the subject of Parliamentary Representation, when at the same moment, by the Paper he held in his hand, he was advocating—and part of his argument went in that direction—the urgent necessity of a redistribution of seats for Ireland. No wonder that such inconsistency had roused the wrathful eloquence of the hon. and learned Member for Oxford (Sir William Harcourt). The hon. Member for Derry had also declaimed on the decay of prosperity in the South of Ireland as a reason why the borough franchise should not be lowered; but the fact of that decay had been ably combated and contradicted by the hon. Member who had spoken last (Mr. O'Shaughnessy); and, even allowing the fact to be true, that was an additional reason why the Government should exert itself to arrest that downward progress by the promotion and encouragement of measures calculated to increase or restore the material progress of those districts—either by the development of their fisheries, the reclamation of their waste lands, by the improvement of their harbours and inland navigation, or by fostering trade and commerce in every possible way. At all events, there could be no ground whatever for withholding from the South of Ireland that Constitutional freedom which was the

basis of wealth and contentment wherever it was to be found. For these reasons, he cordially supported the Resolution of the hon. and learned Member for Kildare, and did so with the greatest confidence, that in doing so, he was doing what was just and right.

MR. BLENNERHASSETT: It is, I think, Sir, much to be regretted that, year after year, it should be necessary to bring this Motion before the House. It is deplorable that the Government and the Party opposite should appear so unwilling to extend to the cities and towns of Ireland the popular privileges which they have themselves bestowed upon England and Scotland. I cannot see the wisdom or the justice of saying—"If you live in Manchester or in Liverpool you shall have a vote and enjoy all the rights of citizenship; but if you cross the Irish Sea, and make your home in Dublin or in Belfast, you shall be disfranchised." It seems to me repugnant to the plainest sense of justice that such a distinction should be permitted to exist between the different portions of the Kingdom. Apart from the injustice it inflicts on many persons in Ireland, I regret the course the Government have pursued in this matter. I regret that course, because I believe the effect of it on public opinion in Ireland will be most mischievous. Here is a simple demand made year after year, and supported by a great majority of the Irish Members—a demand for nothing exceptional, for nothing novel or dangerous; but simply that the householders in Irish towns shall have the same privileges, shall be permitted to hold the same position in the Constitution, as the householders of England and Scotland. If you persist in refusing this just and reasonable request, you will weaken the hands of every man in Ireland who is trying to infuse a moderate and loyal spirit—a spirit of respect for Parliamentary institutions and regard for Constitutional action—into the minds of the people of that country; you will give strength and encouragement to those—and they are not a few—who are ready to seize every opportunity of pointing the moral that there is no willingness in this House to do fair and equal justice to the people of Ireland. This is a serious responsibility for any Government to undertake, and I hope hon. Members opposite will weigh well and

wisely this matter. I feel sure that if they could understand the sense of irritation that is provoked—the feeling that they are not confided in, or treated as equals, which the continued rejection of this Motion produces in the minds of the Irish people, they would see this matter in a different light. They would ask themselves, is it worth while to refuse this moderate and reasonable request? Is it worthy of a great Party and a strong Government to decline to carry out their own principles? Is it desirable to maintain in the Irish mind this rankling sense of inferiority and injustice? And I think they would come to the conclusion that it would be wiser to take the more generous course, and to pass this Motion to-night without a division. What reason has been shown for the maintenance of this distinction between the franchisees of the two countries? *Prima facie*, it is an evil. Every unnecessary distinction in political privileges between the various parts of the United Kingdom is an evil. It has not, I believe, been suggested that any danger is involved in this proposal. Whatever danger or trouble there may be in the affairs of Ireland will not be increased by the admission of the borough householders within the pale of the Constitution. If any spirit of violence or disaffection still exists in that country, does not all history teach that in no way can you disarm that spirit so effectually as by giving it the regular and safe outlet of free representative institutions? The exceedingly restrictive character of the Irish borough franchise has been pointed out in this debate. A £4 rating may sound very low in English ears; but the enormous disproportion between the number of householders and the number of electors in Irish boroughs shows how exclusive it is in operation. Valuation for rating purposes is said to be 25 per cent lower in Ireland than in England. The rating is always considerably below the rental, so that a £4 rating represents at least a £6 or £7 rental. It should be remembered, also, that a £6 or £7 rental in most Irish towns means a very different thing from an equal rental in England. England is a rich country, with a rapidly increasing population; Ireland is a poor country, with a population stationary or decreasing. A low rental, therefore, in Ireland, does not represent

the same sort of dwelling, or by any means the same status on the part of the occupier, that a rental of a similar amount would indicate in England. Then, it should not be forgotten, that while a majority of the English and Scotch Members are elected by household suffrage, only 36 of the 103 Irish Members are elected on the comparatively low franchise of the boroughs. We are told that this matter cannot be dealt with without a re-distribution of seats; yet you dealt with the Irish franchise in 1868, and you did not re-distribute seats. It is quite true, no doubt, that a re-distribution of seats is desirable; and I have myself drawn attention to the anomalous condition of political power in Ireland on more than one occasion in this House; but I did not notice any eagerness on the part of the Government, or of Members opposite, to take it up. I imagine if I were to bring forward a Motion on the subject, I should be met by the objection that it was impossible to deal with the distribution of seats without at the same time determining the question of the borough franchise, which was a matter that required grave and serious consideration. The necessity for re-distribution exists, whether you alter the franchise or you do not. Indeed, so far as it would affect it at all, the extension of the borough franchise would not increase, but would diminish the existing anomalies in distribution; because the most glaring of them proceed from the disproportion between the number of voters in the small towns and the great county constituencies. But the two questions are quite distinct. Re-distribution of seats will have, no doubt, to be considered; but it will have to be considered for the whole Kingdom as well as for Ireland. Assimilation of the county and borough franchise will, in like manner, have to be considered for the whole Kingdom. I should myself, also, at the same time, like to see a well-considered provision made for the due representation and protection of minorities. But all these questions are quite distinct from the simple issue now before us, which is not whether we are prepared to adopt these great changes in the representative system of the Kingdom, but whether we will not extend to Ireland the principles of the measure which in 1867 we applied to England? When we have done this, we shall be in a position, in

case further change should be considered necessary, to deal fairly and equally with all parts of the United Kingdom at the same time and in the same measure. In treating such a subject as the representation of the people, there are many reasons why this is the most desirable course to pursue. But to say that you cannot pass this simple measure to remove the inequality under which you have placed the Irish urban population by your legislation of 1867 and 1868, because the distribution of seats is unsatisfactory, is mere trifling with the Constitutional claims of those on whose behalf this demand is made. I cannot see the object of constantly introducing this cry of re-distribution in these debates, except it be to hinder the equalization of the franchise. It is a very old move on the part of those who oppose Parliamentary Reform, and is supposed, I believe, to strike terror into the hearts of the Representatives of those small boroughs, whose existence might not be preserved if a struggle were to take place for the survival of the fittest. I am happy to say that in this instance, at all events, it does not appear to have any effect on their minds; and I have reason to think that the Members for many of the smallest, as well as for many of the largest constituencies in Ireland, will be found supporting the Motion to-night, as they have supported it in previous Sessions. Then, we are told, that we must not adopt this Motion, because it would let in a disproportionate number of the poorer class of voters—that class being far more numerous in Irish than in English towns. But it has been pointed out, I believe with accuracy, that the effect of the change we propose in Ireland would not be nearly so great, relatively, as the effect that was produced in England by the Act of 1867. The reduction in England from the £10 household qualification to household suffrage had the effect of increasing the number of borough electors from 500,000 to something like 1,500,000. The alteration now proposed in the Irish franchise would only change the number of borough electors from about 50,000 to 100,000. No doubt there are many more poorly-built houses in Irish towns than there are in England. The whole country is poorer; and the standard of comfort is lower in food, in dress, in houses,

*Mr. Blennerhassett*

and in every other respect where the expenditure of money is involved; but I do not know that the people who live in those shabby houses are less intelligent, or that they take less interest in public affairs, than the corresponding class in England. I do not know that they have less concern in being well governed. The question of the borough franchise in England has been raised far above this miserable contention about the value of houses. You do not ask, now, what rent a man pays, how thick are his walls, or how high his roof? But you have said to every man who is the head of a household—"You are a citizen of this country; you do your share of the work, you bear your share of the burdens, and you shall have a voice in the Government under which you live." There is no principle in rating value, by which you can divide men into classes, and give the franchise to one and refuse it to another. There is a broad and intelligible principle in giving the franchise to every man who is the owner of a house and the head of a family. We ask you to extend this principle to Ireland; and we ask you do so before the concession shall have lost all grace and value through long denial and delay. You do not pretend that you can always withhold it; you only profess to delay it. You are a Government of caution and consideration; and the result of your caution and consideration will be, that you will do nothing until it is too late to do anything useful. Last year the right hon. Baronet, who was then Chief Secretary for Ireland (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), said that he fully admitted it would be necessary some day to give to the people of Ireland a wider extension of the franchise than they at present enjoyed; and I suppose we shall have the same story told to us to-night. This is a feeble policy; there is nothing strong or robust about it. It certainly is not a policy that will command the respect of the people of Ireland. A great historian and orator once gave you this advice from these benches—"When you give, give frankly; when you withhold, withhold resolutely. But there is a way of so withholding as merely to excite desire, and of so giving as merely to excite contempt." Confidence in Parliamentary Institutions is a plant of slow growth in Ireland. It has been shaken by many a storm, and

bruised by many a blow. Of late, there have been signs of fresh and tender leaves upon its branches; if they are withered and destroyed by the untimely frost of your refusal to do this act of simple justice, I am glad at least to feel that the responsibility of so great a misfortune will not rest on the Irish Members who sit here, or on any section of the Liberal Party.

DR. WARD thought that the denial by the Government of a demand for Constitutional rights would not tend to foster Constitutional principles in Ireland. This was the fifth time it had been made, and on each occasion that was denied which long since had been granted to the people of England and Scotland. For years the Government was occupied in keeping down with strong hands unconstitutional expressions of feeling on the part of a large proportion of the Irish people; but when they asked for what was strictly within their Constitutional right, the message they received through official sources amounted to an absolute denial of what they had every reason to expect should be granted them. One ground of objection to the proposition before the House was that it must be considered in conjunction with the question of the re-distribution of seats; but whatever objection might be alleged, the people of Ireland were convinced that the House was refusing them their Constitutional rights, and he hoped, after what had fallen from the hon. and learned Baronet the Member for South Warwickshire (Sir Eardley Wilmot), to find a fair following on the other side of the House in support of the Motion. He (Dr. Ward) represented one of the boroughs which had been distinctly threatened with disfranchisement by the Government. It was true the population of the town of Galway was small compared with that of boroughs in England; but it was not small compared with other boroughs in Ireland. They were threatened with re-distribution; but did the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland mean by that the number of Irish Members was to be lessened? He (Dr. Ward) doubted whether that would be so; but, at any rate, he and those who thought with him did not shrink from the issue, as they were of opinion such a contingency would never stand in the face of the relative statistics of the three

countries. He was astonished to hear the money argument resorted to by the right hon. and learned Gentleman, which he (Dr. Ward) had thought was abandoned by the right hon. and learned Gentleman's Chief when he educated his Party up to the last Reform Act. In England, by that Act, the relative value of the houses was got rid of—to be a householder was sufficient; but if they crossed over to Ireland £ *s. d.* was to remain the ruling qualification. Was that the message the House would send to Ireland? The Government, it would seem, wanted to keep up in Ireland a plutocracy that had been given up in England. The House was told that there was no agitation on the subject in Ireland; but if they did agitate, they were told that they were merely agitators, and on that ground their claim was refused. As to the latter argument, he knew that in all the constituencies this question was brought to the front, and had formed a very prominent topic in the addresses of candidates. If the people were to be told that they were not to have the privilege they asked for, because they were in the habit of resorting to unconstitutional means to get what they wanted, he doubted whether such a message would diminish the tendency to resort to such means. They were told that the adoption of the principle advocated in the present Motion would swamp existing constituencies; but what was the answer that had been given to a similar argument against the extension of the English franchise? A single example would show that what would take place in Ireland would only parallel that which took place by the last Reform Act in England. In Galway there were now 1,300 electors; if this Motion was acted upon there would be 3,400. There were before the Reform Act in Tynemouth 1,200, which were increased by that Act to 4,000; but had any harm resulted from such cases of swamping? He protested against the threat that re-distribution would be in favour of the counties.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. Gibson) said, he did not assert what the effect of re-distribution would be.

DR. WARD said, at any rate the argument of the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) had gone in that direction. He (Dr. Ward) denied that

there was any truth in the theory that was made one of the bases of the present system, that the poor householders in Irish boroughs were inferior in intellect and capacity to the poor householders in English boroughs. Yet that entirely gratuitous assumption had underlain the whole speech of the right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland. Comparing the population of Dublin and Leeds, he showed that in the former case there were only 12,000 electors with a population of 250,000, while in the latter there was a population of about the same number and 50,000 electors. What was really feared, however, was that they would lose Conservative seats in Ireland; and it was said that it would hand over the representation to the Catholics and crush out the Protestant element; but that he utterly denied. What was the present state of the case in the county of Kerry, where 99 out of every 100 of the population were Catholics? Two Members of the Protestant Disestablished Church were returned. Why a Conservative Government should be afraid of giving this Constitutional right to the boroughs of Ireland he could not conceive. With regard to reform in England, they took the bread out of the mouth of the right hon. Member for Greenwich, and went far beyond his proposals. Had they suffered for it? Did they not sit at this moment in office because of it? They had found out that by extending Constitutional rights they had increased in the people the love of the Constitution; and they would find it equally true of the people of Ireland if they passed this Resolution. Should, however, they reject it, he would deeply regret the distrust of the Irish people such a rejection would imply, because it would most certainly engender a corresponding distrust of the Legislature on the part of the Irish people.

MR. BIGGAR doubted the expediency of forcing the Irish Representatives year after year to prefer a claim which had already been ceded to England. The real cause of the want of prosperity in the South of Ireland was not that the people lacked intelligence; but simply because the rural parts of the country had been depopulated owing to emigration and other causes. That was no reason, however, why the people who remained behind should not have the

*Dr. Ward*

advantage of giving a vote for Parliamentary representation. He had gone a good deal amongst the people of the South of Ireland; and he could unhesitatingly say that they were quite as capable of giving an electoral vote as any citizen, though he might live in a more expensive house. The Government of this country had acted towards Ireland in a manner which could not be defended, and there were substantial reasons for being dissatisfied with English rule, and to say that they were disloyal to the English system of government. They would be loyal to good laws and good government for Ireland; but upon particular questions they did not get fair play, and consequently they were dissatisfied with things as they were. The Government were not doing their duty towards Ireland, and it was not fair that an unfair law should be enforced. He did not see why Ireland should be governed on a different principle from England. If the question was decided on principle, he felt sure that it would be entirely favourable to the Motion now before the House. With regard to rents, they knew that they were very much lower in Ireland than in the manufacturing towns of England, where wages were higher; but the people were of the same intelligence in Ireland. He thought the Government would have acted wisely if they had thrown on one side the question of Party in this matter, and decided it on the grounds of justice and common sense. There had been no great display of public feeling in favour of the Motion, it was true; but the reason was that the people of Ireland did not find public meetings or Petitions of much use. The Government did not listen to them, but regulated the affairs of Ireland according to Party exigencies. If the question were to be decided by the votes of Irish Members alone, the Motion would be carried by a large majority. He, for one at least, was prepared to give it his support on every principle of justice.

MAJOR NOLAN said, that the hon. Member for Londonderry (Mr. Charles Lewis) went largely into statistics to prove that the supporters of the Resolution had no case, and he attempted to show that there were many borough constituencies in England in which the proportion of electors to inhabitants was less than in many of the boroughs in Ireland. The hon. Gentleman said that

in Westminster, for example, there was only one elector to 15 inhabitants. But it should be remembered that in Westminster there were many large establishments, and where that was the case the proportion of voters was always less. Westminster, therefore, was not a fair instance. He did not know upon what principle of selection the hon. Member had proceeded; but if he took his cases indifferently, the result would have been very different. He would himself take the alphabetical principle in making the comparison. Taking Abingdon, the first in order of the English boroughs, there were seven inhabitants to one elector, while in Armagh there were 13 to one. In Andover there were seven inhabitants to one elector, in Athlone the proportion was 19 to one. In Ashton-under-Lyne there were again seven inhabitants to one voter, in Bandon 13 to one. In Aylesbury there were still seven inhabitants to one voter, in Belfast eight or nine to one. Going to the end of the list, and taking York, the place where the last election had been held—and here he might be allowed to say that he was glad that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) had been returned, for he was always courteous to the Irish Members—in York there were five inhabitants to one voter, while in Youghal the proportion was 22 to one. The peculiar point on which they rested their case was, that Ireland was worse off than England, and that their case was peculiarly strong, inasmuch as they only wished to adapt the law of Ireland to that of England, and should, at any rate, run on all fours with the latter country. The hon. Member for Londonderry threatened them, if they persevered with the principle, with a re-distribution of seats, and said before they allowed voters in Ireland to vote on the same conditions as in England, it would be necessary to have a re-distribution of seats in Ireland, and then asked how hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House would like that? He (Major Nolan) considered the hon. Member had destroyed his own argument by saying that the Irish Members would be swept away. Irish Liberal Members did not fear a re-distribution of seats. They were quite willing to take the consequences of the proposed course, and would vote in favour of any principle which gave extended power to the



people, and gave also to the people a fair share in the government of the country, and allowed additional classes as a "right," and not as a "privilege," to vote for the Members who were to take part in the Constitutional government of their country. Looking upon it as a Party question, he thought it would take a very clever Party Leader to be able to judge which Party would gain by a re-distribution of seats. He was himself of opinion that in the case of a re-distribution of seats they stood as fair a chance as hon. Members opposite. He did not know on what principle such a measure would be based; but if population was taken as the basis, there were places in Ireland which were entitled to more Members than they had at present. The system of coupling re-distribution at one time with registration, and at another with the franchise, was not a fair one. According to the hon. Member for Londonderry they were not to have a fair franchise until a re-distribution scheme was brought forward; and as no one in the fifth Session of Parliament was likely to bring forward such a scheme, the question of the equalization of the franchise was to be indefinitely postponed. The hon. Member said that no Petitions from Ireland had been presented on the subject; but the fact was, unless a question was prominently before the public mind the Irish people thought very little of Petitions. Besides, public opinion could not be gauged by the number of Petitions presented in favour of any particular measure—as many being presented for as against it. The Protestant representation, it had been said, would be swept away; but he (Major Nolan) still believed that the Protestants would be able to hold their own. But he denied that there was any such class feeling as that argument would seem to imply. If any man had the vote the Resolution would give, even supposing there might be one or two more Catholic Members returned, what was the case in England, and what representation had the 2,000,000 Catholics? Yet that was not felt as a disadvantage. Attempts had been made to prove that the extension of the franchise in Ireland would cause a lower type of Representatives to be returned by the constituencies. He did not admit this for a moment; but even if there actually were some grounds for fearing such a

result, the fact would not deprive the Irish people of their right to be put on an equality as far as voting power was concerned with persons of the same social status in England and Scotland. The hon. Member for Londonderry denied that the franchise was a right; but this was a proposition he (Major Nolan) could deny. The larger part of the taxation was borne by the poorer classes, and he could not regard the representation of this class as a privilege merely. The vote was the only means a man had of protecting his interests in legislation, and wherever he saw a class left out he wished to see that class represented. The Protestant labourer in England would never be fairly treated until he had his vote. He hoped that this would come to be acknowledged in legislation, and that the English householder would remember that he, too, was weakened so long as the vote was denied to the poor householder in Ireland.

MR. STACPOOLE supported the Resolution.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. STACPOOLE resumed: He strongly deprecated the introduction of the question of creeds into the discussion. He would vote for the Motion, and, as a Protestant, had no fear of meeting his constituents under an enlarged franchise. He thought, however, that the areas of the small boroughs should be enlarged rather than the boroughs disfranchised.

MR. KIRK entered his protest against the way in which this and similar measures, having for their object the assimilation of the Irish to the English law, had been treated. The attempt to close the discussion by a count-out was one of the methods of getting rid of what was regarded as an ugly Irish question. He only claimed for Ireland the same law on that subject as now existed in England.

MR. PLUNKET said, that although the dinner-hour was not a very exciting time in which to speak, it was not, in his opinion, either the most favourable moment for taking this division. And as so many speakers had followed each other from the other side, he should be sorry if hon. Members should suppose that on his side of the House there

*Major Nolan*

had been want of attention to their arguments or unwillingness to reply to them when the proper time arrived. He might not indeed be able to add much to what he had himself said on former occasions; for this question had been often debated at great length during the last four years, and divisions had been taken upon proposals almost identical to the one now before the House. Another circumstance, however, which deprived the present debate of not a little of its interest was that the subject they were now considering would come up for discussion again next Friday, when a Motion was to be brought forward dealing with the whole question of a general Reform Bill for the three Kingdoms. The scope of the Resolution to be moved on Friday would be to extend household suffrage not only to the Irish boroughs, but also to the counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and he believed that the Members who were supporting the Resolution of the hon. Member for Kildare (Mr. Meldon) that night, would be found one and all supporting the much more sweeping proposal by which it was to be followed three days hence. Under these circumstances, he felt more reluctance than he otherwise would have done to accede to the smaller and more modified proposal now before the House. They had heard that the Motion of the hon. Member for Kildare, if carried, would produce a great gain to the Liberal Party and a great loss to the Conservative Party in that House. For himself, he was not at all clear what might be its effect in that sense on the one side or the other. His main objection to it was that even this more modest proposal would be most injurious, under existing circumstances, to the character of the whole House, and to the whole machinery of legislation for the three Kingdoms, even in its modified shape; and that certainly in the larger form, which it would assume under the Resolution to be moved on Friday, it would bring about a state of the Irish representation such as probably the minds of few hon. Members could now realize or anticipate. He did not treat the particular proposal before them that night as a Party proposal. He believed that they could not, under the existing circumstances of the two countries, undertake, *coute qu'il coute*, to apply the same conditions to the franchise in Ireland as they might

apply, and had applied, to the franchise in England. That was not altogether a question of Protestant and Catholic, or of Whig and Tory; but it was a question of extending political power to a vast democracy—to an unmitigated democratic force which they would by no means be able to control. As had been well said, it was the great advantage of the social system of this country that the social edifice was evenly and gradually shaped; that there was a harmonious blending of the different ranks and orders of men; that there was no great conflict between one class and another; and that there was no sharp line drawn across any portion of the social structure, dividing it into hostile and uncongenial sections. He did not wish to reflect upon any class of his own countrymen, however much he might differ from them in politics; but he did say that the lowest and by far the largest class of the Irish population was not in such a state that it would be right to give it an overwhelming preponderance in the Parliamentary system of Ireland. In England they had Whig and Tory in all the ranks of life; but the overwhelming preponderance of the Irish people were pledged to certain extreme views, and all the reasoning, all the practical arguments, all the influence they might bring to bear in opposition to their views would be mere waste of time. They would vote *en bloc* in favour of these views. He knew that that condition of things did not exist to the same extent as it did in former times. He believed it was diminishing every day, and he longed for the hour when it would have entirely passed away; but in the meantime they could not apply the same principles of representation in Ireland as they applied in England. In England they had different classes in the counties and in the boroughs; the political parties in England fairly balanced one another. Sometimes one party drew to its side a majority of those electors not usually pledged as partisans to one side or the other, especially when there was a change of Government. But that, unfortunately, was not the case in Ireland. In this respect, the social circumstances of the two countries were widely different;—for instance, in English boroughs, when the Reform Bill of 1867 was passed, the number of persons inhabiting houses of a valuation of less than £4 was, he believed, about one-eighth

of the whole body of electors; but if the qualification for the franchise in Ireland was reduced below £4, they would not only bring in a number equal to those who at present possessed the franchise in boroughs, but would introduce such a number as would completely swamp the existing constituencies; and therefore it was not a conclusive argument by any means to say—"In 1867 you trusted the masses in England—you did away with all restrictions which were found unnecessary, and you should adopt a similar course with regard to Ireland." If they established, as he supposed perhaps they might before long, household suffrage for counties as well as for boroughs in England—he confessed he was not at all in favour of such an extension—what would be the effect if they applied that to Ireland? Some years ago he (Mr. Plunket) made a prediction which was treated with a good deal of surprise and some ridicule. When there was only one Home Ruler—the late Mr. John Martin—in the House, he predicted that at least 60 Members would be returned at the next General Election adhering to that Gentleman's views. The noble Lord who now led Her Majesty's Opposition, he thought it was, had very frankly said—"Let them come; we shall be delighted to see them all here." He was quite sure the noble Lord was not more glad than himself to see them there, so far as many of those hon. Members were personally concerned. But that was a different question. He was speaking on a matter of policy. The noble Lord said he should be delighted to see them. The noble Lord had since had some experience in conducting the Opposition there, and he thought the Home Rulers had not made his task a very easy one. But suppose it had been the fate of the noble Lord to lead in that House a Liberal Administration, dependent to a great extent on the votes of Home Rulers, would it have been possible for him to carry on the Government of the country in the way in which it had up to the present been ordinarily conducted? Seeing, then, that the social conditions of Ireland were altogether different from those of England, they should hesitate long before they adopted such changes in the representation of the former country founded upon some abstract principle which would have an unknown

effect upon both that House and upon Ireland itself. In his own mind, he really entertained the opinion that household suffrage in Ireland would bring about results which they must all deplore. If the proposed change were brought about, he believed that all the most moderate Irish politicians, and possibly the large majority of the best of the present Representatives of Irish constituencies, would disappear from that House; and he ventured to predict that their places would be taken by extreme Nationalists. He should not perhaps so much regret that circumstance if he could look at it merely from a Party point of view, because the difficulties of a Conservative Government might not be increased by the presence opposite of a large body of Irish Nationalists; but he should regret that result as being contrary to the interests of his country. He was sorry to be compelled to take the part of Cassandra on this occasion; but he thought that hon. Members opposite in supporting this proposal scarcely realized the difficulties they were proposing to prepare for themselves. Doubtless they would get up and would say heroically that, whatever might be the consequence, "let right and justice be done." No one was more anxious than himself that right and justice should be done; but he denied that this was a question involving right and justice. In dealing with a question of this kind they must look beyond mere abstract propositions connected with the rights of man, and such doctrinaire proposals were, in his opinion, contrary to the principle and settled practice of our Constitution. We had hitherto had regard, and in his opinion must continue to have regard, to its probable consequences when any such change was proposed. He looked forward earnestly and longingly to the time when the social conditions of his country would correspond more nearly than they did at present with those which existed in this happy and fortunate Island, and when it would be safe and wise to apply the same principle of representation to them both; but until that time, and until the beneficial effects of prosperity and education were more felt, and until old animosities and traditional feuds which had so long disturbed and divided Ireland subsided, they must weigh well such measures as that now proposed;

*Mr. Plunket*

or if they did not, and introduced ill-considered changes, the consequences might be most mischievous. He must for these reasons, and under the existing circumstances of the two countries, give the most strenuous opposition to the Resolution.

MR. JOHN BRIGHT: Sir, if I had heard the prophetic language of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite for the first time in this House it would, perhaps, have made me extremely unhappy. Taking his speech from the beginning to the end, it seems to me that Ireland, if what he has said be true, is at the present time in a deplorable and hopeless condition. The proposition before the House is to admit the householders of boroughs in Ireland to the franchise in the same way as the householders in England now exercise it. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that the result of the adoption of that proposal would be something fearful, and that the democracy would make its appearance in this House in such a character that it would be not only mischievous, but uncontrollable. The hon. and learned Gentleman told us that in Ireland there is no middle class that can take charge with any material effect of the political opinions and actions of his countrymen—that there is no middle class from which any help can be derived, or in which any hope can be placed; and he did not tell us much of the upper class, except to say that they were few in number. But there was a time when almost the whole of the representation was in the hands of that upper class, and no one could say that it was very creditable to this House or useful to the country. The upper class, as we accept it in general conversation, is composed chiefly of landlords, and they are very few as compared with the tenantry; and landlord opinion, powerful as it might be in that House, was not the opinion which found much support among the great bulk of the population of Ireland. Now, we had had landlord opinion representation, and we did not wish to go back to it, and yet if we

that representation should be withdrawn from it, and that the country should be governed upon a mode which is wholly irreconcilable with the Government and Constitution of this country. I would like to ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he thinks it likely, judging from what has been seen during the present Parliament, that things would be worse if this Resolution were adopted than they are now? I think the hon. and learned Gentleman will himself admit that if we were to run over all the boroughs in Ireland—I leave out Dublin and Belfast, which he has excluded from his argument—and over most of the counties, the extension of the suffrage to householders, both in boroughs and counties, would produce at present very much the same kind of representation which we have now from the majority of the boroughs and counties in that country. [MR. PLUNKET: No, no!] I am rather surprised at that objection; because, in my conversation with Irish gentlemen, some of them holding the opinions of the hon. and learned Gentleman, they admitted to me that they thought the extension of the franchise would make no great difference in the representation of Ireland. There may be some districts in the North of Ireland in which a change in the representation might be made; but I learn from both sides of the House that there is a great probability that that change will be made at the next General Election, even if there be no extension of the franchise now. I am willing to admit that in one sense the language attributed to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Greenwich is correct when he said that the representation of Ireland is deplorable—not deplorable as regards the relation between the Members from Ireland and their constituencies—that was not his meaning, nor is it mine—but deplorable because there has been for some time past a severance of sympathy between the hon. Members for Irish constituencies who sit on this side of the House, and hon. Members also on this side from

large and solid representation in this House. We all know that after the Union with Scotland the animosity of the Scotch to the Union with England was greater and keener, was more passionate than any animosity that has been exhibited of late in Ireland to the Union with England; and I think a good many years after the Union with Scotland an attempt to repeal that Union only failed in the other House of Parliament by a few votes—I am not sure whether it was not by only one vote. But at this moment the Scotch people would be much more opposed to a repeal of the Union with England probably than the English themselves would. I never yet met with a single Scotchman, after visiting that country nearly every year for 20 years, who entertained the idea that it would be to the advantage of Scotland to have a representation of its own in Edinburgh, and to be separate from the Imperial Parliament; and when I have sometimes told them that they seemed very much more sensible as politicians and Members of Parliament than many of our English Members, and that I thought they were the only people who really had to complain of the Union, and that if they had a Parliament at Edinburgh they might do better for themselves, I have always found that they rejected the notion as one that offended their common sense and could not be received or accepted for a moment. But if this is true with regard to Scotland, it is not absolutely proved to be false with regard to Ireland; and I shall never believe that the Irish themselves will not at some day or other—at no remote period, notwithstanding the demonstration to the contrary which we have lately had—be of opinion that it is of no disadvantage to them to be united in representation with the people of England and Scotland. They are united to us in every other way; they are united to us in our commerce—and they have at this moment an advantage that almost no other country has, for they buy everything in the world—everything of the manufactures of Great Britain in the cheapest market in the world; and all the excess of their produce which they have to export they sell at the highest prices to the richest customers in the world. Therefore, as far as our commercial interest is concerned, nothing can be more

complete or more advantageous to both countries than the Union which now exists. If the commercial interests of the two countries are so united, I do not see that it is impossible that by a little moderation—a little condescension and kindness on the part of Great Britain, and a little more thought on the part of the people of Ireland—at some not distant day we may have as complete a union between Great Britain and Ireland as we have now between England and Scotland. I said that we have this commercial union—how can we take any steps to bring about a political Union? Notwithstanding the feelings that have been expressed by the new Association that was formed in Ireland some few years ago, with regard to the severance of the legislation of the two countries, I think that we may probably show—the House may show—by a fair consideration of Irish questions, that we are perfectly willing to do to the Irish people a full measure of justice; and it is not necessary that every measure that the Irish people ask for should recommend itself to us as absolutely the best; but if they think it the best—if the great majority of their Representatives think it the best—I think we ought, as Members for England and Scotland, upon some occasions even to strain a point, and to do that for them, with their own free will and at their own request, which perhaps we should not recommend to be done for either England or Scotland. And thus it may be—I think it will be, but I am sure it may be if we act like sensible men—that the people of Ireland will come to see that if they had a Parliament of their own, the measures to which it could turn its attention would be so few in number—so few that were not of an Imperial character—that it would be an absolute absurdity to establish a Parliament of Lords and Commons in Dublin for the purpose of dealing only with questions which are more suitable for a Corporation or a Vestry than for the Parliament of a Kingdom. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin in his—what shall I call it?—his melancholy speech—for nothing could be more melancholy than the prospect before us, according to his statement—said that in Ireland there are so many people in the different boroughs below the level of the franchise

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that if you were to extend the franchise to householders, you would immediately bring in so many of the poorest and, in the social scale, the lowest, that you might overwhelm those who are already in possession of the franchise. That is exactly what was said in 1832. Sir Charles Wetherell, and Mr. Croker, and others at that time, said it—only they said it with a vast deal more earnestness and a great deal more passion than the hon. and learned Gentleman has said it; and, then, if we come down to 1867, exactly the same thing was said by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen who sit on that Treasury Bench. Everybody knows who was in the House then, that the present Prime Minister and his Friends used exactly the same argument, and it was perfectly true to a certain extent. If I ask my hon. Friend the Member for Oldham (Mr. Hibbert), he can tell us that his constituency is three or four times as numerous as it was before the Bill of 1867—[MR. HIBBERT: Six times as numerous.] He says it is six times as numerous. What was said against that Bill was, that this three or four or six times more numerous body brought in would entirely swamp those who already were electors. But the old constituency of Oldham has not been swamped. At present, my hon. Friend is here to represent them on this side of the House, and an hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Serjeant Spinks) represents a portion of them on the other side of the House; and what could be more proper if the constituency be equally divided? But the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Plunket) thinks that in Ireland there is no such division; and I suppose he thinks also that the ballot—which he did not speak of as if he were much of a friend to it—has in a certain sense worked a revolution in Ireland, because, on the one hand, it has liberated the electors from the landowners; and, on the other, as in the case of the hon. Member for the county of Limerick, has liberated them from the priests. Well, but it is a great and good process to go through in coming from the state of political serfdom in which the Irish were—it was a natural process—that they should on the one hand get rid of the landlord, and on the other get rid of the priest; and that must be done before a constituency comes, as it were, to stand upon its own

feet, to act upon its own convictions and principles, and to speak with its own voice in this Parliament of the United Kingdom. The results of the Act of 1832 disappointed the prophets of evil; the results in 1867, and since then, have disappointed the prophets of evil. I believe the results of this measure, if it were passed, would disappoint the hon. and learned Gentleman. I do not say that the result of the measure would not be probably to supplant certain Gentlemen—some who are sitting in this House. The hon. and learned Gentleman, I believe, would have none of these new constituents in his constituency. He, at least, would be safe, and therefore he speaks from a disinterested position; but my own impression is that the general result as regards the class of men—the personal representation in this House—would not be sensibly changed by the proposition that is now before us; and that the step that the House would take by granting this measure would be one which would say to all the people of Ireland—"We have no wish that you should come to the Imperial Parliament inferior to us in any privilege, in any right, in any freedom." I say, if we were to adopt that principle—admitting that the hon. and learned Gentleman may to some extent be right as to certain inconveniences which might result; yet I think this inconvenience would be trivial and small, and not worthy to be considered in comparison with the enormous gain that would come to us as a Parliament, if we could once persuade the people of Ireland that we are as willing to be just to them as a Parliament sitting in Dublin, though composed in all its branches of men of their own blood, of men of their own religion, and born and nurtured in their own country. That is what I would wish to do for Ireland; and I would submit to certain small risks and certain inconveniences, if I could bring about such a great result as that. I am sorry to say that the hon. and learned Gentleman's Party in all past times, in the views they have held, have endeavoured to direct the course of the Imperial Parliament in direct opposition to the views I hold. I say all their policy and all their measures have failed, all their foretellings, all their prophecies have been false, and have led only to prove that they did not understand what was the

true interest of their country; and I hope now that the House will not take the advice of the hon. and learned Gentleman, but will consent to the proposition which has been submitted to it.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA ventured to think that the carrying of the measure would not make any serious alteration on either side of the House. He could not agree with what had been said concerning the position of the Irish representation; but the system of registration was nearly as unsatisfactory as it could be at the present time. The adoption of the proposal would show that there was a disposition on the part of Parliament in some way to do justice to Ireland, and to equalize laws for the country and put them on the same basis as they stood for England. It would give a number of inhabitants of small boroughs, at present without any link with the Constitution, the consciousness that they had some position in the State. It was for that reason he advocated the measure. They were told, at the opening of the present Parliament, when Home Rule was first brought forward, that all they had to do was to bring forward in the House any Irish grievance, and their complaints would receive attention; but now they were told by the hon. and learned Gentleman that this question must await the decision of Parliament on the Education Question. This question was, therefore, not to be dealt with, but to be kept waiting on another. The Education Question was waiting, and for what? For the will of the Government. The Government delayed the decision of that question because they attempted to do that which was impossible—namely, to reconcile the opinion of Ireland, on denominational teaching, with that of certain classes in England who preferred the secular system. With respect to the course that his hon. Friends who sat near him might take on the Motion which was to come forward on Friday—the Motion of the hon. Member for the Border Boroughs (Mr. Trevelyan)—he thought that it would be out of taste to indicate the line that they were likely to take; but, for himself, he would say that he would on this occasion, and he hoped also in the future, vote for the extension of the franchise.

Mr. GRAY said, there was no man for whom the Irish people cherished greater reverence and deeper regard, he

might even say, affection, than for the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright); and his speech to-night—one of the many generous speeches which he had delivered with reference to Ireland—would be received there with thankfulness, and would not be without its effect. He thought, however, the right hon. Gentleman was sanguine in assuming that the Irish people would so soon turn from the resolve to which they had come. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would think him (Mr. Gray) more sanguine in hoping that gentlemen like him, who did honestly desire the fullest measure of justice to Ireland, and who had proved their earnestness, would come to see that the views which were put forward by the majority of Irishmen were not incompatible with the principles which they professed; and that what they desired might be as safely conceded as those extensions of the franchise which the right hon. Gentleman and those who went with him now conceded, but which their Predecessors for long refused. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Plunket) took occasion three or four times very pointedly to disclaim any intention of reflecting upon his fellow-countrymen. He (Mr. Gray) thought that disclaimer was more than necessary, when they remembered that he described the debate in which nearly every Irish Member in the House had taken part as a "tame rehearsal." He remembered that the same hon. and learned Gentleman described the debate on the adjournment of the Address as a masquerade. He did not know whether the hon. and learned Gentleman considered these reflections upon his brother Members. He hoped it was not because he was not very earnest in the views he put forward himself, that he imagined they had only equal earnestness, and were masquerading in a tame rehearsal. He assured him that they were more earnest than he thought in the views they took; that they meant to press this question to an issue, and they hoped, in a very short time, to a successful issue. Not very long ago, he (Mr. Gray) had the honour of making his first speech in that House, and he remembered that it was on this question. He listened to every argument then put forward; and he certainly failed to hear one which

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convinced him that there was a shadow of a reason for refusing this very moderate request. The right hon. Gentleman the Colonial Secretary (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who was then the Chief Secretary for Ireland, stated in effect the only argument which remained in his mind, and that was that this proposal would destroy the Whig Party in Ireland. Why that should be such a stumbling-block in the way of hon. Members opposite, whose only aim seemed to be to destroy the Whig Party in England, he could not conceive. He could understand their putting forward any other argument—of their having spoken of the Land Question, or the Education Question, of using almost any other argument—but how they could put this forward passed his comprehension. He had heard all the arguments; but none of them supplied to his mind any reason for the refusal to which he supposed they would have to submit to adopt this Resolution.

MR. BRUEN joined in the hope which had been expressed by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), that the time would come when the Irish people would feel no disinclination to be united with England. Irish Members who sat on the same side of the House as himself formed the party which had always supported the Union. But when the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that that Union should be brought about by doing for Ireland what would not be done for either England or Scotland, merely because of the desire on the part of the people of Ireland, he must offer his strenuous opposition to that proposition. He should offer his strenuous opposition to the Motion before the House; and he ventured to assert that the borough franchise in Ireland, as compared with England and Scotland, was not restricted, and a fair and just equality between the two already existed. The question in this case was whether the franchise was to be considered as a right or a privilege. He regarded it a privilege, and submitted that those who claimed the exercise of that privilege ought to show that they were fitted for it. He maintained that it was untrue to say that the test of value was discarded by the Act of 1867. The quality of value was still retained in relation to the lodger

franchise and the property franchise. The principle of government recognized by the Constitution was that of government by an aristocracy—that was, government by those persons best fitted to govern; and it was because the Motion of the hon. and learned Gentleman struck at that principle that he should vote against it. Until they came more nearly in Ireland to the independence of the householders of the English boroughs, it would be dangerous to admit this new class of voters in overwhelming numbers to the franchise in Ireland without some counterbalancing provisions.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 126; Noes 134: Majority 8. — (Div. List, No. 18.)

#### EAST INDIA (APPOINTMENT OF MR. M. MACPHERSON).—RESOLUTION.

MR. O'DONNELL, in rising to call attention to the appointment by the Indian Government of Mr. Molesworth Macpherson, first as secretary to the Legislative Council and then as deputy-secretary to the Legislative Department; and to move—

“That such appointment constituted an evasion of the Law, is unjust to the regular Civil Service of India, and is calculated to bring the Indian Administration into public discredit,”

said, it appeared, from facts which were unchallenged, that Mr. Macpherson, a young barrister, had been suddenly promoted to the valuable post of secretary to the Legislative Council. The incident was freely and unfavourably criticized in Indian society, partly because of the extreme youth of the nominee, and partly because it was concluded that the authorities, being unable to appoint Mr. Macpherson secretary to the Department on account of his insufficient residence in India, had given him that office with an altered title, and had created him secretary to the Legislative Council. Thus, the secretaryship to the Department was filled by a colourable evasion of an Act, which, as it happened, nowhere made use of the word “Council.” Mr. Macpherson was retained in his place till the Viceroy, moved by the public outcry and by his own sense of duty, made another appointment in accordance with the terms of the Act. A *solution*, however, was provided for him; and if he



could not be the secretary to the Council, he might take the post of deputy secretary to the Department—and, in fact, was at present in that position. They had, he contended, every right to blame the persons at Calcutta for the scandalous abuse of the power entrusted to them; and he was entitled to ask the House, careful as it was of the rights of the Civil servants of India, to give such an expression of its opinion as would serve to safeguard the rights of the young men they induced to go out to India to administer the laws in that country. What, he asked, could be the value of the legal advice or legal assistance of a young man of 18 months' experience of the multifarious life of India upon any question which really required large powers of mind and large training, fortified by lengthened experience of the customs and manners of India? The second appointment to which this gentleman was appointed had been vacated for him by a civilian of 13 years' experience, who had been generally acknowledged to be fully deserving the promotion. This question had been in various forms brought before the House, and he trusted that now his Motion would commend itself to their approval. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving his Resolution.

Mr. BIGGAR seconded the Resolution.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That the appointment by the Indian Government of Mr. Molesworth Macpherson, first as secretary to the Legislative Council and then as deputy-secretary to the Legislative Department, constitutes an improper evasion of the Law, is unjust to the regular Civil Service of India, and is calculated to bring the Indian Administration into public discredit." — (Mr. O'Donnell.)

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, there was no doubt that the appointment had been considerably censured in several Indian newspapers. He was not sorry that an opportunity had been given him by the Motion of the hon. Member of stating the facts of the case, in regard to which, as well as the law on the subject, there had been considerable misapprehension. No doubt it would be a very improper thing to evade an Act of Parliament; but this particular appointment did not come under the provisions of the Act to which the hon. Member referred. The Act of Parlia-

ment which secured a certain monopoly of the appointments in India to the Indian Civil Service, was passed in 1861; but all appointments which were not in the Schedule were not to be considered within the operation of the Act. Some three or four years before that Act was passed, the Charter Act of the Company was renewed, and a Legislative Council was established. The offices in question, which were originally known as those of clerk and deputy clerk to the Legislative Council of the Governor General of India, required a certain technical knowledge in the persons who held them. It was most important that the Acts of the Indian Government should be drafted clearly and intelligibly, because otherwise much difficulty and mischief might ensue, and therefore these appointments had always been held by legal gentlemen, and were outside the scope of the Act. In the middle of last year the Secretary of State received a telegram requesting him to send out a competent draftsman in order that the work of codification, which fell to the duty of the Department, might go on. Sir Henry Thring was consulted in regard to the matter, and several gentlemen, all members of the Bar, were named; but they refused to go to India at the salary offered. The Indian Government were consequently compelled to fall back upon their own resources. There were at the time in the Legislative Department a Mr. Fitzpatrick, a barrister, and a Mr. Jardine, who was also a barrister; but neither of them possessed the requisite technical knowledge. Lord Lytton, who was obliged to leave Calcutta at the end of August, gave power to Mr. Whitley Stokes, a legal member of the Legislative Council, to nominate the most competent person he could find, and in the exercise of that discretion he nominated Mr. Macpherson. Mr. Macpherson was doubtless very young, being only 24 years of age, and had been only 19 months in India; but, on the other hand, he had shown great aptitude for the work, and had had a special training as an equity draftsman and conveyancer. When Lord Lytton returned to Calcutta, he considered this gentleman too young to be put at the head of the Department, and accordingly refused to sanction the appointment. He, however, appointed in his place Mr. Fitzpatrick, who had previously been deputy

*Mr. O'Donnell*

secretary to the Government of India. Lord Lytton thought that Mr. Macpherson had considerable qualifications, and he therefore nominated him deputy secretary, and the appointment came home to the Secretary of State for confirmation. The Indian Government had thought it desirable to give Mr. Macpherson a better salary than his predecessor had; but the Finance Committee at home had thought there was no reason for increasing the expenditure; and therefore, while confirming the appointment, the Secretary of State refused to sanction the augmented salary. There had been no evasion, colourable or otherwise, of the law. Mr. Macpherson had never applied for the appointment, and the first intimation his friends had of it was seeing it in *The Gazette*. Indeed, he had made a promising start at the Bar, and his family were disappointed that he had accepted the office. During the short time Mr. Macpherson occupied his post he had shown great aptitude for the work, and would in time become a very valuable public servant. Therefore, there seemed no reason whatever for assenting to the Resolution of the hon. Member. He quite agreed that Parliament ought to take care that there was no evasion, colourable or otherwise, of the Act of Parliament by which appointments were secured to the Indian Civil Service. There had been two rules adopted in regard to appointments which had worked exceedingly well. The first was that the Secretary of State never attempted to nominate anyone in England to an appointment which was within the patronage of the Indian Government. In the second place, the Indian Government had no power to make any fresh appointment, or increase salaries, without previously receiving the sanction of the Secretary of State for India. In the present case, the Secretary of State had, in the exercise of his discretion, refused to sanction the increase of the salary which it was proposed to give to Mr. Macpherson. He hoped the hon. Gentleman, having heard this explanation, would not press his Motion to a division, for in that case he would have no option but to oppose it.

MR. O'DONNELL acknowledged the straightforward way in which the noble Lord had met him. He thought the general tone of the noble Lord's re-

marks indicated that, in his opinion, something extraordinary had been done. However, he would not press his Motion to a division.

MR. ONSLOW observed there was an association established of the young members of the Indian Civil Service who canvassed every appointment made by the Indian Government. Nothing could be more objectionable; and he hoped the hon. Gentleman would not year after year come forward as their spokesman in that House. When Mr. Whitley Stokes appointed Mr. Macpherson, he did not do so without the full conviction of his competency; and from his knowledge of that gentleman, now a member of the Supreme Council, he was quite sure no one but a hard-working intelligent officer could undertake the duties of the office over which Mr. W. Stokes presided.

MR. PARNELL protested against the doctrine of the hon. Gentleman opposite, that any class of Her Majesty's subjects was to be prevented from having their grievances brought before the House in a regular and constitutional manner.

Motion, by leave, *withdrawn*.

#### ANCIENT MONUMENTS BILL.

(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Beresford Hope, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Russell Gurney.*)

[BILL 63.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that the promoters had accepted all the Amendments to the measure proposed by the Select Committee to whom the Bill of last year had been referred. The principal arguments against the Bill were that it was unnecessary, and that it was an interference with private property. As to the first objection, he had on previous occasions brought forward evidence of the rapidity with which these ancient monuments were being destroyed in all parts of Great Britain; and, if the hour had not been so late, he would have described the destruction which had taken place, especially among camps, in the particular county represented by the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. R. Plunkett), who had announced his intention of moving the rejection of the Bill. With regard to the property argument, the Bill did not pro-

pose to take a single monument from the custody of its present owner; but simply said to him—"At least give the nation the option of purchasing a monument before you destroy it." That was neither an unreasonable nor a novel proposal, and the powers asked for were not so sweeping as those given in every Railway or Gas Bill. When the measure of last year had been sent to a Committee, a special provision was introduced, giving the owners of ancient monuments a right to appear; but only one gentleman came forward, and his allegation was not that these monuments ought not to be preserved, but that the particular camp with which he was concerned was so much destroyed that it possessed no scientific interest. During each of the six years the Bill had been before the House there had been only one Petition with one signature presented against it. There was no evidence that the owners of these monuments objected to the Bill; and if it were to be considered from a property point of view, he would, in the name of property itself, appeal to hon. Members to support it—for surely a measure which appealed so strongly to their respect for the memory and traditions of the past, must be conservation in the highest sense of the term? Hon. Members had contended that the present owners had a perfect right to destroy these monuments if they chose; but surely these relics were national heirlooms, and did not belong exclusively to one generation? In the eloquent words of Ruskin—

"Of mere wanton or ignorant ravage it is vain to speak; my words will not reach those who commit them; and yet, be it heard or not, I must not leave the truth unstated, that it is again no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of past times or not. We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us. The dead have still their right in them: that which they laboured for, the praise of achievement or the expression of religious feeling, or whatsoever else it might be which they intended to be permanent, we have no right to obliterate. What we have ourselves built we are at liberty to throw down; but what other men gave their strength and wealth and life to accomplish, their right over does not pass away with their death; still less is the right to the use of what they have left vested in us only. It belongs to all their successors."

The nation was spending large sums in treasuring up the monuments of other countries and other peoples in the British

Museum, where they were valued most highly; and the destruction of our own monuments was surely a disgrace to a great and enlightened and a wealthy nation, and would be a source of shame and sorrow to our children. It was said that these monuments were erected by savages; but even savages respected the graves of their dead—and surely we were not so savage as to feel no interest in the history of the past and the relics of ancient times; nor so poor, that we had any excuse when we broke up for road-metal or for gate-posts monuments which were erected with love and labour. He appealed to the hon. Member for Gloucestershire to withdraw his opposition to the Bill, so that the House might show by a unanimous vote that they revered and respected these rude though venerable monuments of the past, and would hand them down to their children as they had received them from those who had gone before.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir John Lubbock*.)

MR. R. E. PLUNKETT, in moving that the Bill be read a second time that day six months, assured the House that he was not so savage as to feel no interest in the history of past times, or to wish for the destruction of our ancient monuments. He did not view them with dislike, and was possessed of several which he would not allow to be destroyed. When the hon. Baronet said all the improvements proposed by the Committee of last year had been adopted, he lost sight of the fact that on that Committee the hon. Baronet had such an overwhelming majority that the improvements made were exceedingly few. Still, the measure was greatly improved as compared with the Bill which was introduced a few years ago; but he could not admit that all the machinery it now provided, such as the continuous Commission, the secretary, and the yearly Report to Parliament, were necessary. If the thing was to be done by agreement, there was no necessity for a permanent body to look after these monuments. Why could not the hon. Baronet schedule those monuments which he considered to be in danger and to be worthy of preservation? The great majority of the monuments which were

*Sir John Lubbock*

of national interest were just as safe in the custody of their owners as they would be in the charge of the State. Property vested in the hands of Commissioners would be much more difficult and expensive to guard than that which remained in the hands of private owners. It would be far better to appoint a Commission at once to decide what monuments were worth preserving, and called for the interference of Parliament. The hon. Baronet had referred to the destruction of numerous camps in Gloucestershire; but if an enclosure were set up about each of those remaining, they would in some cases become a nuisance to the neighbourhood. If the Bill had been passed years before, it would not have prevented the destruction of many valuable stones, which had been taken away because their owners did not know their value. The stones were broken and the inscriptions effaced, because no one knew of their existence. Archæological societies were now being founded in different directions, and if farmers found stones to be of value, they would not use them for gate-posts, but sell them for a pound or two. So that when an outcry was made about finding an inscribed stone in a wall, it must be remembered that this Bill would not have saved it. A good many hon. Members were inclined to support the Bill because they believed it would scarcely interfere with any but great landed proprietors, while it would confer a great boon upon the public at large; but that was by no means the case. The parks and pleasure-grounds of the great were specially exempted from its action, and those it would really affect were the small farmer and the yeoman. By Clause 12 the necessary moneys were to be provided by the Treasury; but what fund were they to come from? The hon. Baronet had protested year after year against the increase of the national expenditure; but here he had adopted a contrary principle, not for the benefit of the people at large, because this expenditure would not promote the education of the people, as picture galleries and museums did; and these monuments could only be seen by those who could afford time and money to travel. If the charge were to be levied on the rates, he must equally protest against it, unless it could be shown that the outlay was for the benefit of the dis-

trict rated. The hon. Baronet said he dealt more leniently with the owners of ancient monuments than owners of property were dealt with under gas or railway undertakings; but persons affected by the latter had every opportunity of appeal, not only on the ground of compensation, but on the score of rights of property. It might have been imagined that the Schedule would have been drawn up with some care; but he found included in it not only monuments that had not and would not be interfered with, but others which had no existence. Cæsar's Camp at Wimbledon, for example, was included in the Schedule, when last year it had been shown that it had been entirely destroyed. Were the Commissioners to obtain possession of the site, although the camp had disappeared? It did not appear whether the appeal provided for by the Bill was to be on the question of law or the authenticity of the monument. If the hon. Baronet would accept his suggestion as to scheduling the monuments considered to be in danger, and state his extent to which he desired to go, the opposition to the Bill would be withdrawn.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the word "now," and at the end of the Question to add the words "upon this day six months."—(*Mr. R. E. Plunkett.*)

Question proposed, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

MR. KIRK said, in reference to the ancient monuments of Ireland, he was convinced that their owners did not take care of them, and that if they were placed in the hands of Commissioners they would be preserved from destruction. He remembered that in county Meath, one of the finest Druidical structures after Stonehenge was destroyed by an English gentleman who had acquired the land, and who probably was unacquainted with the archæological value of the stones. So much destruction had taken place in the past, that it was desirable to place these monuments under the control of Commissioners, who would prevent interference with them in the future. The advantages conferred on the public by the establishment of picture galleries had been referred to, and it had been said that these monuments were of no use to the

State; but they would at least show the knowledge of mechanics, arts, and sciences possessed by the people in the remote past. He remembered many monuments in Ireland 20 or 25 years ago, which had since been entirely destroyed. In one case the Antiquarian Society of Ireland obtained permission to excavate some ancient remains. They found nothing within them; but they left them after the excavations had been concluded unrestored to their former condition; and, when applied to, the answer was that the Society had no funds with which to do the work. Such an instance was a strong argument in favour of the Bill. The measure did not contemplate removing these remains from the hands of landed proprietors if they were kept in proper preservation; but only that the Commissioners should have the power to step in if necessary, and, when it was desirable to save a monument from destruction, to give full value for the land on which it stood. That was neither confiscation nor interference with the rights of property. Those monuments testified to the mechanical knowledge in Ireland 2,000 years ago, when many of the stones used to build some of the Druidical remains, and which were 16, 18, or 20 feet long, had been brought from mountains 50 miles away. He warmly supported the Bill.

MR. SIDNEY HERBERT contended that the ancient monuments of the country were sufficiently preserved under present conditions. Proprietors, as they knew, were extremely jealous of any Parliamentary interference with their property; yet the principle of the Bill was levelled directly at that class. Ancient monuments suffered a great deal more from the hammer of the geologist and the spade of the antiquarian than they did from the ambition of a vandalizing public to inscribe their names on a stone or wall, or from the neglect of proprietors. So far as he could see, there was no danger of their ancient monuments being materially interfered with; but, at the same time, he was prepared to argue that an old earthwork like *Cæsar's Camp* should not be allowed to stand in the way of the requirements of an increasing population. He had presented a Petition against the Bill from the proprietor of Stonehenge, who had done his best to

protect that "ancient monument," and who objected to having the jurisdiction over his own property taken out of his hands. The Bill was entirely unnecessary, and exceedingly arbitrary, and he hoped, therefore, that the House would not pass the second reading.

MR. OSBORNE MORGAN maintained that the principle that ancient monuments were national property had been repeatedly affirmed by the House. The intention of the Bill was not to interfere with the enjoyment of private property, but simply to prevent owners from destroying and effacing what, in a certain sense, belonged to the nation. How could that be said to be an infringement of private rights? As one of the Select Committee which sat on this subject, he assured the House that nobody could have shown more tenderness for the rights of private property than the Committee. The Bill, no doubt, had its faults; but it could easily be amended in Committee. The principle of the Bill had been solemnly affirmed in three or four former divisions, and it was now too late to dispute it.

MR. RAIKES said, when his hon. and learned Friend asserted that the principle that the monuments contemplated in the Bill were to be regarded as public property had been affirmed by several divisions of the House, he, in his (Mr. Raikes's) opinion, contended for too much. What was affirmed by those divisions was that ancient monuments were objects of national interest; and there was, he admitted, a strong feeling—not confined within the walls of Parliament—in favour of preserving those monuments. The great difficulty in dealing with the question, as it had from time to time been raised by the hon. Member for Maidstone (Sir John Lubbock), was that the House was asked to treat it in a concrete form, without having had any satisfactory opportunity of coming to a decision on the abstract principle. If, in the first instance, the hon. Member had brought forward a Motion for a Select Committee to inquire into the desirability of preserving ancient monuments, he would probably have met with very little opposition, and would afterwards have been able to go to the Government of the day with a request that they should themselves bring in a Bill on the subject. But if he met with no response from the Government then,

*Mr. Kirk*

armed with the recommendations of a Select Committee, he would be justified in himself enforcing upon the House the propriety of dealing with the subject. His hon. Friend, however, had persistently put the cart before the horse, and had complicated the matter by raising questions of private property, about which there must necessarily be the greatest divergence of opinion. The hon. Member for Gloucestershire (Mr. Plunkett) remarked that the Bill came before the House this year in an improved condition. He scarcely agreed with him; indeed, he was of opinion that the Bill was open to exactly the same objections that were taken to it at first—in reference to its machinery. It still proposed to vest in a Commission of private individuals powers—and very strong powers, too—such as hitherto Parliament had only accorded to the Government, or to Railway or other public Companies, for the purpose of carrying out some great commercial enterprise. Again, the Bill proposed to schedule a list of particular monuments, but it did not give any definition whatever of the word “monument.” That was a most extraordinary omission—so extraordinary, indeed, that he could not remember a single similar instance. Then they came to the position of the owners who would be affected, or might hereafter be affected, by the provisions of the Bill. They were to be precluded from any defence of their property, the right of which the law accorded them in all other cases. There was not one of them owning half-an-acre of land who might not, some fine day, find himself brought under the provisions of the Malicious Injuries Act, for dealing with his own property. True, the property would not be taken from him; but it was a monstrous thing that a man should be put in the position—as he would be under the Bill—of affirming that he was injuring his own property, and of writing himself down a sort of enemy to the public. He did not deny that there was something to be said in favour of the measure; but he would ask where was the effective machinery of the Bill to come from? Why, he noticed amongst the list of individuals who were to form the Private Commission, the name of a Nobleman who had accomplished a more sweeping destruction of ancient monuments than, perhaps, any other subject of Her Majesty. He would ask the

House what was the good of bringing in this tiresome measure, year after year, without any fundamental reason for its necessity being shown? The House was asked to go through the form of a second reading, when everybody knew that the Bill as it stood was entirely inoperative. One of the arguments used by the supporters of the measure was that these ancient monuments were of great value; but that was an argument which would apply to a great deal of other property—and, under it, they might ask to schedule the Old Masters at Burlington House, which were worth infinitely more than those shapeless barrows or dilapidated cairns, or any of those pre-historic remains in which some people took such great interest. By way of further answer to the argument, it might be contended that some of the letters stowed away amongst the dusty records of great Houses should be scheduled, for some of them were of great value—far greater value than the decayed and obsolete objects contemplated by the Bill. Still, he was bound to admit, that something was to be said in favour of the purpose of the measure; and if his hon. Friend would strike out the whole of the compulsory clauses and constitute his Commission as a body having power to take over ancient monuments from those willing to transfer them, he should be ready to vote for the second reading; but, so long as the hon. Member persisted in maintaining a machinery which was clearly vexatious and wholly inoperative, so long it was impossible for him to assent to a measure of that description.

Mr. HERSCHELL expressed a hope that the proposition of the hon. Gentleman the Chairman of Ways and Means would not be accepted by the hon. Member for Maidstone. They had been told that their proper course in dealing with this matter was to have moved a Resolution for a Select Committee; but, for his own part, he could not conceive any more effectual mode of delaying legislation in regard to these ancient monuments, since the excuse would always be made that the Government were waiting for the Report of the Committee. He would like to know, too, in how many cases the recommendations of Select Committees had failed to be adopted and carried out?—so that there would be no security in the procedure recom-

mended by the Chairman of Ways and Means, that the subject would receive the attention which he and others considered it deserved. It was said that the Bill involved an unnecessary interference with the rights of private property; but when it was conceded that these ancient monuments were objects of national interest, had not Parliament a right to step in and say that as they could not be replaced, so they should not be destroyed? All the Bill proposed was, that owners of monuments should be restrained in so far as the nation had an interest in restraining them. There would be no interference with private management and interests, but simply the imposition of certain responsibilities. The Bill only asked that when an owner contemplated the destruction of an ancient monument—as might be the case with some future proprietor of Stonehenge—the nation should have the opportunity of acquiring it at its fullest value.

LORD HENRY THYNNE contended that the Bill ignored two important questions—those of economy, and the rights of private property. He would like to ask the hon. Member for Maidstone, who they were who destroyed ancient monuments? They were destroyed more by the antiquarians than by any other class of people. He remembered seeing an account of some Antiquarian Association who went down to a certain place to investigate some remains which were supposed never to have been opened. The President went solemnly through the ceremony of digging out an indicated spot; and, after several hours labour, he discovered that another President had been there 20 years before him—the only reward of their research being a relic with a very modern mark upon it. For his own part, he should be very sorry to place any monuments in charge of the Commission proposed under the Bill. If anything were to be done at all, the property should be placed in the hands of the county authorities. The real operation of the Bill would be nothing more or less than to confiscate private property; and for that reason, as well as the reason that the measure was an extravagant one, he should oppose the second reading.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE explained that Cæsar's Camp at Wimbledon was

*Mr. Herschell*

sold by its owner for building purposes. When his neighbours heard this, they offered to buy the Camp at its value for building purposes. The owner, however, refused this. It was then found, on an appeal to the Court of Chancery, that there was power to restrain the owner from carting his materials across Wimbledon Common, and consequently the value of the land for building purposes was practically destroyed. The offer to purchase was then renewed by the neighbours at the same price; but the owner rejected this, and out of pure spite, gave orders to level the Camp. Now, if there had been some such law as that proposed by the Bill, that valuable monument might have been saved to the nation. The measure did not touch any private right whatever, except the right to destroy; but its compulsory clauses were necessary in order to meet the cases of contumacious owners like the one he had referred to.

COLONEL STANLEY observed that, so far as he had read the Bill, the power proposed to be vested in the Commissioners was not in any way limited as to the number and extent of the properties the Commissioners were empowered to purchase. On behalf of the Treasury, he was, therefore, bound to demur to these provisions, inasmuch as the Commissioners were not the persons who had to provide the Ways and Means, and the Treasury would possess no control over their proceedings.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, there seemed to be an erroneous impression among hon. Members as to the powers of purchase sought by this Bill. All that was desired was that in cases where the owners wished to destroy ancient monuments, they should communicate with the Commissioners and give that body an opportunity of purchasing the monuments at a fair valuation. Regarding the extent of the powers of expenditure to be vested in the Commissioners, the impression of the promoters of the Bill was that a certain sum would be sanctioned by the Treasury and voted by Parliament, and that the powers of the Commissioners would be limited to the expenditure of that sum. That, however, was a question for the Committee; but it should be remembered that the money expended by the Commissioners would represent investments in land, which would pay, say, 2

per cent. These monuments were being rapidly destroyed, and they would eventually disappear if such a Bill as this were not passed. The Chairman of Committees had said that great powers under the Defence Act were sought to be obtained by this Bill; but the hon. Member would find that the Defence Act was introduced into the Bill for the purpose of ascertaining and fixing the amount of compensation. He thought the objections made were not urged against the principle of the Bill, and he trusted, therefore, that the House would pass the second reading.

MR. ONSLOW remarked that many hon. Members who had taken a great interest in this subject were not present. He therefore begged to move that the debate be now adjourned.

SIR BALDWIN LEIGHTON seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."  
—(Mr. Onslow.)

MR. BERESFORD HOPE protested against the tactics of obstruction brought to bear, and stated that the supporters of the Bill would take the sense of the House rather than yield to such a mode of opposition. He maintained that the hon. Member for Gloucestershire had himself conclusively proved the necessity for such a Bill by the admissions which he had made, and was bound to co-operate to help it to that Committee in which he could amend it. The Chairman of Committees had also worked himself up in quite a touching way in favour of the absolute necessity for legislation in that direction; and yet he did contend to secure that nothing should be done to give effect to the deepest and most sacred feelings of his heart. The hon. Member had taunted the supporters of the Bill with not confiding the Bill to the Government. They were quite accustomed to such tactics. Sometimes, when an hon. Member brought in a Bill, he was told that he ought rather to have introduced the subject in a Resolution. Then, if a young Member acted upon such advice, he was told that he only showed his inexperience in bringing in that amorphous, invertebrate thing called a Resolution, and that he should have given the House a Bill to

show in what manner he would deal with the subject. These were the two ways of smothering a measure; but it was rather late in the day for the Chairman of Committees, good tactician as he was, to adopt that attitude, when the House, by large and increasing majorities, had affirmed the principle of this measure. If the Government would undertake the charge of the Bill, he was sure he could speak for the hon. Member for Maidstone, and for those who supported him, when he said that they would gladly leave the measure in the hands of those who could most legitimately carry it.

MR. E. STANHOPE hoped that the Motion for the adjournment of the debate would be adjourned.

Question put, and *negatived*.

Question put, "That the word 'now' stand part of the Question."

The House *divided*:—Ayes 64; Noes 56: Majority 8.—(Div. List, No. 19.)

Main Question put, and *agreed to*.

Bill read a second time, and *committed for Tuesday next*.

#### DENTAL PRACTITIONERS BILL.

(Sir John Lubbock, Sir Philip Egerton, Mr. Gregory, Dr. Lush.)

[BILL 96.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to provide for the examination and registration of dentists. It was rather remarkable, considering that all doctors and surgeons must be examined before they were permitted to practise, and that chemists and druggists were liable to examination, dentists should not be compelled to give a similar proof of their professional skill. The system proposed in the Bill had been introduced in America, where it had worked satisfactorily. The Bill was supported by the Royal College of Surgeons, and he had presented Petitions in its favour from more than two-thirds of the surgeons practising dentistry. The signatures to these Memorials comprised the names of



most eminent members of the surgical, medical, and dental professions. He would not at that hour enter into the details of the Bill; but its principal object was to protect the public against quacks by giving them an opportunity of ascertaining whether dentists were properly qualified.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Sir John Lubbock*.)

SIR HENRY SELWIN-IBBETSON supported the second reading of the Bill, but reminded the hon. Baronet who introduced it that certain degrees relating to dentistry were conferred by the Universities. This circumstance seemed to have been forgotten, as there was no reference to it in the clauses of the Bill. Up to the present moment, the public Universities both in England and in Ireland had been in the habit of granting degrees; but by the clauses of the Bill, as at present drawn, such degrees would be unavailable. He hoped that this part of the question would receive attention in Committee.

DR. CAMERON rose to move the adjournment of the debate. At that late hour it was quite impossible to discuss a Bill involving a principle so important. The hon. Baronet who introduced the Bill informed the House that its chief object was to get rid of quackery in dentistry. He had no doubt that was the object the hon. Baronet had in view; but it was sought to be attained in such a way as to provoke the hostility of a great majority of the members of the medical profession, who were the last in the world to interfere on behalf of quackery. This Bill, he believed, would rather promote quackery than suppress it. It proposed that any person practising under the title of dentist, or surgeon-dentist, or a dentist-surgeon, should be liable to fine and punishment unless he was registered according to the provisions of this Bill. It proposed, further, that no person should be registered who either was not qualified as a licentiate in dental surgery by some medical licensing body, or who was not already practising. The man who was not a surgeon would not be allowed to call himself a dental surgeon, although he might call himself an aural surgeon, or an ophthalmic surgeon. He would

thus be precluded from adopting a speciality. But any man practising dentistry, no matter how uneducated, would be able to call himself a surgeon and a dental surgeon. The British Medical Association, comprising many members in all parts of the country, opposed this Bill, and a Petition against it, which was deposited at *The Lancet* office only on Saturday last, had received the signatures of the most eminent practitioners in London, including Sir William Gull. The Bill was also opposed by the most eminent dental surgeons, who said that, while at present they were distinguished as dental surgeons from surgeons practising dentistry, if this Bill passed the most uneducated men would be equally entitled to call themselves dental surgeons.

MR. YOUNG seconded the Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Dr. Cameron*.)

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK thought that the questions raised by the hon. Member who moved the adjournment of the debate, although very important, might be left to the Committee, as they did not go to the root of the matter. The Memorial which the hon. Member had referred to did not object to the principle of the Bill, but merely suggested certain alterations which could be dealt with in Committee. He hoped the Motion for the adjournment of the debate would not be pressed.

DR. WARD admitted that there were many objectionable provisions in the Bill, but he was satisfied that the hon. Baronet who had charge of it was willing to make the necessary alterations in Committee. Some system of registration was, undoubtedly, necessary, and the Bill ought not to be opposed at that stage. Although he objected to the Bill, as at present framed, he did not know that any professional man could object to the principle it laid down. All that the hon. Baronet wanted to secure was that a certain amount of registration should take place to suppress quackery and to control a department of surgery which had got outside the lines of surgery, and, to some extent, had fallen into the hands of pure mechanicians, and was, moreover, outside the control of the College of Surgeons.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 27; Noes 49: Majority 22.—(Div. List, No. 20.)

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA moved the adjournment of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House do now adjourn."—(Sir Joseph M'Kenna.)

MR. J. K. CROSS said, he had supported the hon. Baronet (Sir John Lubbock) in the last division; but as there was other Business to be disposed of, he hoped the hon. Baronet would not seek to proceed further with the Bill.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK trusted that his hon. Friends would not press the adjournment after what had fallen from the hon. Gentleman.

MR. YOUNG said, that having tested the opinion of the House once, he was not desirous of proceeding further.

DR. CAMERON did not think there was any great necessity for pushing on the Bill in such a violent hurry. Hon. Members had not seen any of the Amendments yet. Opposition to the Bill was only withdrawn yesterday or the day before, and the right hon. Member for Edinburgh University had assured him that he had withdrawn his opposition under a misapprehension. The result of that was that the medical profession and others interested in the Bill had not had an opportunity of considering the matter. He would suggest that the second reading of the Bill be postponed.

MR. O'SULLIVAN thought the hon. Baronet ought to be very well satisfied with having passed one Bill that evening.

MR. BIGGAR seconded the Motion for the adjournment of the House, for the purpose of getting a promise from the hon. Baronet that, if the Motion was withdrawn, he would not proceed further with this Bill. The second reading was not moved until the most unreasonable hour of 20 minutes past 1.

MR. MARK STEWART hoped the hon. Baronet would move the adjournment of the debate, and not the adjournment of the House.

MR. MONK urged that the House should either affirm or reject the principle of the Bill. If the House affirmed its principle, then his hon. Friend could place his Amendments on the Paper. If

the hon. Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) objected to any further progress on the Bill, he could do so on the Motion for going into Committee. He hoped that the Motion for the adjournment of the House would be withdrawn.

MR. RAMSAY said, the principle of the Bill, as he understood it, was simply to provide for the formation of a trade's union, or if it be considered more respectful, of a professional union. The House was not in the practice of legislating for such objects as that, nor did he think such legislation was desirable. He hoped the Motion for the adjournment would be persevered in, as at that hour they ought all to be elsewhere.

COLONEL STANLEY hoped the Motion for the adjournment of the House would not be pressed, for considerable inconvenience to Public Business would result. He trusted that the hon. Baronet would take a course which would render such a step unnecessary.

Question put.

The House divided:—Ayes 11; Noes 61: Majority 50.—(Div. List, No. 21.)

MR. DILLWYN denied that, as the hon. Member for Gloucester (Mr. Monk) seemed to assume, the House had affirmed the principle of the Bill. The debate had been directed to the question of the propriety of adjourning the debate or the House. He would move that the debate be now adjourned.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(Mr. Dillwyn.)

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, he would offer no further opposition to the adjournment of the debate.

Motion agreed to.

Debate adjourned till Tuesday 5th March.

# GLEBE LOANS (IRELAND) BILL.

(Mr. Mulholland, Mr. Kavanagh.)

[BILL 9.] COMMITTEE.

Bill considered in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Motion made and Question, "That the Chairman do now report Progress, and ask leave to sit again,"—(Mr. Monk,)—put, and negatived.

MAJOR NOLAN said, there had been no explanation of this Bill on the second reading. Would the Bill apply only to the Clergy of the Established Church, or would it apply to the Clergy of all denominations?

MR. KAVANAGH said, the Bill would apply to the Clergy of all denominations.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA did not think there was any possible objection to be urged against this Bill.

MR. MACARTNEY said, it was only an extension of time for the former Bill, which provided for the advance of money on security. He knew that many Presbyterian bodies in Ireland had been hastening their operations with the view of obtaining land for glebes before the Act expired.

MR. O'SULLIVAN had no objection to the continuance of the Bill, but thought it required amendment.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair,"—(*Mr. Dodds*),—put, and *negatived*.

Clause 1 *agreed to*.

Clause 2 (Extension of time for making loans).

MAJOR NOLAN moved, as an Amendment, to leave out the word "period," and to insert the word "time."

Amendment *agreed to*; word *substituted*.

Clause, as amended, *agreed to*.

Remaining clauses *agreed to*.

Bill *reported*; as amended, to be considered *To-morrow*.

#### PUBLIC HEALTH ACT (1875) AMENDMENT BILL.

Select Committee on the Public Health Act (1875) Amendment Bill *nominated*:—SIR THOMAS ACLAND, Colonel BRICE, Mr. CORBETT, Mr. COWEN, Mr. FREMANTLE, Sir HARCOURT JOHNSTONE, Mr. PELL, Sir BALDWIN LEIGHTON, Mr. PAGET, Mr. PELL, Mr. RYDER, Mr. SALT, Mr. WHITWELL, Mr. REGINALD YORKE, and Mr. ALEXANDER BROWN:—Power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

House adjourned at a quarter after  
Two o'clock.

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TO

## HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, VOLUME CCXXXVII.

FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1878.

### EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1<sup>o</sup>, 2<sup>o</sup>, 3<sup>o</sup>, or 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>d</sup>, 3<sup>d</sup>, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negative.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—*r. p.*, Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*L.*, Lords.—*C.*, Commons.

When in this Index a \* is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus \*, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

Some subjects of debate have been classified under the following "General Headings:"—  
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METROPOLIS—CHURCH OF ENGLAND—EDUCATION—CRIMINAL LAW—LAW AND JUSTICE—  
TAXATION, under WAYS AND MEANS.

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*African Exploration*, Question, Mr. H. B. Samuelson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Jan 25, 1888*;—*Mr. Stanley*, Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Bourke *Jan 29, 1888*

*South Africa—Outbreak of the Native Tribes*, Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Jan 21, 1888*; Question, Sir Henry Holland; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther *Jan 29, 1888*; Question, Mr. A. Mills; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Feb 8, 1888*; Question, The Earl of Kimberley; Answer, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon *Feb 12, 1888*; Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, *1887*; Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Feb 15, 1884*; Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Feb 19, 1884*

*South African Confederation—The Zulu King*, Question, Mr. E. Jenkins; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach *Feb 12, 1888*

### **Agricultural Tenants (Security for Improvements) Bill**

(*Mr. James Barclay, Sir George Balfour, Mr. Barr*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Jan 18* [Bill 39]

**AIRLIE, Earl of**

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**ALLEN, Major R. S., Somersetshire, E.**  
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**Ancient Monuments Bill**

(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Brasford Hope, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Russell Gurney*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Jan 18* [Bill 68]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" *Feb 19, 1878*

Amend. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. R. E. Plunkett*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Onslow*); Question put, and negatived

Question put, "That 'now' &c.;" A. 64, N. 56; M. 8 (D. L. 19)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>

**ANDERSON, Mr. G., Glasgow**

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**ANSTRUTHER, Sir R., Fifeshire**  
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**ARGYLL, Duke of**

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*Army (Ireland)—Married Soldiers' Quarters—Longford Barracks*, Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Feb 18, 1846*

*Army Medical Department—Vacancies and Candidates*, Question, Dr. Ward; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Feb 18, 1849*

*Army Rank—Clerks of the Royal Engineer Department*, Question, Mr. Goldsmid; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Feb 14, 1820*

*Army Surgeons—The Kaffir Outbreak*, Question, Dr. Ward; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Feb 14, 1818*

*Auxiliary Hospital, Woolwich, The*, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Feb 7, 1209*

*Brigade Depôts—Cavalry Officers*, Question, Major O'Beirne; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Jan 21, 1861*

*The Perak Expedition—Allowances to Officers, &c.*, Question, Mr. Serjeant Simon; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Jan 28, 1838*

*The Royal Warrant of 1877—Article 88—Promotion and Retirement*, Question, Mr. Price; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Jan 31, 1722*; Question, Mr. Dunbar; Answer, Mr. Gathorne Hardy *Feb 7, 1209*

### **Army (Royal Artillery and Engineer Officers' Arrears of Pay)**

Ordered, That the Select Committee of last Session on Royal Artillery and Royal Engineer Officers' Arrears of Pay be re-appointed; List of the Committee *Feb 7, 1814*

**ASHBURY, Mr. J. L., Brighton**

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**ASHLEY, Hon. A. Evelyn, Poole**

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**ASSHETON, Mr. R., Chichester**

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**Assistant County Surveyors (Ireland) Bill**  
(*Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Downing, Mr. Chaine, Mr. Macartney, Mr. King-Harman*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 51]

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*Preston*  
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**Bankruptcy Act (1869) Amendment Bill**  
(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Ripley*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 25 [Bill 89]

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**Bills of Sale Bill**

(*Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Norwood, Mr. Monk, Mr. Ripley*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 25 [Bill 90]

**BIRLEY, Mr. H., *Manchester***

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**BLAKE, Mr. T., *Leominster***

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**BIENNERHASSETT, Mr. R., *Kerry***

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**Blind and Deaf-Mute Children (Education) Bill**

(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Sir Andrew Lusk, Mr. Isaac*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 72]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 1

**Borough Voters Bill**

(*Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Board*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 68]

Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 11

**BOURKE, Hon. R. (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), *Lynn Regis***

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**Breach of Promise of Marriage Bill**

(*Mr. Herschell, Mr. Rodwell, Mr. Ryder*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 21 [Bill 80]

**BRIGHT, Right Hon. J., *Birmingham***

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**BRISTOWE, Mr. S. B., *Newark***

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Questions, Mr. Mark Stewart; Answers, Mr. Bourke Jan 21, 248; Feb 11, 1423

**Christ's Hospital—Report of the Commission of Inquiry**

Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Ascheton Cross Feb 7, 1205

**Church Livings**

Moved, "That it is desirable to adopt measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law, and checking abuses in the sale of livings in private patronage" (Mr. Leatham) Feb 12, 1540

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "the better to enable the adoption of measures for preventing simoniacal evasion of the Law and checking abuses in the sale of

[cont.]

[cont.]

*Church Livings—cont.*

livings in private patronage, it is expedient that the Law of Simony, and the circumstances under which the sale of livings in private patronage are by Law allowed, should be defined by Parliament" (*Mr. Goldney*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, [House counted out]

*Church of England—The Burial Service*  
Question, Mr. Waddy; Answer, Mr. Assheton  
Cross Feb 4, 1872

*Church Rates (Scotland) Bill*

(*Mr. M'Laren, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Laing, Sir George Balfour*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 75]

*Civil Service, The—Select Committee,*  
1876-77—*Employment of Soldiers*  
and Sailors

Question, Mr. Childers; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 11, 1872

*Clerical Disabilities Bill*

(*Mr. Goldney, Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Walter Powell*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 57]

*Coal Mines—High Blantyre Colliery Explosion*

Question, Mr. Macdonald; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Jan 21, 1870

*COCHRANE, Mr. A. D. W. R. Baillie,*  
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*Colonial Marriages Bill*

(*Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, Mr. Russell Gurney,*  
*Sir Thomas Chambers*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 16]

*Commons Inclosure—Provisional Orders*

Select Committee appointed; Instruction to the Committee Jan 31, 1816

*Companies (Foreign Shareholders) Bill*

(*Sir John Lubbock, Sir Andrew Lusk, Sir Charles Mills, Mr. Charles Praed*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 14 [Bill 118]

*Conge d'Elire Bill*

(*Mr. Monk, Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Assheton*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13 [Bill 110]

*Conservancy Navigation, &c. Boards—The*  
*Select Committee, 1877—Legislation*  
Question, Observations, The Marquess of Ripon; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon; short debate thereon Jan 21, 1874

*Consolidated Fund (£8,000,000) Bill*

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer,*  
*Colonel Stanley*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13

Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after debate Feb 14, 1874

Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report Feb 15

Read 3<sup>o</sup> Feb 18

l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Earl of Beaconsfield*) Feb 18

*Contagious Diseases Acts Repeal Bill*

(*Sir Harcourt Johnstone, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Mundella*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 59]

*Contagious Diseases (Animals) Bill*

(*The Lord President*)

l. Presented; after short debate, Bill read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 12, 1875 (No. 22)

*Convention (Ireland) Act Repeal Bill*

(*Mr. P. J. Smyth, Mr. Staapool, Mr. Downing,*  
*Dr. Brady, Mr. O'Connor Power, Mr. O'Clery*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13 [Bill 113]

*Convict Prisons—The Commission*

Questions, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Childers; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross Jan 18, 1871

*CONYNGHAM, Lord F. N., Clare*  
Land Tenure (Ireland), 2R. 1163

*Coolie Emigration to the Mauritius*

Question, Mr. Errington; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Feb 18, 1848

*COOPE, Mr. O. E., Middlessex*

Epping Forest, 724

*CORRY, Hon. H. W. Lowry, Tyrone*

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Comm. 1693

*County Boards (Ireland) Bill*

(*Major Nolan, Mr. Fay, Mr. O'Clery, Mr. O'Sullivan*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 64]

### County Courts Bill *(Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Ripley, Mr. Rowley Hill)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 10]

### County Courts Jurisdiction Bill

*(Mr. Norwood, Mr. Sampson Lloyd, Mr. Watkin Williams, Mr. Waddy)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 4 [Bill 100]

### County Courts Jurisdiction (No. 2) Bill

*(Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Forsyth)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 7 [Bill 102]

### County Government Bill

*(Mr. Solater-Booth, Mr. Secretary Cross, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer)*

c. Motion for Leave *(Mr. Solater-Booth)* Jan 28, 583; after debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> [Bill 98]

*Petty Sessional Districts*, Question, Mr. Hibbert; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth Feb 1, 820

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Feb 14, 1851

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "with a view to simplify and strengthen local self-government, it is desirable, with as little delay as possible, to bring each sanitary district and poor law union within the area of one county, and to give to the ratepayers in and of such districts the power of directly electing members to the county board exceeding in number the representatives of justices" *(Mr. Stansfeld)* v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" *(Lord Edmund Fitzmaurice)*; Motion agreed to; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Feb 18, 1853: After long debate, Moved, "That the debate be now adjourned" *(Mr. Parnell)*; after further debate, Motion withdrawn; Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put; A. 231, N. 63; M. 168 (D. L. 17)

Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>

### County Infirmaries, &c. (Ireland) Bill

*(Mr. Meldon, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Errington)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 7]

### COURTNEY, Mr. L. H., *Liaseard*

Eastern Question—Bessarabia, 1735

Supplementary Estimate, 1234, 1235, 1238

### COWEN, Mr. J., *Newcastle-on-Tyne*

Law and Justice—Jurors, 1616

Supplementary Estimate, 1221:—Report, 1426

### CRAWFORD, Mr. J. S., *Down*

Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870) Amendment, 2R. 491, 507

### Criminal Appeals Bill

*(Sir George Bowyer, Mr. Serjeant Simon)*

c. Ordered \* Jan 22

Read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 25

[Bill 92]

### CRIMINAL LAW

*Assaults upon the Police in Merionethshire*, Question, Sir William Bagge; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 5, 1056

*Imprisonment of a Child*, Question, Mr. A. McArthur; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Feb 14, 1620

### Criminal Law Evidence Amendment Bill

*(Mr. Ashley, Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Clive)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 23]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Jan 30, 657

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" *(Mr. Serjeant Simon)*; Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 185, N. 76; M. 109 (D. L. 7)

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to a Select Committee

### Criminal Law Practice Amendment Bill

*(Mr. Serjeant Simon, Mr. Gregory, Mr. Herschell, Mr. Cole)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 69]

Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Feb 15, 1840

### CROSS, Right Hon. R. A. (Secretary of State for the Home Department), *Lancashire, S.W.*

Christ's Hospital, 1205

Church of England—Burial Service, 922

Coal Mines—High Blantyre Colliery Explosion, 250

Convict Prisons—The Commission, 157

Criminal Law—Imprisonment of a Child, 1620  
Police, Assaults upon, in Merionethshire, 1056

Factories and Workshops, 2R. 1478, 1480

Fisheries—Denmark—Re-appearance of the Herrings, 1534

Herring Fisheries, 1618

Hypothec (Scotland), 2R. 363

Ireland—Sergeant McCarthy, The late, 622, 726, 1052

Iale of Man—Small Pox, Outbreak of, 528, 624  
Law and Justice—Jurors, 1616

Metropolis—Parochial (Metropolitan) Charities, 531

Metropolitan Board of Works and the Water Companies, 530

Parliament—Business of the House, 356

Public Business—Simony Legislation, 158

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 135, 136

Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis), Comm. 364, 365

Poor Law (Scotland)—Deportation of Irish Paupers, 1539

Prisons Act—Visiting Committees, 820;—Rules and Regulations, 1049

CROSS, Right Hon. R. A.—*cont.*

Registration of Land, &c. 369  
Roads and Bridges (Scotland), 2R. 433  
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland),  
Comm. 1694  
Scotland—Grocers' Licenses, 1850  
Supplementary Estimate, 750, 752, 754, 756,  
799, 850, 1020;—Personal Explanation,  
1065

CROSS, Mr. J. K., *Bolton*  
Dental Practitioners, 2R. 1993

### Cruelty to Animals Bill

(*Mr. Holt, Mr. Charles Wilson*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 86]

CUNNINGHAME, Sir W. J. M., *Ayr, &c.*  
Roads and Bridges (Scotland), 2R. 425

DALRYMPLE, Mr. C., *Buteshire*  
Navy—H.M.S. "Nelson," 1847  
Scotland—Grocers' Licenses, 1850

DAVENPORT, Mr. W. BROMLEY-, *Warwick-*  
*shire, N.*  
Supplementary Estimate, Personal Explana-  
tion, 1066  
Supply—Army and Navy Services, 574

DAVIES, Mr. D., *Cardigan*  
Supplementary Estimate, Comm. 1415

### Debtors Acts Amendment Bill

(*Mr. Marten, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Sir Henry*  
*Jackson*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 7 [Bill 104]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 13

DE LA WARR, Earl  
Eastern Question—Armistice—Despatch of the  
Fleet to Constantinople, 1321  
Correspondence, 913

DENISON, Mr. C. BECKETT-, *Yorkshire,*  
*W.R., E. Div.*  
Supplementary Estimate, 1233  
Supply—Army and Navy Services, 574, 575, 576

DENISON, Mr. W., BECKETT-, *East Ret-*  
*ford*  
Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000), 2R. 1650

DENMAN, Lord  
Eastern Question—Russia and the Porte, Res.  
526

### Dental Practitioners Bill

(*Sir John Lubbock, Sir Philip Egerton, Mr.*  
*Gregory, Dr. Lush*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 30 [Bill 96]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
Feb 19, 1990  
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned"  
(*Dr. Cameron*); after short debate, Question  
put; A. 27, N. 49; M. 22 (D. L. 20)  
Moved, "That this House do now adjourn"  
(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna*); after short debate,  
Question put; A. 11, N. 61; M. 50 (D. L.  
21)  
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned"  
(*Mr. Dillwyn*); Motion agreed to; Debate  
adjourned

### DERBY, Earl of (Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs)

Crete, Island of, 1037  
Eastern Question, 1031, 1199, 1202, 1204,  
1484, 1485  
Eastern Question—Miscellaneous Questions  
Armistice, The, 911;—Treaties of 1856 and  
1871, 1841  
British Ambassador at the Porte, Personal  
Vindication, 1843  
British Fleet, Movements of the, 689, 690,  
691, 715, 1318, 1321, 1422, 1842, 1843  
Conference, The, 1698, 1699, 1601  
Correspondence, 916, 920  
Gallipoli, Occupation of, 1920  
Greece—Correspondence, 612  
Russian Armies, Advance of, 818  
Eastern Question—Russia and the Porte, Res.  
520, 524

### Destitute Children (Ireland) Bill

(*Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. O'Shaughnessy,*  
*Mr. Meldon*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 60]

DICKSON, Mr. T. A., *Dungannon*  
Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870)  
Amendment, 2R. 494

DIGBY, Mr. K. T., *Queen's Co.*  
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-  
swer to, 183

DILKE, Sir C. W., *Chelsea, &c.*

Christ's Hospital, 1205  
Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000), 2R. 1644,  
1645  
Eastern Question—Armistice, The—Despatch  
of the Fleet to Constantinople, 1331, 1624  
Russian Forces within the Neutral Zone,  
1851  
Eastern Question—Bessarabia, 1735  
Egypt—France and England, Correspondence  
between, 1052  
House Occupiers Disqualification Removal, 2R.  
303; Comm. 813  
Licensing Laws Amendment, Comm. 1691  
Navy—Judicial Powers of Naval Commanders,  
371, 1617

[*cont.*]

DILKE, Sir C. W.—*cont.*

Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis), 2R. 357;  
Comm. 365  
Parliament—Orders of the Day, 378  
Post Office—Money Order Office, 1922  
Supplementary Estimate, 1100  
Turkey—Crete, 1050  
Turkey—The War—Black Sea Ports, 924  
Voters (Ireland), 2R. 1572

DILLWYN, Mr. L. L., *Swansea*

Consolidated Fund (£8,000,000), 2R. 1650  
Dental Practitioners, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1994  
Dublin Southern District Tramways, 2R. 1045  
Eastern Question—Peace, Terms of—Despatch of Earl Derby, Dec. 25, 1877, 322  
Supplementary Vote—Occupation of Constantinople by the Russians, 1213  
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Report, 262  
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Comm. 1715  
Turkey—Dardanelles—Entry of the Fleet, 1208

# Divine Worship Facilities Bill

(*Mr. Wilbraham Egerton, Mr. Whitwell, Mr. Birley, Mr. Rodwell*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 46]

DODSON, Right Hon. J. G., *Chester*

County Government, 2R. 1679, 1684  
Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1630  
Navy—H.M.S. "Undaunted," 1849  
Parliament—Debates, Reports of, 1207  
Parliament—Public Business, Motion for a Select Committee, 398  
Supplementary Estimate, 1232  
Ways and Means, Comm. 1453

DORCHESTER, Lord

Eastern Question, 1204  
Eastern Question—Russia and the Porte, Res. 517, 527  
Italy—Victor Emmanuel, Funeral of, 454

DOUGLAS, Sir G. H. S., *Resburghshire*

Dog Tax—Useless Dogs, 317

DOWNING, Mr. M'Carthy, *Cork Co.*

Civil Bill Ejectments—Returns, 373  
Land Tenure (Ireland), 2R. 1140, 1198  
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 132  
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 300  
Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 264, 270  
Voters (Ireland), 2R. 1577

*Dublin Southern District Tramways Bill*  
(*by Order*)

c. Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Feb 5, 1938

DUFF, Mr. M. E. Grant, *Elgin, &c.*

East India (Public Works), Motion for a Select Committee, 353  
India—Khelat—Occupation of Quetta, 723  
India—Salt Tax, Res. 485

DUFF, Mr. R. W., *Banffshire*

Roads and Bridges (Scotland), 2R. 429

DUNBAR, Mr. J., *New Ross*

Army—Royal Warrant, 1877, 1209

*Dunkeld Bridge Tolls (Scotland)*

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of the Dunkeld Bridge Tolls, and to ascertain, with items in detail, the real state of the account of moneys received and expended by the Dukes of Athole in connection with the said trust" (*Mr. O'Donnell*) Jan 29, 626; after short debate, Question put; A. 79, N. 189; M. 118; (D. L. No. 5)

DUNRAVEN, Lord

Eastern Question—Movements of the Fleet, 1421

DUNSANY, Lord

Contagious Diseases (Animals), 1R. 1502  
Eastern Question—Conference, The, 1801  
Dardanelles, The—Movement of the Fleet—Resignation of Ministers, 453

# Ecclesiastical Buildings (Fire Insurance) Bill

(*Mr. Leighton, Mr. Goldney, Mr. Whitwell*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 4 [Bill 99]

*Education (Scotland) Act—School Sites*

Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, The Lord Advocate Feb 5, 1048

EGERTON, Hon. Wilbraham, *Cheshire, Mid.*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 59

*Egypt — Correspondence between France and England*

Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 5, 1052

*Egyptian Obelisk, The (Cleopatra's Needle)*

Question, Mr. Heygate; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Jan 31, 724; Question, Mr. Baillie Cochrane; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 7, 1209

ELOHO, Lord, *Haddingtonshire*

Consolidated Fund (£8,000,000), 2R. 1643  
Supplementary Estimate, 1242

**Election of Aldermen (Cumulative Vote) Bill**

(*Mr. Wheelhouse, Mr. Isaac, Mr. Tennant*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 71]  
2R. Feb 11, 1883 [House counted out]

**Elementary Education Act, 1876—Sec. 4**  
Question, Mr. Chamberlain; Answer, Viscount Sandon Feb 1, 1871

EMLY, Lord

Eastern Question—Greece—Correspondence, 610

**Employers Liability for Injuries Bill**

(*Mr. Macdonald, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Meldon, Mr. Bass*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 11]

ENFIELD, Viscount

Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis), 2R. 1845

**Entail Amendment (Scotland) Bill [H.L.]**

(*The Duke of Argyll*)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 5 (No. 15)

**Entails and Settlements Limitation Bill**

(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre, Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Herschell*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 25]

**Epping Forest—Legislation**

Question, Mr. Coope; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Jan 31, 1874

ERRINGTON, Mr. G., *Longford Co.*

Army (Ireland)—Married Soldiers' Quarters—Longford Barracks, 1846  
Coolie Emigration to the Mauritius, 1848

ESLINGTON, Lord, *Northumberland, S.*

Supplementary Estimate, 1244; Comm. 1381

**Exchequer Bonds, &c. Bill**

(*Mr. Raikes, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Colonel Stanley*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Feb 18 [Bill 107]

Read 2<sup>nd</sup> Feb 14

Committee; Report Feb 15

Read 3<sup>rd</sup> Feb 18

l. Read 1<sup>st</sup> (Earl of Beaconsfield) Feb 18

EXCHEQUER, CHANCELLOR of the (see CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER)

**Explosives Act, 1875—Conveyance of Explosives**

Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Sir Charles Adderley Feb 7, 1907

**Factories and Workshops Bill**

(*Mr. Secretary Cross, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 3]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>nd</sup>" Feb 11, 1854

Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "in any measure for the consolidation and amendment of the Law relating to Factories and Workshops, it is desirable, in the interests alike of employers and employed, that all trades and manufactures employing the same class of labour should be placed upon the same footing, and under the same protective and restrictive regulations" (*Mr. Tennant*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>nd</sup> Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 18, 1850

FAWCETT, Mr. H., *Hackney*

East India (Public Works), Motion for a Select Committee, Amendt. 335, 356  
India—Khelat—Occupation of Quetta, 462  
India—Salt Tax, Res. 490  
Licensing Laws Amendment, Comm. 1692  
Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1530, 1532  
Supplementary Estimate, 1217, 1227; Comm. 1398, 1401

FAY, Mr. C. J., *Cavan Co.*

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 184  
Union Justice (Ireland), 2R. 265

FEVERSHAM, Earl of

Eastern Question, 1203  
Eastern Question—Russia and the Porte, Res. 518

FIELDEN, Mr. J., *Yorkshire, W.R., E. Div.*

Factories and Workshops, 2R. 1470

**Fisheries—Denmark—Re-appearance of the Herring**

Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Feb 12, 1834

FITZMAURICE, Lord E. G., *Caine*

County Government, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1691, 1853, 1912, 1913  
Eastern Question—Roumania, 925  
Supplementary Estimate, 1063, 1230

FLETCHER, Mr. I., *Cookermouth*

Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1528

FORSTER, Sir C., *Walsall*

Burials, 1056

Parliament—Public Business, Motion for a Select Committee, 390

**FORSTER, Right Hon. W. E., *Bradford***  
 Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000), 2R. 1649  
 Eastern Question—Dardanelles—Movements of the Fleet, 1424  
 Factories and Workshops, 2R. 1466  
 Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1524  
 Parliament—Business of the House, 256  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, Report, 261  
 South Africa—Outbreak of the Native Tribes, 255  
 Supplementary Estimate, 624; Amendt. 729, 752, 756, 841, 842, 1213, 1216, 1227; Comm. 1402  
 Supply—Army and Navy Services, 572

**FORSYTH, Mr. W., *Marylebone***  
 Burials, Res. 1782  
 Criminal Law Evidence Amendment, 2R. 674  
 Supplementary Estimate, 984

**FORTESCUE, Earl**  
 Conservancy Navigation, &c. Boards, 244  
 Eastern Question—British Fleet, Movements of the, 710  
 Metropolis—Hyde Park Corner, 316

**FRASER, Sir W. A., *Kidderminster***  
 Parliament—Public Business (Half-past Twelve Rule), Res. 412

***Friendly Societies—Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876***

Question, Mr. Mellor; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth Feb 4, 923

***Germany—Religious Refugees***  
 Question, Sir George Bowyer; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 7, 1206

***Gibraltar—The Trade Ordinances***  
 Question, Mr. Whitwell; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Jan 21, 251

**GIBSON, Right Hon. E., (Attorney General for Ireland), *Dublin University***  
 Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1940, 1955  
 Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870) Amendment, 2R. 505  
 Land Tenure (Ireland), 2R. 1194  
 Voters (Ireland), 2R. 1584

**GIFFARD, Sir H. S. (See SOLICITOR GENERAL, The)**

**GLADSTONE, Right Hon. W. E., *Greenwich***  
 Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000), 2R. 1632, 1639  
 Eastern Question—Armistice—Despatch of the Fleet to Constantinople, 1339  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 104

**GLADSTONE, Right Hon. W. E.—*cont.***  
 Supplementary Estimate, Motion for Adjournment, 910, 928, 960, 974, 975, 1002, 1024, 1229, 1241; Comm. 1360, 1362, 1378, 1408, 1410; Report, 1444, 1446  
 Supply—Army and Navy Services, 564, 580  
 Turkey—The War—Austrian Interests, 1733

**Glebe Loans (Ireland) Bill**  
*(Mr. Mulholland, Mr. Kavanagh)*

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 9]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 6  
 Committee Feb 19, 1904  
 Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. Monk*); Question put, and negatived  
 Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Dodds*); Question put, and negatived; Bill reported

**GOLDNEY, Mr. G., *Chippenham***  
 Church Livings, Res. Amendt. 1559  
 County Government, Leave, 596  
 Supplementary Estimate, 1091

**GOLDSMID, Mr. J., *Rochester***  
 Army Rank—Clerks of the Royal Engineer Department, 1620  
 Eastern Question—Bessarabia, 1736  
 Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1532, 1533

**GORDON, Sir A., *Aberdeenshire, E.***  
 Eastern Question—Peace, Conditions of, 1877, 1536, 1537  
 Herring Fishery, 1618

**GORST, Mr. J. E., *Chatham***  
 Dockyards, H.M.—Writers, 529  
 Merchant Seamen, Leave, 309; 2R. 609  
 Navy—H.M.S. "Beagle"—Judicial Powers of Naval Commanders, 532  
 Parliament—Public Business (Half-past Twelve Rule), Res. 410

**GOSCHEN, Right Hon. G. J., *London***  
 County Government, Leave, 594; 2R. 1898  
 Supplementary Estimate, 754, 887, 896, 903, 977, 1238

**GOURLY, Mr. E. T., *Sunderland***  
 Eastern Question—Miscellaneous Questions  
 Blockade of the Black Sea, 1322  
 Constantinople—Movements of the Fleet, 1734  
 War, The—Suez Canal, 530  
 Explosives Act, 1875—Conveyance of Explosives, 1207  
 Merchant Seamen, Leave, 312  
 Navy—Mediterranean Squadron, 461, 462

**GRANTHAM, Mr. W., *Surrey, E.***  
 Burials, Res. Amendt. 1822  
 Supplementary Estimate, 1269

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**GRANVILLE, Earl**

Eastern Question, 1199, 1483, 1484  
 Eastern Question—Miscellaneous Questions  
 Armistice, The, 911; — Despatch of the Fleet to Constantinople, 1318, 1321; — Treaties of 1856 and 1871, 1841  
 Conference, The, 1599  
 Dardanelles, The—Movements of the Fleet, 1421, 1842, 1843; —Resignation of Ministers, 449, 452, 453  
 Greece—Correspondence, 617  
 Papers, 154  
 Russian Armies, Advance of, 818  
 Eastern Question—Russia and the Porte, Res. 511, 514  
 Parliament—Business of the House, 818, 910  
 Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 16, 18, 30, 33, 36

**GRAY, Mr. E. D., Tipperary**

Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1929, 1971  
 Ireland—Miscellaneous Questions  
 Irish Constabulary Fund, 1055  
 Irish Constabulary—Payments for Special Services, 458  
 Lord Justice Christian, 531  
 Royal College of Science, Dublin, 620  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 203  
 Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 275

*Greece—Diplomatic Communications*

Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 25, 460

*Greeks, The—Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone (M. Negroponte)*

Question, Mr. Evelyn Ashley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 31, 727

**GREENE, Mr. E., Bury St. Edmunds**

Supplementary Estimate, 811

*Greenwich Hospital Fund—Naval Pensions*

Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 14, 1617

*Greenwich Out-Pensioners*

Question, Mr. P. A. Taylor; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 5, 1047

**GREGORY, Mr. G. B., Sussex, E.**

County Government, 2R. 1881  
 Parliament—Public Business (Half-past Twelve Rule), Res. 419  
 Parliament—Public Business, Motion for a Select Committee, 397  
 Valuation, 2R. 1594

**Gun Licence Act (1870) Amendment Bill**

(Sir Alexander Gordon, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Mark Stewart)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 53]

**GURNEY, Right Hon. R., Southampton**  
 Criminal Law Evidence Amendment, 2R. 676

**Habitual Drunkards Bill**

(Dr. Cameron, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Ashley, Sir Henry Jackson, Mr. Edward Jenkins, Mr. William Holms, Mr. Richard Smyth)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 27]

**HALL, Mr. A. W., Oxford**

Supplementary Estimate, 1109

**HAMILTON, Lord C. J., Lynn Regis**

Hydrophobia, 728  
 Turkey—Trade in the Black Sea, &c., 1621

**HAMILTON, Lord G. F. (Under Secretary**

of State for India), *Middlesex*  
 East India (Appointment of Mr. M. Macpherson), Res. 1975

East India (Public Works), Motion for a Select Committee, 323, 331, 355

India—Miscellaneous Questions

Bengal—Enhancement of Rent, 463; — Native Police of, 1053

Ecclesiastical Salaries, 248

Indian Finance—Civil Expenditure, 1423

Irrigation Reports, 1924

Khelat—Occupation of Quetta, 320, 462, 723

Local Service and Staff Corps, 1923

Madras Harbour, 819

Maharajah Scindia, The, 249

Nizam, The—Mr. Oliphant, 529

Private Corbett, Case of, 254

Sir John Strachey's Speeches, 1535

West Frontier Policy, 246

India—Salt Tax, Res. 478, 490, 1323

**HAMMOND, Lord**

Eastern Question—Armistice—Despatch of the Fleet to Constantinople, 1315  
 Correspondence, 920

**HANBURY, Mr. R. W., Tamworth**

Eastern Question—Peace, Terms of—Despatch of Earl Derby, Dec. 25, 1877, 321

Russia and Turkey—The War—Proposed Terms of Peace, 374

Turkey—The War—Russian Sailors, 1733

**HANKEY, Mr. T., Peterborough**

Inland Revenue—Inhabited House Duty, 249  
 Parliament—Public Business, Motion for a Select Committee, 398

**HARCOURT, Sir W. G. V., Oxford City**

Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1937, 1938, 1940

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 164

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Comm. 1706, 1717

Supplementary Estimate, 1114, 1120, 1121, 1227, 1247

Supply—Army and Navy Services, 575, 577



**HARDCASTLE, Mr. E., *Lancashire, S.E.***

Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons), Motion for a Select Committee, Amendt. 356

Manchester Corporation Water, Instruction, 1724

Supplementary Estimate, 771

**HARDY, Right Hon. Gathorne (Secretary of State for War), *Oxford University***

Army—Miscellaneous Questions

Army Medical Department—Candidates, 1849

Army Rank—Clerks of the Royal Engineer Department, 1620

Auxiliary Hospital, Woolwich, 1210

Brigade Depôts—Cavalry Officers, 261

Ireland—Married Soldiers' Quarters—Longford Barracks, 1847

Kafir Outbreak—Army Surgeons, 1619

Perak Expedition—Allowances to Officers, &c., 533

Royal Warrant of 1877—Article 88, 732, 1209

Parliament—Orders of the Day, 378

Supplementary Estimate, 937, 959, 960, 975, 977; Personal Explanation, 1058, 1062, 1065, 1067, 1068, 1223

Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 269

**HARRISON, Mr. J. F., *Kilmarnock, &c.***

India—Irrigation Reports, 1923

Public Parks (Scotland), 2R. 359

**HARTINGTON, Right Hon. Marquess of, *New Radnor***

Burials, Res. 1833

County Government, 2R. 1907, 1915

Eastern Question, 828

Eastern Question—Miscellaneous Questions

Armistice, The, 926;—Despatch of the Fleet to Constantinople, 1625, 1830, 1622, 1623

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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 21]

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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 45]  
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Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 15, 1723  
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**House Occupiers Disqualification Removal (Scotland) Bill** (*Dr. Cameron, Sir Henry Wolf, Mr. Vans Agnew, Sir William Fraser, Mr. Mackintosh, Sir George Campbell*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 24 [Bill 87]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 6  
Committee \*; Report Feb 13 [Bill 106]  
Considered \* Feb 14  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> \* Feb 15  
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**Hypothec (Scotland) Bill** (*Mr. Agnew, Mr. Baillie Hamilton, Sir George Douglas*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 29]

**Hypothec (Scotland) (No. 2) Bill**  
(*Sir George Balfour, Mr. Laing, Mr. Barclay*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 49]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Jan 23, 362  
After short debate, Moved, "That the Order be discharged" (*General Sir George Balfour*); Motion agreed to; Order discharged; Bill withdrawn

**Hypothec (Scotland) (No. 3) Bill**  
(*Sir George Balfour, Lord Douglas Gordon, Mr. Laing, Mr. James Barclay*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 7 [Bill 101]

## INDIA

## MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

*Army—The Local Service and Staff Corps—Promotion and Retirement*, Question, Sir Joseph McKenna; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 19, 1923

*Bengal—Enhancement of Rent*, Question, Mr. Ernest Noel; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 25, 1923

*Case of Private Corbett*, Question, Mr. O'Reilly; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 21, 1924

*Ecclesiastical Salaries*, Question, Mr. Baxter; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 21, 1924

*Indian Finance—Civil Expenditure*, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 11, 1923

*Irrigation Reports*, Question, Mr. Fortescue Harrison; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 19, 1923

*Khelat—Occupation of Quetta*, Question, Mr. O'Reilly; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 22, 1924; Question, Mr. Fawcett; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 25, 1924; Question, Mr. Grant Duff; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 31, 1923

*Madras Harbour*, Question, Mr. Smollett; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 1, 1919

*Sir John Strachey's Speeches*, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 12, 1923

*The Maharajah Scindia*, Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 21, 1924

*The Native Police of Bengal*, Question, Mr. O'Donnell; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 5, 1923

*The Nizam—Mr. Oliphant*, Question, Mr. Chaplin; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 28, 1920

*The West Frontier Policy*, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Jan 21, 1924

### India—East India (Appointment of Mr. M. Macpherson)

Moved, "That the appointment by the Indian Government of Mr. Molesworth Macpherson, first as secretary to the Legislative Council and then as deputy-secretary to the Legislative Department, constitutes an improper evasion of the Law, is unjust to the regular Civil Service of India, and is calculated to bring the Indian Administration into public discredit" (Mr. O'Donnell) Feb 19, 1924; after short debate, Motion withdrawn

### India—East India (Public Works)

Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed "to inquire into and report as to the expediency of constructing Public Works in India with money raised on loan" (Lord George Hamilton) Jan 22, 1923

Amendt. at end of Question, to add, "and further to inquire into the best means to be adopted to prevent the recurrence or to mitigate the intensity of famines in India; and whether by greater economy, specially with regard to military and other charges which are under the control of the Home authori-

### India—East India (Public Works)—cont.

ties, a fund for the relief of famines may not be provided without subjecting the people of India to such burdensome taxation as will be imposed upon them by the contemplated increase of the salt duty" (Mr. Fawcett); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after debate, Amendt. and Motion withdrawn

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire and report as to the expediency of constructing Public Works in India with money raised on loan, both as regards financial results and the prevention of famine" (Lord George Hamilton), 356

Committee nominated Feb 18; List of the Committee, 1919

### India—The Salt Tax

Amendt. on Committee of Supply Jan 25, To leave out from "That," and add "the total taxation of salt in India being already excessive should not be increased, and especially a very large additional burden on an article so essential to life and health should not be placed on the populations of Madras and Bombay at a time when they are enfeebled and emaciated by a very prolonged and severe famine" (Sir George Campbell) v., 473; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" Amendt. and Motion withdrawn

*Madras—Commission on the Salt Duty*, Question, General Sir George Balfour; Answer, Lord George Hamilton Feb 8, 1923

### Inhabited House Duty Bill (Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Goschen, Mr. Torr, Mr. Alexander Brown)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 61]  
Question, Mr. A. H. Brown; Answer, Mr. J. G. Hubbard, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 19, 1924

### Intemperance

Moved that a Select Committee be appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the prevalence of habits of intemperance, and into the manner in which those habits have been affected by recent legislation and other causes" (The Earl of Cork) Jan 18; Motion agreed to; List of the Committee, 153

### Intoxicating Liquors (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. Sullivan, Mr. Benjamin Whitworth, Mr. Dease)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 38]

### Intoxicating Liquors (Licences) (Ireland) Bill (Mr. Meldon, Mr. Whitworth)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 70]

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- The Royal Irish Constabulary Fund*, Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Feb 5, 1055
- The Suck Drainage District*, Question, The O'Connor Don; Answer, Colonel Stanley Feb 18, 1848

**Irish Church Act (1869) Amendment Bill (Mr. Parnell, Mr. Fay)**

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13 [Bill 116]

**Irish Land Act (1870)**

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the working and results of the 44th, 45th, and 47th Clauses of 'The Irish Land Act, 1870,' and to report whether any further facilities should be given for promoting the purchase of land by occupying tenants" (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) Jan 24

Committee nominated Feb 7; List of the Committee, 434

**Irish Peerage Bill**

(Mr. Plunket, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Macartney)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 78]

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*Funeral of King Victor Emmanuel*, Question, Observations, Lord Dorchester; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield Jan 25, 454

*Pope Pius IX., Death of—Sittings of the Conclave*, Question, Mr. O'Clery; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 8, 1325

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**Landed Estates Court (Ireland) Leases**

Bill (Mr. French, Mr. Shaw, Mr. O'Reilly, Mr. Richard Power)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 21 [Bill 83]

**Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870) Amendment Bill**

(Mr. Crawford, Mr. Richard Smyth, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Daniel Taylor)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 43]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Jan 25, 491

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (Mr. Alfred Marten); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 66, N. 85; M. 19 (D. L. 4)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

**Land Tenure (Ireland) Bill**

(Mr. Downing, Mr. Butt, Lord Francis Conyngham, Mr. Shaw)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 50]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Feb 6, 1140

**Land Tenure (Ireland) Bill—cont.**

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (Sir John Leslie); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after long debate, Question put; A. 86, N. 286; M. 200 (D. L. 8)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

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**LEWIS, Mr. H. O., *Carlisle***

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**Libel Law Amendment Bill**

(*Mr. Hutchinson, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Puleston, Mr. Morley, Mr. Waddy, Mr. Edward Jenkins, Colonel Gourley*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 21 [Bill 81]  
2R. Jan 29, 651 [House counted out]

**Licensing Laws Amendment Bill**

(*Mr. Staveley Hill, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Heath*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 21 [Bill 82]

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" Feb 14, 1891; after short debate, Motion withdrawn; Committee deferred

**Linen and Yarn Halls (Dublin) Bill**

(*Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Mr. Attorney General for Ireland*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 2]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> Jan 24  
Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report Jan 28  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> Jan 31  
i. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*The Lord President*) Feb 1 (No. 11)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 7  
Committee<sup>o</sup>; Report Feb 8  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> Feb 11

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c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13 [Bill 112]

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**Manchester Corporation Water Bill (by Order)**

c. Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Feb 12, 1903

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Stafford Howard*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>;" Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Goldsmid*); Motion withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to a Select Committee  
 Committee nominated Feb 18; List of the Committee, 1533

Moved, "That it be an Instruction to the Select Committee on the Manchester Corporation Water Bill, that they have power to inquire into and report upon the present sufficiency of the water supply of Manchester and its neighbourhood, and of any other sources available for such supply: To consider whether permission should be given to make use of any of the Westmoreland and Cumberland Lakes for the purpose; and, if so, how far, and under what conditions: To consider the prospective requirements of the populations situated between the Lake District and Manchester: To inquire and report whether any, and, if so, what, provisions should be made in limitation of proposals for the exclusive use of the water of any of the said lakes" (*Mr. Selater-Booth*) Feb 15, 1723

Amendt. to leave out "between the Lake District and Manchester," and insert "in Lancashire and Yorkshire" (*Mr. Whitwell*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Amendt. after "Manchester and" insert "the towns in" (*Mr. Serjeant Spinks*); Question proposed, "That those words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; main Question put, and agreed to

Ordered, That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records  
 Ordered, That Five be the Quorum of the Committee

**MANNERS, Right Hon. Lord J. J. E. (Postmaster General), *Leicestershire, N.***

Eastern Question—Armistice, The—Despatch of the Fleet to Constantinople, 1332  
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 Indian Mail Contract, 1732  
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**Marriage Preliminaries (Scotland) Bill**

(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Baxter, Mr. McLaren, Mr. Ernest Noel, Mr. Edward Jenkins*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 24 [Bill 96]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 6

**Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister Bill** (*Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Morley, Mr. Macdonald, Dr. Cameron*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 52]

**Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister—Colonial Legislation**

Question, Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen; Answer, Mr. J. Lowther Jan 18, 158

**Married Women's Property Act (1870) Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Hibbert, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. Goldney, Sir Charles W. Dilke*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 55]

**Married Women's Property (Scotland) Bill**

(*Mr. Anderson, Sir Robert Anstruther, Mr. Orr Ewing, Mr. McLaren, Mr. Playfair*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 32]

**MARTEN, Mr. A. G., *Cambridge***

Landlord and Tenant (*Ireland*) Act (1870) Amendment, 2R. 491; Amendt. 492  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 192

**MARTIN, Mr. P., *Kilkenny Co.***

Union Justices (*Ireland*), 2R. 266, 273

**Matrimonial Causes Acts Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Herschell, Sir Henry Holland*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 14 [Bill 117]

**Medical Act (1858) Amendment Bill**

(*Dr. Lush, Sir Trevor Lawrence, Mr. Samuda, Mr. Ritchie*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 30]

**Medical Officers' Qualifications Bill**

(*Mr. Errington, Mr. John Maitland, Mr. Blennerhassett*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 62]

**Medical Profession, The—Legislation**

Question, Mr. Mills; Answer, Viscount Sandon Jan 28, 530

**MELDON, Mr. C. H., Kildare**

Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1025  
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 153, 159, 164  
Parliamentary Franchise (Ireland), 2R. 368  
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**MELLOR, Mr. T. W., Ashton-under-Lyne**

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**Mercantile Marine**

*Deck Passengers—English and Irish Steamers*, Question, Mr. MacCarthy; Answer, Sir Charles Adderley Jan 21, 253  
*Missing Steamers*, Question, Mr. Plimsoll; Answer, Sir Charles Adderley Jan 24, 370

**Merchant Seamen Bill**

(*Sir Charles Adderley, Mr. Edward Stanhope*)

c. Considered in Committee Jan 21, 304; after short debate, Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> [Bill 79]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and committed to a Select Committee Jan 28, 609

**Merchant Shipping Act, 1854**

*American Officers—Certificates*, Question, Mr. Wheelhouse; Answer, Sir Charles Adderley Jan 21, 253  
*Certificates of Masters and Mates*, Question, Mr. Wheelhouse; Answer, Sir Charles Adderley Jan 21, 253

**Merchant Shipping Acts, 1854 and 1876—The "Calcutta"**

Question, Sir Colman Rashleigh; Answer, Sir Charles Adderley Feb 8, 1323

**MEREWETHER, Mr. C. G., Northampton**

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Comm. 1718

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**MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS**

*Hyde Park Corner, Observations*, Question, Earl Fortescue; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon Jan 22, 316  
*Newspaper Kiosques*, Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg Feb 15, 1779  
*Parochial (Metropolitan) Charities*, Question, Mr. James; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Jan 28, 531

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*Royal Parks, &c.—Kew Gardens*, Question, Sir Henry Peek; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Jan 24, 368

*The Albert Terrace (Hyde Park) Improvement Bill*, Question, Sir Henry James; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Feb 5, 1052

*The New Law Courts*, Question, Colonel Walker; Answer, Mr. Gerard Noel Jan 22, 322

**Metropolis Management and Building Acts Amendment Bill**

(*Sir James M'Garel-Hogg, Sir Charles Russell, Mr. Rodwell*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 67]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and referred to a Select Committee Feb 6

**Metropolis Waterworks (Purchase) Bill**

(*Sir James M'Garel Hogg, Sir Andrew Lusk, Mr. Grantham, Mr. Rodwell*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 58]

**Metropolitan Board of Works and the Water Companies**

Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Jan 28, 530

**Metropolitan Board of Works (Election of Members) Bill [H.L.]**

(*The Earl of Camperdown*)

l. Presented; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 (No. 1)

**Metropolitan Board of Works—National Opera House**

Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, Sir James M'Garel Hogg Feb 7, 1208

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**Money Laws (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. Delahunty, Mr. Power*)

c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 56]

**MONK, Mr. C. J., Gloucester City**

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**MORGAN, Mr. G. Osborne, *Denbighshire***

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**MOWBRAY, Right Hon. J. R., *Oxford University***

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**MUNDELLA, Mr. A. J., *Sheffield***

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**Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill**

(Major O'Gorman, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Richard Power)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18

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**MUNTZ, Mr. P. H., *Birmingham***

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**MURPHY, Mr. N. D., *Cork City***

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**NAGHTEN, Colonel A. R., *Winchester***

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**NEWDEGATE, Mr. C. N., *Warwickshire, N.***

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**NORTHOTE, Right Hon. Sir S. H. (see Chancellor of the Exchequer)****NORWOOD, Mr. C. M., *Kingston-upon-Hull***

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**O'CLERY, Mr. K., *Wexford Co.***  
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**O'CONOR, Mr. D. M., *Sligo Co.***  
Parliamentary Election Petitions, 373

**O'CONOR DON, The, *Roscommon Co.***  
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**O'GORMAN, Major P., *Waterford***  
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**O'REILLY, Mr. M. W., *Longford Co.***  
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**O'SHAUGHNESSY, Mr. R., *Limerick***  
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**O'SULLIVAN, Mr. W. H., *Limerick Co.***  
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Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 193  
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 295; Comm. Motion for reporting Progress, 1692, 1693, 1695, 1702, 1706, 1719, 1919  
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**Outlawries Bill**  
c. Read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Jan 17

**PAGET, Mr. R. H., *Somersetshire, Mid***  
County Government, 2R. 1860  
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Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Comm. 1696  
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**PALK, Sir L., *Devon, E.***  
Eastern Question—Constantinople—Movements of the Fleet, 1623

**PARKER, Mr. C. S., *Perthshire***  
Supplementary Estimate, 1266; Report, 1424

**Parliament**  
**LORDS—**

**MEETING OF THE PARLIAMENT Jan 17**

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*How the Session of Parliament was opened*

PARLIAMENT—LORDS—cont.

HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS reported Jan 22, 316

*Chairman of Committees*—The Earl of Redesdale appointed, *Nemine Dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session Jan 17

*Committee for Privileges*—appointed Jan 17

*Sub-Committee for the Journals*—appointed Jan 17

*Appeal Committee*—appointed Jan 17

ROLL OF THE LORDS—Garter King of Arms attending, delivered at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Fifth Session of the Twenty-first Parliament of the United Kingdom Jan 17

The Lord Chancellor acquainted the House that the Clerk of the Parliaments had prepared and laid it on the Table (No. 5) Jan 21

*Office of the Clerk of the Parliaments and Office of the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod*—Select Committee appointed; List of the Committee Feb 4, 921

*Private Bills*

Orders in relation to Petitions Feb 5, 1025

*Business of the House*

Observation, Earl Granville Feb 1, 818; Question, Earl Granville; Answer, The Earl of Beaconsfield Feb 4, 910

*Parliamentary Papers*, Observations, The Marquess of Ripon; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon Feb 1, 817

COMMONS—

The QUEEN'S SPEECH having been reported; A humble Address thereon moved by Mr. WILBRAHAM EGBERTON (the Motion being seconded by Mr. TREWANT) Jan 17, 59; after debate, Amendt. proposed, at end of Question, to add the following paragraph:—

"We humbly represent to your Majesty that, while we are glad to observe that the questions of the Grand Jury Laws and Intermediate Education in Ireland are to be brought before Parliament, and while we await information on the nature and scope of the proposals which may be submitted, we humbly assure your Majesty that we shall regard it as the duty of Parliament, on the earliest opportunity in the present condition of public affairs, to consider, in a wise and conciliatory spirit, the national demands which the Irish people have repeatedly raised" (Mr. Henry), 126; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after debate, Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Jan 18, 159; after long debate, Question put; A. 48, N. 301; M. 253

Div. List, A. and N. 220

Main Question put, and agreed to; Committee appointed to draw up the said Address; List of the Committee, 223

Report of Address brought up, and read, and, after short debate, agreed to Jan 21, 257

Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported Jan 25, 488

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—cont.

*Printing*—Select Committee appointed; List of the Committee Feb 4, 1025

*Privileges*—Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed Jan 17

*Public Accounts*—Committee nominated; List of the Committee Feb 18, 1920

*Public Petitions*—Select Committee appointed; List of the Committee Jan 22, 358

*Selection*—Committee nominated; List of the Committee Jan 21, 315

*Standing Orders*—Select Committee nominated; List of the Committee Jan 21, 315

*Perth County Election*—Return amended Feb 5, 1068

*Private Bill Legislation*—Standing Orders Committee appointed; List of the Committee Feb 4, 921

*Opposed Private Bills*—Committee appointed; List of the Committee Feb 4, 921

*Private Bills*—Orders in relation thereto Feb 4, 913

*Business of the House*

*Arrangement of Business*, Questions, Mr. W. E. Forster, The Marquess of Hartington; Answers, Mr. Asheton Cross, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 21, 256; Questions, The O'Connor Don, Mr. Mowbray; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 22, 319

*The Half-past Twelve Rule*, Question, Mr. Parnell; Answer, Mr. Speaker Feb 12, 1588; Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 15, 1736

*Public Business*

*Sunday Closing in Ireland*—Legislation, Question, Mr. Sullivan; Answer, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach Jan 18, 156

*Simony Legislation*, Question, Mr. Leatham; Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Jan 18, 157

*Parliamentary Election Petitions*—Legislation, Question, Mr. O'Connor; Answer, The Attorney General Jan 24, 373

*Reports of Debates*, Question, Mr. Dodson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 7, 1207

*Parliament—Borough Franchise (Ireland)*

Moved, "That the restricted nature of the Borough Franchise of Ireland, as compared with that existing in England and Scotland, is a subject deserving the immediate attention of Parliament, with a view of establishing a fair and just equality of the Franchise in the three countries" (Mr. Malden) Feb 19, 1925; after long debate, Question put; A. 126, N. 184; M. 8 (D. L. 18)

*Parliament—Business of the House—The Half-past Twelve Rule*

Moved, "That, except for a Money Bill, no Order of the Day or Notice of Motion be taken after half-past Twelve of the clock at night, with respect to which Order or Notice of Motion a notice of opposition or amendment shall have been printed in the Notice Paper, or if such Notice of Motion shall only have been given the next previous day of

[cont.

*Parliament—Business of the House—The Half-past Twelve Rule*

sitting, and objection shall be taken when such Notice is called" (*Mr. Mowbray*) Jan 24, 408

Amendt. to leave out after "That," and insert "it is inexpedient to deal with the proposed rule in reference to Opposed Business after half-past Twelve until the Committee on the Despatch of Public Business has reported to the House" (*Mr. Hibbert*) v.; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn; Resolution put, and agreed to

*Parliament—Hours of Polling (Metropolis)*

Select Committee appointed, "to consider the question whether any and what alteration can, without inconvenience, be made in the Hours of Polling at Parliamentary and Municipal Elections in Boroughs other than the Metropolitan Boroughs, so as to afford greater facilities to Electors desiring to record their Votes" (*Sir Charles W. Dilke*) Jan 18

*Parliament—Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms (House of Commons)*

Moved, That a Select Committee be appointed "to control the arrangements of the Kitchen and Refreshment Rooms, in the Department of the Serjeant at Arms attending this House Jan 22; List of the Committee, 306

Moved, "That Three be the quorum of the Committee"

Amendt. to leave out "Three," and insert "Five" (*Mr. Harcourt*) v.; Question, "That 'Three' stand part of the Question," put, and negatived

Question, "That 'Five' be inserted, instead thereof," put, and agreed to

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to Ordered, That Five be the quorum of the Committee

*Parliament—Public Business of the House*

After short debate, Ordered, That the Orders of the Day be postponed until after the Notices of Motion relating to the Public Business of the House" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) Jan 24, 377

Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to consider the best means of promoting the Despatch of Public Business in this House" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*), 379

Amendt. at end of Question, to add "and especially to inquire into the desirability of committing Bills, unless when otherwise ordered, to Grand Committees, instead of to a Committee of the whole House" (*The O'Connor Don*); Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" after debate, Question put, and negatived

Main Question again proposed; Amendt. at end of Question, to add "and whether the endeavour of the Imperial Parliament to deal with the legislative requirements of the three Kingdoms as to local affairs has not been a serious obstacle to the due and expeditious discharge of the general Business of

[cont.]

*Parliament—Public Business of the House—cont.*

the House" (*Mr. O'Donnell*), 405; Question proposed, "That those words be there added;" Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Select Committee appointed, "to consider the best means of promoting the Despatch of Public Business in this House;" Committee nominated Feb 25

*Parliament—Tramway Bills*

Moved, "That every Opposed Tramway Bill of the present Session, whereby it is proposed to authorize the use of steam or other mechanical power, be referred to a Select Committee of Nine Members, Five to be nominated by the House and Four by the Committee of Selection; and that such of the Petitioners against the Bills as pray to be heard by themselves, their Counsel or Agents, as shall have presented their Petitions in accordance with the Standing Orders, be heard upon their Petitions, if they think fit, and Counsel heard in favour of the Bills against such Petitions :

"That Five be the quorum of the Committee" (*Mr. Raikes*) Feb 5, 1047; Motion agreed to

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS

*Sat First*

Jan 17—The Lord Mowbray (Barony called out of abeyance)

The Earl of Saint Germans, after the death of his Father

Jan 24—The Lord Ranfurly, after the death of his Brother

Jan 25—The Lord Kinnaird, after the death of his Brother (special limitation)

Jan 31—The Marquess of Ailesbury, after the death of his Brother

Feb 8—The Viscount Canterbury, after the death of his Father

Feb 19—The Lord de Clifford, after the death of his Father

*Representative Peer for Ireland (Certificates)*

Jan 17—The Earl of Caledon, v. Lord Headley, deceased

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

*New Writs Issued*

1878

Jan 18—For Greenock, v. James Johnstone Grieve, esquire, Chiltern Hundreds For Leith District of Burghs, v. Donald Robert Macgregor, esquire, Manor of Northstead

Jan 21—For Perth, v. Honble. Arthur Fitzgerald Kinnaird, now Baron Kinnaird

Jan 23—For Perth County, v. Sir William Stirling Maxwell, baronet, deceased

Jan 25—For Marlborough, v. Lord Ernest Bruce, now Marquess of Ailesbury

[cont.]

**PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—New Writs Issued—**  
cont.

- Jan 29—For Oxford County, v. Right honble. Joseph Warner Henley, Chiltern Hundreds*  
*Feb 14—For York, v. James Lewther, esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*

**New Members Sworn**

- Jan 17—Lord Burghley, Northampton County (Northern Division)*  
*Jan 28—James Stewart, esquire, Greenock*  
*Jan 31—Lord Charles Bruce, Marlborough*  
*Andrew Grant, esquire, Leith District of Burghs*  
*Feb 4—Charles Stuart Parker, esquire, Perth*  
*Lieutenant Colonel Henry Edward Stirling Home Drummond Moray, Perth County*  
*Feb 7—Edward William Harecourt, esquire, Oxford County*

**Parliamentary and Municipal Registration Bill** (*Mr. Alfred Marten, Mr. Torr, Mr. Dodds*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Jan 18* [Bill 73]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>\*, and referred to a Select Committee  
*Jan 24*  
Committee nominated; List of the Committee  
*Jan 25, 507*

**Parliamentary Elections (Boroughs) Bill**  
(*Mr. Yeaman, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Joseph Cowen, Mr. Muntz, Dr. Ward, Mr. Goulding*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Jan 31* [Bill 98]

**Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis) Bill**  
(*Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Forgyth, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. Gordon, Colonel Boscawen, Mr. William Edward Forster*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Jan 18* [Bill 14]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *Jan 22, 357*  
Committee; Report *Jan 23, 364*  
Read 3<sup>o</sup> *Jan 30*  
l. Read 1<sup>o</sup> (*Earl Cadogan*) *Feb 1* (No. 12)  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate *Feb 18, 1844*  
Committee\*; Report *Feb 19*

**Parliamentary Electors Registration Bill**  
(*Mr. Boord, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Grantham*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Jan 18* [Bill 33]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup>\*, and referred to a Select Committee  
*Feb 11*

**Parliamentary Franchise (Ireland) Bill**  
(*Mr. Meade, Mr. Henry*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Jan 18* [Bill 77]  
Read 2<sup>o</sup> *Jan 23, 358*

**PARNELL, Mr. O. S., Meath**

Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000), 2R. 1647  
County Government, 2R. Motion for Adjournment, 1910

**PARNELL, Mr. O. S.—cont**

East India (Appointment of Mr. M. Macpherson), Res. 1978  
Parliament—Business of the House (Half-past Twelve Rule), 1538, 1539  
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 194  
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 1605  
Supplementary Estimate, Report, 1437  
Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 275

**Patent Laws, The—Legislation**

Question, Mr. Mundella; Answer, The Attorney General *Feb 18, 1850*

**PEARSE, Mr. J. W., Durham, S.**

Dublin Southern District Tramways, 2R. 1042  
Supplementary Estimate, 981, 1234

**PEEK, Sir H. W., Surrey, Mid**

Law and Justice—Bankrupt Solicitors, 619  
Royal Parks, &c.—Kew Gardens, 368

**PEEL, Right Hon. Sir R., Tamworth**

Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000), 2R. 1634, 1645  
Supplementary Estimate, 837, 841, 1120, 1121, 1122, 1239; Comm. 1491  
Supply—Army and Navy Services, 571

**PEEL, Mr. A. W., Warwick Bo.**

County Government, Leave, 603; 2R. 1874

**PELL, Mr. A., Leicestershire, S.**

County Government, 2R. 1676  
Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870) Amendment, 2R. 504  
Valuation, 2R. 1593

**PEMBROKE and MONTGOMERY, Earl of**  
Eastern Question—British Fleet, Movements of the, 691, 697

**Permissive Prohibitory Liquor Bill**

(*Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Sir Thomas Bazley, Mr. Johnston, Mr. Richard, Mr. Dalway, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Downing*)

- c. Considered in Committee; Resolution agreed to, and reported; Bill ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> *Jan 18* [Bill 24]

**PIM, Captain B., Gravesend**  
Vote of Credit, 657

**PLAYFAIR, Right Hon. Mr. Lyon, Edinburgh and St. Andrew's Universities**  
India—Salt Tax, Res. 481

**PLIMSOLL, Mr. S., Derby Bo.**

Mercantile Marine—Missing Steamers, 370

**PLUNKET, Hon. D. R., *Dublin University***  
 Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1900, 1906  
 Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870)  
 Amendment, 2R. 505  
 Land Tenure (Ireland), 2R. 1186  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-  
 swer to, 138  
 Voters (Ireland), 2R. 1575, 1580

**PLUNKETT, Hon. R. E., *Gloucester, W.***  
 Ancient Monuments, 2R. Amendt. 1980

### Political Prisoners Bill

(*Mr. O'Connor Power, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr.*  
*Joseph Cowen, Mr. O'Donnell*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 21 [Bill 84]

**Poor Law Amendment Act (1876) Amend-**  
**ment Bill** (*Mr. Mellor, Mr. Merewether,*  
*Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Phipps, Mr. Cowan,*  
*Mr. Hibbert*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 7 [Bill 103]

**Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Election**  
**Bill** (*Mr. Gray, Mr. Dowling, Mr. Redmond*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 17]

**Pope Pius IX., Death of—Sittings of the**  
**Conclave**

Question, Mr. O'Clery; Answer, Mr. Bourke  
 Feb 8, 1825

### POST OFFICE

#### MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

**Appointment of Officials**, Question, Mr. P. A.  
 Taylor; Answer, Lord John Manners Feb 6,  
 1050

**Money Order Office**, Question, Sir Charles W.  
 Dilke; Answer, Lord John Manners Feb 19,  
 1922

**Private Letter Bags**, Edinburgh, Question,  
 Mr. M'Laren; Answer, Lord John Manners  
 Jan 25, 468

**Sub-Postmasters**, Question, Mr. Monk; An-  
 swer, Lord John Manners Jan 28, 532

**Telegraphic Communication with Belmullet**,  
 Question, Mr. Browne; Answer, Lord John  
 Manners Jan 22, 819

**The American Mail Service**, Question, Mr.  
 Anderson; Answer, Lord John Manners

**POWER, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo***  
 County Government, 2R. 1912  
 Dunkeld Bridge Tolls, Motion for an Address,  
 630, 636  
 Ireland — Criminal Law — Convicts at Spike  
 Island, 618  
 Sergeant M'Carthy, The late, 622, 726,  
 1051

Parliament — Public Business, Motion for a  
 Select Committee, 403

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in An-  
 swer to, 126, 210, 211

Prisons Act, 1877—Rules and Regulations,  
 1049

Prisons (Ireland) Act—Rules and Regulations,  
 1049

Racecourses (Licensing), 2R. Amendt. 640

**PRICE, Mr. W. E., *Twickenham***  
 Army—Royal Warrant of 1877—Article 88,  
 722

### Prisons Act, 1877

*The Rules and Regulations*, Question, Mr.  
 O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Asheton  
 Cross Feb 5, 1049

*Visiting Committees*, Question, Mr. Hibbert;  
 Answer, Mr. Asheton Cross Feb 1, 820

### Prisons (Ireland) Act — The Rules and Regulations

Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Sir  
 Michael Hicks-Beach Feb 5, 1049

### Public Baths and Washhouses Bill

(*Mr. Forsyth, Sir Thomas Chambers, Mr. Ritchie,*  
*Colonel Beresford*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 37]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> Jan 30

**Public Health Act (1875) Amendment**  
**Bill** (*Mr. Alexander Brown, Mr. Playfair,*  
*Mr. Ryder, Mr. Joseph Cowen*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 66]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, and referred to a Select Committee  
 Jan 31  
 Committee nominated; List of the Committee  
 Feb 19, 1966

*Public Health Act—Medical Officers of*

**Public Parks (Scotland) Bill**

(*Mr. Fortescue Harrison, Dr. Cameron, Mr. William Holms, Sir George Balfour, Sir Windham Anstruther*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 34]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after short debate Jan 23, 359  
 Committee\*: Report Jan 31  
 Considered\* Feb 1  
 Read 3<sup>o</sup>\* Feb 4  
 l. Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* (*Lord Kinnaird*) Feb 5 (No. 18)  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup> Feb 19, 1920

**Public Prosecutor Bill**

(*Sir Eardley Wilmot, Mr. Walpole, Mr. Watkins Williams, Mr. Serjeant Simon*)

- c. Ordered\* Feb 6  
 Read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Feb 7 [Bill 105]

**Queen Anne's Bounty Bill**

(*Mr. Bass, Mr. Monk, Mr. Arthur Bass*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Jan 18 [Bill 15]

**Queen's Colleges and University (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. O'Donnell, Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Gray, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Connor Power*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Jan 18 [Bill 26]

**Racecourses (Licensing) Bill**

(*Mr. Anderson, Sir Thomas Chambers, Sir James Lawrence*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Jan 18 [Bill 76]  
 Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"  
 Jan 29, 638  
 Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. R. Power*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 84, N. 82; M. 2 (D. L. 6)  
 Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2<sup>o</sup>

**RAIKES, Mr. H. O. (Chairman of Committees of Ways and Means), Chester**

Ancient Monuments, 2R. 1984  
 Dublin Southern District Tramways, 2R. 1038  
 Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1621; Instruction, 1724, 1728  
 Parliament—Public Business (Half-past Twelve Rule), Res. 415  
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Comm. 1702, 1712, 1717, 1916  
 Tramway Bills, Amendt. 1047

**Railways**

Level Crossing at Radstock, Question, Major Allen; Answer, The Attorney General Jan 31, 725  
 Management of Railways, Question, The Duke of St. Albans; Answer, Lord Henniker; short debate thereon Jan 25, 456  
 Railway Bills, Amendt. 1047

**RAMBAY, Mr. J., Falkirk, &c.**

County Government, Leave, 607  
 Dental Practitioners, 2R. 1994  
 Hypothec (Scotland), 2R. 363  
 Roads and Bridges (Scotland), 2R. 423  
 Valuation, 2R. 1588, 1593

**RASHLEIGH, Sir C., Cornwall, &c.**

Merchant Shipping Acts, 1854 and 1878—"Calenick," The, 1326

**RATHBONE, Mr. W., Liverpool**

County Government, Leave, 601; 2R. 1670  
 Supplementary Estimate, Report, 1436

**Rating of Towns (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. O'Shaughnessy, Mr. Butt, Mr. Collins*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Jan 18 [Bill 8]

**READ, Mr. Clare S., Norfolk, &c.**

County Government, Leave, 603; 2R. 1868, 1895

**Real Estate Intestacy Bill**

(*Mr. Potter, Mr. Leatham, Mr. Hopwood, Mr. Pries, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, Mr. Anderson*)

- c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup>\* Jan 18 [Bill 28]

**REDESDALE, Earl of (Chairman of Committees)**

Conservancy Navigation, &c. Boards, 244  
 Parliament—Private Bills—Standing Orders, 912, 913  
 Public Parks (Scotland), 2R. 1921

**REDMOND, Mr. W. A., Wexford**

Geological Survey of Ireland—The "Freesman's Journal," 373  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 134  
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 300

**REED, Mr. E. J., Pembroke**

Navy—Naval Engineers, 1206  
 Supplementary Estimate, 1221, 1291, 1295; Report, 1443

**Registration of Land, &c.—Legislation**

Question, Dr. Brady; Answer, Mr. Ascheton  
 Cross Jan 24, 369

**RICHMOND AND GORDON, Duke of (Lord President of the Council)**

Africa—Cape, The—Kaffir Outbreak, 1483  
 Conservancy Navigation, &c. Boards, 241, 242, 243  
 Contagious Diseases (Animals), 1R. 1485, 1501, 1502, 1503  
 Eastern Question—Papers, 154  
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**RIPON, Marquess of**

Conservancy Navigation, &c. Boards, 244, 245, 244  
 Contagious Diseases (Animals), 1R. 1499  
 Eastern Question—British Fleet, Movements of the, 714

**RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets***

Isle of Man—Small Pox, Outbreak of, 528  
 Supplementary Estimate, 1242

**Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Bill**

(*The Lord Advocate, Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 4]  
 Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after debate Jan 24, 419

**Roads—South Wales District**

Question, Mr. Blake; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth Feb 15, 1730

**RODWELL, Mr. B. B. H., *Cambridgeshire***

Criminal Law Evidence Amendment, 2R. 664  
 Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1515  
 Parliamentary Papers, 817

**RYLANDS, Mr. P., *Burnley***

Parliament—Orders of the Day, 378  
 Parliament—Public Business (Half-past Twelve Rule), Res. 411  
 Supplementary Estimate, Ministerial Statement, 535; Personal Explanation, 1065;  
 Motion for Adjournment, 1139, 1215, 1216, 1247

**ST. ALBANS, Duke of**

Railways, Management of, 456

**ST. LEONARDS, Lord**

Eastern Question, 1198

***Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875***

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Solater-Booth Feb 12, 1535

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday**

Bill (*Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Birley, Mr. Osborne Morgan, Mr. M. Arthur, Mr. James*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 5]

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland) Bill** (*The O'Conor Don, Mr. Richard Smyth, Mr. Charles Lewis, Mr. James Corry, Mr. William Johnston, Mr. Dease, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Redmond*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 44]

Read 2<sup>o</sup>, after debate Jan 21, 283

Committee—R.P. Jan 23, 384

Committee Feb 14, 1692

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. O'Sullivan*); after short debate, Question put; A. 20, N. 79; M. 59 (D. L. 12)

Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. O'Shaughnessy*); Question put; A. 20, N. 77; M. 57 (D. L. 13)

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*Mr. O'Slow*); after short debate, Question put; A. 25, N. 37; M. 12 (D. L. 14)

Moved, "That the Chairman do now leave the Chair" (*Mr. Charles Lewis*); after short debate, Question put; A. 6, N. 56; M. 50 (D. L. 15)

Moved, "That the Chairman do report Progress, and ask leave to sit again" (*The O'Conor Don*); Motion agreed to; Committee—R.P.

Committee—R.P., after short debate Feb 18, 1916

**SALISBURY, Marquess of (Secretary of State for India)**

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 52, 54

**SAMUELSON, Mr. H. B., *Frome***

Africa, Exploration of, 458

**SANDFORD, Mr. G. M. W., *Maldon***

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Comm. 1919  
 Supplementary Estimate, 1234

**SANDON, Right Hon. Viscount (Vice President of Committee of Council on Education), *Liverpool***

Elementary Education Act, 1876, 821  
 Ireland—Royal College of Science, Dublin, 621  
 Medical Profession—Legislation, 531  
 Supplementary Estimate, 803

**SANDWICH, Earl of**

Conservancy Navigation, &c. Boards, 241  
 Eastern Question—Dardanelles, The—Movements of the Fleet—Resignation of Ministers, 435

**SOLATER-BOOTH, Right Hon. G. (President of the Local Government Board), *Hampshire, N.***

County Boards Bill—Petty Sessional Districts, 820

County Government, Leave, 583, [607; 2R. 1651, 1663, 1687, 1902, 1915]



**SOLATES-BORTH, Right Hon. G.—cont.**

Friendly Societies—Poor Law Amendment Act, 1876, 928

Highways, 728

Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1539, 1531; Instruction, 1728, 1736

Public Health Act—Public Officers of Health, 928

Roads—South Wales District, 1730

Sale of Food and Drugs Act, 1875, 1436

## SCOTLAND

### MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS

*Crown Tents (Scotland)*—Legislation, Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, The Lord Advocate Jan 31, 1888

*Education (Scotland) Act—The Code of 1878 and the Gaelic Language*, Withdrawal of Motion, Mr. Fraser Mackintosh Feb 19, 1925

*Grocers' Licenses*, Question, Mr. Dalrymple; Answer, Mr. Ascheton Cross Feb 18, 1850

*Poor Law (Scotland)—Deportation of Irish Paupers*, Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. Ascheton Cross Feb 13, 1850.

### Scotland—Dunkeld Bridge Tolls

Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, that She will be graciously pleased to issue a Royal Commission to inquire into the administration of the Dunkeld Bridge Tolls, and to ascertain, with items in detail, the real state of the account of moneys received and expended by the Dukes of Athole in connection with the said trust" (Mr. O'Donnell) Jan 29, 1826; after short debate, Question put; A. 79, N. 189; M. 118; (D. L. No. 5)

### Sea Fisheries (Ireland) Bill (Dr. Ward,

Mr. Butt, Mr. Collins, Sir Joseph McKenna)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 40]

### SELBORNE, Lord

Territorial Waters Jurisdiction, 1R. 1614

### Select Vestries

l. Bill, *pro forma*, read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 17

### SELWIN-IBBETSON, Sir H. J. (Under Secretary of State for the Home Department), Essex, W.

Dental Practitioners, 2R. 1991

Parliament—Public Business (Half-past Twelve Rule), Res, 416

Racecourses (Licensing), 2R. 648

### SHAFTESBURY, Earl of

Parliamentary Elections (Metropolis), 2R. 1846

### SHAW, Mr. W., Cork Co.

Factories and Workshops, 2R. 1477

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 106

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 284

Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 267

### SIMON, Mr. Serjeant J., Downbury

Army—Ferah Expedition—Allowances to Officers, &c. 532

Criminal Law Evidence Amendment, 2R. Amendt. 660, 688

Criminal Law Practice Amendment, 2R. 1840

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### Slave Trade in the Red Sea, The

Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Mr. Bourke Jan 29, 1828

### SMITH, Right Hon. W. H. (First Lord of the Admiralty), Westminster

Eastern Question—Dardanelles, The—Movements of the Fleet, 1534, 1622

Greenwich Out-Pensioners, 1048, 1618

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Dockyards, H. M.—Writers, 539

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### SMITH, Mr. T. E., Tynemouth, &c.

Merchant Seamen, Leave, 310

### SMOLLETT, Mr. P. B., Cambridge

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### SMYTH, Mr. P. J., Westmeath Co.

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### SOLICITOR GENERAL, The (Sir H. S.

Giffard), *Launceston*

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Supplementary Estimate, 1130

### SOMERSET, Duke of

Contagious Diseases (Animals), 1R. 1501

Territorial Waters Jurisdiction, 1R. 1615

### SOMERSET, Lord H. R. C. (Comptroller

of the Household), *Monmouthshire*

Parliament—Queen's Speech—Her Majesty's Answer to Address, 488

### South Kensington — National Portrait Gallery

Question, Mr. Beresford Hope; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 4, 1924

### SPEAKER, The (Right Hon. H. B. W.

BRAND), *Cambridgeshire*

Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1937

Consolidated Fund (£6,000,000), 2R. 1630

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SPINKS, Mr. Serjeant F. L., *Oldham*  
 Manchester Corporation Water, Instruction, 1726; Amendt. 1727, 1729

STACPOOLE, Captain W., *Ennis*  
 Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1960  
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland, Comm. 1693, 1701, 1712

STANHOPE, Earl  
 Eastern Question—British Fleet, Movements of the, 690  
 House Occupiers Disqualification Removal, 2R. 1722

STANHOPE, Hon. R., *Lincolnshire, Mid*  
 Ancient Monuments, 2R. 1919  
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STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, Lord  
 Eastern Question—British Fleet, Movements of the, 708

STANLEY, Hon. Colonel F. A. (Financial Secretary for War) *Lancashire, N.*  
 Ancient Monuments, 2R. 1968  
 Dental Practitioners, 2R. 1994  
 Ireland—Suck Drainage District, 1849  
 Supplementary Estimate, Motion for Adjournment, 1024, 1069, 1071, 1072

STANSFELD, Right Hon. J., *Halifax*  
 County Government, Leave, 598; 2R. Amendt. 1654, 1683, 1684

STEVENSON, Mr. J. C., *South Shields*  
 Burials, Res. 1808

STEWART, Mr. M. J., *Wigton Co.*  
 China—Chefoo Convention, 248, 1428  
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 Supplementary Estimate, Personal Explanation, 1060

STORER, Mr. G., *Nottinghamshire, S.*  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 186  
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SULLIVAN, Mr. A. M., *Louth Co.*

County Government, 2R. 1913  
 Dublin Southern District Tramways, 2R. 1045  
 Navy—Roman Catholics, 1732  
 Parliament—Business of the House, 287  
 Parliament—Public Business—Sunday Closing in Ireland, 186  
 Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 144, 171  
 Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 301  
 Supplementary Estimate, Comm. 1409, 1410  
 Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 269, 276

Summary Jurisdiction (Ireland) Bill

(Mr. Parnell, Mr. O'Shaughnessy)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13 [Bill 114]

## SUPPLY

Resolved, That this House will, upon Wednesday, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty Jan 21

*Supplementary Estimate (Naval and Military Services)*, Notice of Motion, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 24, 368; Question, Observations, The Marquess of Hartington; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 28, 534

## SUPPLY

Considered in Committee Jan 28, 335—ARMY AND NAVY SERVICES—

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £8,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the Ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, in increasing the efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey" (Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer); after long debate, Committee—*a.p.*

Notice of Amendment, Mr. W. E. Forster Jan 29, 624

Notice, Captain Pim Jan 30, 657

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr.

Speaker do now leave the Chair"  
 Amendt. to leave out from "That," and add "this House, having been informed in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech that the conditions on which Her Majesty's neutrality is founded had not been infringed by either belligerent engaged in the war in the East of Europe, and having since received no information sufficient to justify a departure from the policy of neutrality and peace, sees no reason for adding to the burthens of the people by voting unnecessary Supplies" (Mr. W. E. Forster) v. Jan 31, 729; Question proposed, "That the words, *etc.*;" after long debate, Debate adjourned

Debate resumed Feb 1, 823; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed Feb 4, 928; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Personal Explanation, Mr. Trevelyan Feb 5, 1057

**SUPPLY—cont.**

Debate resumed Feb 5, 1089; after long debate, Debate further adjourned

Debate resumed Feb 7, 1215; after short debate, Moved, "That the debate be now adjourned" (*The Marquess of Hartington*); after further debate, Motion withdrawn; Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Richard*); after further debate, Motion withdrawn

Main Question, "That Mr. Speaker, &c.," put; A. 295, N. 96; M. 199  
Div. List, A. and N., 1311

SUPPLY considered in Committee Feb 7

Moved, "That a sum, not exceeding £6,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, beyond the ordinary Grants of Parliament, towards defraying the Expenses which may be incurred, during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1878, in increasing the Efficiency of the Naval and Military Services at the present crisis of the War between Russia and Turkey"—Committee—*N.P.*

Order for Committee read; Moved, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair" Feb 8, 1832; Motion agreed to

SUPPLY considered in Committee, 1835

Question [Feb. 7] again proposed; after long debate, Question put; A. 328, N. 124; M. 204

Div. List, A. and N., 1417

Resolution reported, and, after debate, agreed to Feb 11, 1424

Considered in Committee £1,000,000 Exchequer Bonds Feb 18; Resolution reported Feb 19

**TALBOT, Mr. J. G., *Kent, W.***  
Burials, Res. 1825

**TAYLOR, Mr. D., *Coloraine***  
Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870) Amendment, 2R. 504  
Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 272

**TAYLOR, Mr. P. A., *Leicester Bo.***  
Greenwich Out-Pensioners, 1047, 1617  
Post Office—Appointment of Officials, 1050

**Tenant Right (Ireland) Bill**  
(*Lord Hill-Trevor, The Marquess of Hamilton, Mr. Mulholland, Captain Corry, Mr. Chaine*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 31]

**Tenant Right (Ulster) Bill** (*Mr. Macartney, Mr. William Wilson, Mr. Charles Lewis*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 54]

**Tenants' Improvements (Ireland) Bill**  
(*Mr. Patrick Martin, Major Nolan, Mr. O'Clery, Mr. Fay*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 13]

**Tenants Protection (Ireland) Bill**  
(*Mr. Arthur Moore, Mr. Patrick Smyth*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13 [Bill 109]

**TENNANT, Mr. R., *Leeds***  
Factories and Workshops, 2R. Amendt. 1454, 1482  
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 68

**Territorial Waters Jurisdiction Bill**  
(*The Lord Chancellor*)  
l. Presented; after short debate, Bill read 1<sup>o</sup> 1601 (No. 23)

**Threshing Machines Bill**  
(*Mr. Chaplin, Mr. Clare Read, Mr. Macdonald*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 30 [Bill 97]

**THYNNE, Lord H. F., *Wiltshire, S.***  
Ancient Monuments, 2R. 1987

**TORRENS, Mr. W. T. M., *Finsbury***  
Supplementary Estimate, 1242

**Town Councils, Local Boards, and other Local Governing Bodies Bill**  
(*Mr. Mundella, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Burt, Mr. Morley*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 22]

**Training Schools and Ships Bill**  
(*Captain Pim, Mr. Wheelhouse*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 48]

**Tramways (Ireland) Acts Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Collins, The Marquess of Hamilton, Mr. Shaw, Mr. William Wilson*)  
c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 47]

**TREVELYAN, Mr. G. O., *Hawick, &c.***  
Supplementary Estimate, Motion for Adjournment, 813, 824; Personal Explanation, 1057, 1059, 1061, 1067, 1068, 1309  
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**TURKEY LORDS**

*Papers—The Correspondence, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, The Duke of Richmond and Gordon Jan 18, 154;—Greece—The Correspondence, Question, Observations, Lord Emly, Lord Houghton; Reply, The Earl of Derby; Observations, Earl Granville Jan 29, 610*  
*Earl of Derby's Note of May 8, Observations, Earl De La Warr; Reply, The Earl of Derby; short debate thereon Feb 4, 913*  
*Statement by Her Majesty's Government, Question, Observations, The Duke of Argyll; Reply, The Earl of Beaconsfield Jan 24, 365*

**TURKEY—LOARDS—cont.**

*The Dardanelles—Movements of the Fleet—Resignation of Ministers*, Question, The Earl of Sandwich; Answer, The Earl of Beaconsfield; short debate thereon Jan 28, 1885

*The Mediterranean, Dardanelles, &c.—Movements of the British Fleet*, Questions, Observations, Lord Campbell, Earl Stanhope; Reply, The Earl of Derby; Question, Observations, The Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery; Debate thereon Jan 31, 1889

*Advance of the Russian Armies*, Questions, Lord Campbell, Earl Granville; Answers, The Earl of Derby Feb 1, 1877

*The Armistice and Terms of Peace*, Questions, Earl Granville; Answer, The Earl of Derby Feb 4, 1871

*Negotiations for Peace*, Observations, The Earl of Airlie; Reply, The Earl of Derby Feb 5, 1878

*Advance of the Russians on Constantinople*, Questions, Observations, Lord St. Leonards, Earl Granville; Replies, The Earl of Beaconsfield, The Earl of Derby; short debate thereon Feb 7, 1878

*The Armistice—Despatch of the Fleet to Constantinople*, Question, Observations, Lord Hammond; Reply, The Earl of Derby; short debate thereon Feb 8, 1875

*The Dardanelles—Movements of the Fleet—Postponement of Notice*, Observations, Lord Campbell; Questions, The Earl of Dunraven, Earl Granville; Answers, The Earl of Beaconsfield, The Earl of Derby Feb 11, 1870

*Position of Affairs—The British Fleet*, Questions, Observations, Earl Granville; Reply, The Earl of Derby Feb 12, 1888

*The Conference—Constantinople—Movements of the Fleet*, Questions, Lord Campbell, Earl Granville, Lord Dunsany; Answers, The Earl of Derby Feb 14, 1898

*The Terms of the Armistice—The Treaties of 1856 and 1871*, Observations, Lord Campbell Feb 15, 1871

*The Armistice—The Treaties of 1856 and 1871*, Observations, The Earl of Derby, Earl Granville, Lord Campbell Feb 18, 1841

*Movements of the Fleet*, Questions, Earl Granville; Answers, The Earl of Derby Feb 18, 1842

*The British Ambassador at the Ports*, Personal Vindication, Observations, The Earl of Derby Feb 18, 1843

*The Occupation of Gallipoli*, Question, The Duke of Argyll; Answer, The Earl of Derby Feb 19, 1820

**TURKEY—COMMONS—cont.**

*The Congress—Civil and Religious Liberty in Poland*, Question, Colonel Beresford; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 18, 1848

*The Congress*, Question, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 18, 1851

**The Eastern Question—The War**

*The Dardanelles—Movements of the Fleet*, Question, Colonel Mure; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 28, 1884

*Reported Armistices*, Question, Mr. Chaplin; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 29, 1824

*The Armistice—Advance of the Russian Forces*, Question, Mr. Chaplin; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 31, 1728

*The Armistice*, Questions, Major Nolan, The Marquess of Hartington; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 4, 1826

*The Dardanelles—Entry of the Fleet*, Question, Mr. Dillwyn; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 7, 1208

*The Armistice*, Question, Colonel Barne; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 7, 1210

*The Supplementary Vote—Occupation of Constantinople by the Russians*, Questions, The Marquess of Hartington; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; short debate thereon Feb 7, 1211

*The Armistices—Despatch of the Fleet to Constantinople—Entry of the Fleet*, Questions, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. John Bright, Sir John Kennaway, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Lord Robert Montagu; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord John Manners Feb 8, 1325

*The Dardanelles—Movements of the Fleet*, Question, Mr. W. E. Forster; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 11, 1424; Question, Major Nolan; Answer, Mr. W. H. Smith Feb 12, 1534

*Constantinople—Movements of the Fleet*, Questions, Mr. E. Jenkins, The Marquess of Hartington, Sir Lawrence Palk, Mr. Lowe, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answers, Mr. W. H. Smith, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 14, 1621; Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 15, 1734

*The Armistice—Russian Forces within the Neutral Zone*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 18, 1851

**The Eastern Question—The Black Sea, Bosphorus, and Dardanelles**

*Treaties, &c., relating to*, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 18, 156

*The Black Sea Ports*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 4, 924

*Blockade in the Black Sea*, Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 5, 1067

*Blockade of the Black Sea*, Question, Mr. Collins; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 7, 1205; Question, Mr. Gourley, Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 8, 1322

**TURKEY**

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*Alleged Triple Alliance*, Question, Dr. Kenealy; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 29, 622

*The Eastern Question*, Questions, Mr. Potter, Dr. Kenealy, Mr. E. Jenkins, The Marquess of Hartington; Answers, Mr. Bourke, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 1, 821

*The Eastern Question—A Conference or Congress*, Question, Mr. Whitwell; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 7, 1211

**Turkey—COMMONS—cont.**

*Trade in the Black Sea, &c.*, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, Sir Charles Adderley Feb 14, 1821

**The Eastern Question—Negotiations for Peace**

*The Russian Conditions of Peace, 1877—Despatch of the Earl of Derby, Dec. 25, 1877*, Questions, Mr. Childers, Mr. Hanbury, Mr. Dillwyn; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bourke Jan 22, 1820

*Despatches of January 4, 8, and 10*, Questions, Lord Robert Montagu; Answers, Mr. Bourke Jan 24, 1873

*Proposed Terms of Peace*, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 24, 1874

*The Dardanelles—The Conditions of Peace*, Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 12, 1835

*The Russian Conditions of Peace, 1877*, Questions, Sir Alexander Gordon; Answers, Mr. Bourke Feb 12, 1836

**MISCELLANEOUS QUESTIONS (General)**

*Turkey and Greece*, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, Mr. Bourke Jan 21, 1854; —*The Correspondence*, Question, Mr. W. Cartwright; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 29, 1824

*The Reports of Consular Officers*, Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Mr. Bourke Jan 25, 1863

*Present Position of H.M. Government*, Questions, Observations, The Marquess of Hartington; Reply, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; short debate thereon Jan 25, 1864

*The Suez Canal*, Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 28, 1830

*Crete*, Questions, Mr. Shaw Lefevre; Answers, Mr. Bourke Jan 29, 1820; Question, Mr. Monk; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 4, 1827; Question, Observations, Lord Colchester, The Duke of Argyll; Reply, The Earl of Derby Feb 5, 1836; Question, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 5, 1850

*Telegraphic Communication in Turkey*, Question, Mr. Chaplin; Answer, Mr. Bourke Jan 31, 1826

*Greeks, The—Correspondence of Mr. Gladstone (M. Negropontis)*, Question, Mr. Evelyn Ashley; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 31, 1827

*Roumania*, Question, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 4, 1825

*Alleged Outrages in Bulgaria*, Question, Mr. James; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 4, 1825; —*Religious Persecution in Bulgaria*, Question, Mr. Holt; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 5, 1854

*The Insurrection in Bosnia—The Herzegovina, &c.*, Question, Mr. Ashbury; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 4, 1827

*Law of Neutrality*, Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 5, 1851

**Turkey—COMMONS—cont.**

*Alleged Alliance of Russia and Turkey*, Question, Lord Robert Montagu; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 8, 1824

*The Baltic Sea*, Question, Lord Robert Montagu; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 8, 1824

*Russian Sailors*, Question, Mr. Hanbury; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 15, 1733

*The War—Austrian Interests*, Question, Mr. Gladstone; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 15, 1733

*Ressarabia*, Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Courtney, Sir Charles W. Dilke, Mr. Goldsmid; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Feb 15, 1735

*British Subjects in Constantinople*, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Bourke Jan 31, 1723; Question, Mr. J. Holms; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 18, 1847

*Russia—Colonel Wellesley's Despatches*, Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Monk Feb 18, 1852; —*Poles in Turkey*, Questions, Mr. Owen Lewis, Mr. John Bright; Answers, Mr. Bourke Feb 15, 1730

*Ill-treatment of English Doctors*, Question, Sir Joseph M'Kenna; Answer, Mr. Bourke Feb 19, 1922

**Turkey—The Eastern Question—Russia and the Porte**

Moved to resolve, That in the opinion of this House neutrality, whether conditional or absolute, in no way prohibits Her Majesty's Government from adopting such measures as are necessary to conform to the Treaties of 1856, and to guard Constantinople against an hostile occupation (*The Lord Campbell*) Jan 28, 1808; after short debate, Moved, the Previous Question (*The Lord Dorchester*); Previous Question put, "Whether the said Question shall be now put?" Resolved in the Negative

**Turnpike Acts Continuance**

Select Committee appointed, "to inquire into the Sixth and Seventh Schedules of 'The Annual Turnpike Acts Continuance Act, 1877';" List of the Committee Jan 31, 1816; Instruction to the Committee

**Union Justices (Ireland) Bill (Mr. O'Sullivan, Major Nolan, Mr. Richard Power)**

o. Ordered; read 1<sup>st</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 42]

Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>" Jan 21, 1863; Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Charles Lewis*); after short debate, Question put; A. 62, N. 223; M. 161 (D. L. 2)

Question again proposed, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>"

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day seven months" (*Mr. William Johnston*); Question proposed, "That 'now,' &c.;" after short debate, Question put; A. 38, N. 138; M. 100 (D. L. 3)

Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for seven months

**Union Officers (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. Redmond, Mr. Gray, Dr. Ward, Mr. Fay*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 41]

**Vaccination Law (Penalties) Bill**

(*Mr. Pease, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Mundella, Mr. Leeman*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 74]

**Vaccination—The Isle of Man—Outbreak of Small Pox**

Questions, Sir James Lawrence, Mr. Ritchie; Answers, Mr. Assheton Cross Jan 28, 528; Question, Mr. Adam; Answer, Mr. Assheton Cross Jan 29, 624

**Valuation Bill**

(*Mr. Ramsay, Sir Graham Montgomery, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Rodwell, Mr. Joseph Cowen*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 35]  
2R., after short debate, Debate adjourned Feb 13, 1586

**Valuation of Property Bill**

(*Mr. Solater-Booth, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Salt*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 28 [Bill 94]

**VERNER, Mr. E. W., Armagh Co.**

Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 270, 272

**Volunteer Corps (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. O'Clery, Major Nolan, Lord Francis Conyngham, Major O'Beirne*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 21 [Bill 85]

**Voters (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. Biggar, Mr. Patrick Martin, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Fay*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 6]  
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2<sup>o</sup>," Feb 13, 1568

Amendt. to leave out "now," and add "upon this day six months" (*Mr. Charles Lewis*); Question proposed, "That now, &c.;" after debate, Question put; A. 96, N. 134; M. 38 (D. L. 11)

Words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to; 2R. put off for six months

**Voters (Ireland) (No. 2) Bill**

(*Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. Butt, Mr. Brooks, Mr. Sullivan*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 65]

**WADDY, Mr. S. D., Barnstaple**

Church of England—Burial Service, 922  
Supplementary Estimate, Report, 1444

**WALKER, Colonel O. O., Salford**  
Metropolis—New Law Courts, 323

**WALTER, Mr. J., Berkshire**

Burials, Res. 1793  
Supplementary Estimate, 1297

**WARD, Dr. M. F., Galway**

Army—Kaffir Outbreak—Army Surgeons, 1618  
Army Medical Department—Candidates, 1849  
Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1954, 1955  
Dental Practitioners, 2R. 1992  
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 188  
Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 295; Comm. 1696  
Supplementary Estimate, Report, 1450

**Waste Lands (Ireland) Bill**

(*Mr. MacCarthy, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Downing, Mr. Shaw*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Jan 18 [Bill 18]

**WAYS AND MEANS**

Resolved, That this House will, upon Wednesday, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty Jan 21

*Inland Revenue—Inhabited House Duty*, Question, Mr. Hankey; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 21, 249

*The Dog Tax—Useless Dogs*, Question, Sir George Douglas; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer Jan 22, 317

**WAYS AND MEANS**

Considered in Committee Feb 11, 1452

Moved, "That towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury be authorized to raise any sum, not exceeding £6,000,000, by an issue of Exchequer Bonds, Exchequer Bills, or Treasury Bills;" after short debate, Motion agreed to

Resolutions thereon; Resolutions reported Feb 13

[See titles *Consolidated Fund* (£6,000,000)  
*Bill—Exchequer Bonds, &c. Bill*]

**Weights and Measures Bill**

(*Mr. Edward Stanhope, Sir Charles Adderley, Mr. Attorney General*)

c. Ordered; read 1<sup>o</sup> Feb 13 [Bill 111]

**WHARNCLIFFE, Earl of**

Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 7, 18, 49

**WHEELHOUSE, Mr. W. St. James, Leeds**

County Government, Leave, 608  
Criminal Law Evidence Amendment, 2R. 681  
Election of Aldermen (Cumulative Vote), 2R. 1483

WHEELHOUSE, Mr. W. St. James—*cont.*

Factory and Workshops, 2R. 1473, 1480

Landlord and Tenant (Ireland) Act (1870)

Amendment, 2R. 494

Mercantile Marine—American Officers, 253

Merchant Shipping Act, 1854—Certificates of  
Masters and Mates, 253

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), 2R. 286 ; Comm. 1697, 1708

WHITBREAD, Mr. S., *Bedford*

County Government, Leave, 605 ; 2R. 1891

Supplementary Estimate, Personal Explanation, 1064, 1065

Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 266

WHITWELL, Mr. J., *Kendal*

Eastern Question—Conference, 1211

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Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1531 ;  
Instruction, Amendt. 1723, 1724, 1726

WHITWORTH, Mr. B., *Kilkenny*

Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Ireland), Comm. 1695

WILLIAMS, Mr. W., *Denbigh, &c.*

Supplementary Estimate, 1219

WILMOT, Sir J. E., *Warwickshire, S.*

Borough Franchise (Ireland), Res. 1946

Metropolis—Newspaper Kiosques, 1729

WILSON, Mr. C. H., *Kingston-upon-Hull*  
Supplementary Estimate, 1308

WOLFF, Sir H. D., *Christchurch*

Eastern Question—Miscellaneous Questions

Bessarabia, 1735

Black Sea, &c. 156

Peace, Conditions of, 1535

House Occupiers Disqualification Removal, 2R.

302, 304 ; Comm. Amendt. 816

Supplementary Estimate, 988 ; Report, 1446

Union Justices (Ireland), 2R. 267

Women's Disabilities Removal Bill

(*Mr. Courtney, Mr. Russell Gurney, Mr. Stansfeld,*  
*Mr. Jacob Bright*)

c. Ordered ; read 1<sup>o</sup> \* Jan 18

[Bill 12]

WYNDHAM, Hon. P. S., *Cumberland, W.*

County Government, 2R. 1667

Manchester Corporation Water, 2R. 1530

Supplementary Estimate, Personal Explanation, 1059 ; Motion for Adjournment, 1060

YEAMAN, Mr. J., *Dundee*

Roads and Bridges (Scotland), 2R. 480

YORKE, Mr. J. R., *Gloucestershire, E.*

County Government, 2R. 1660

Supplementary Estimate, 1281

YOUNG, Mr. A. W., *Helston*

Dental Practitioners, 2R. 1992, 1993

END OF VOLUME CCXXXVII., AND FIRST VOLUME OF  
SESSION 1878.







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